

ROLE OF RURAL WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

REPORT OF AN INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR



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Report of an International Study Seminar
held at the Institute of Development Studies,
University of Sussex, U.K.
5th January to 10th February 1977

Edited by
VINA MAZUMDAR



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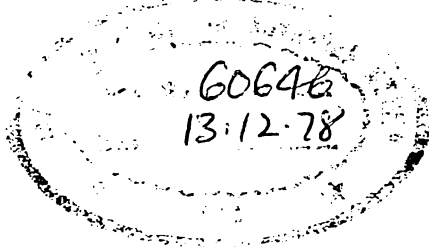
15 J.N. Heredia Marg, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038

5th Main Road, Gandhinagar, Bangalore 560009

17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 700072

13/14 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 110002

150-B/6 Mount Road, Madras 600002



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Preface

THE problems of integrating women in the development process are now engaging the attention of planners and policy-makers all over the world, not so much because of the International Women's Decade and the United Nations' call for action plans for this purpose as because of increasing realization of the social imbalances that development itself has created. Increasing inequality between the affluent and the poor (between and within countries) and between development in rural and urban areas has been causing concern for some time. Comparatively, the realization of the sexual imbalance in the distribution of the fruits of development is more recent. The dimensions of this modern version of inequality between men and women are still only partially understood – by either policy-makers or scholars.

The Indian Council of Social Science Research has initiated a programme of Women's Studies to focus greater attention on women's lives and problems as they are affected by the process of economic transformation, social change, and population dynamics. We were happy to collaborate with the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, in organizing this Seminar, which brought together academics and practical administrators engaged in rural development along with a few planners and representatives of international development agencies, to seek practical solutions to one of the biggest challenges that faces us today.

Rural women constitute the largest group who have not only been bypassed in the distribution of the fruits of development, but whose traditional roles and status in their own society are also being altered adversely by the nature of the development process. The Seminar sought explanations and methods for arresting this adverse impact – not in the abstractions of social science theory, but in the spheres of practical administration and social mobilization. While the social scientists' search for deeper explanations and relationships between the different phases of social transformation must continue, the problems now being experienced by rural women – the unintended victims – cannot wait, and call for immediate intervention by public authorities and persons who have a social conscience.

The Seminar's findings and observations should particularly appeal to the minority of women who have been fortunate to benefit from the

process of development, and can now help their less-fortunate sisters to play a more effective and conscious role in the process which is transforming their lives.

Our thanks are due to the Institute of Development Studies, and particularly to Prof. T. Scarlett Epstein, for organizing the Seminar, and for inviting Devaki Jain and me to assist in its direction. I must also thank Ann Warden, Rosemary Watts, Nici Nelson and other members of the IDS staff for their untiring help through the long period of five weeks, and Carol Walkewitz, Jasveen Jairath, and Julia Meiklejohn for sparing time to function as rapporteurs. As for our fellow participants, I am sure that all of them shared our own feelings about this unforgettable partnership, and the recollection of a learning experience that cut across cultural frontiers, demonstrating the similarities in the lives and problems of rural women in our different countries.

VINA MAZUMDAR

Director,
Programme of Women's Studies
ICSSR

New Delhi
6 August 1977

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Introduction

MOST developing countries have undertaken multiple programmes for rural development, but the unwitting effect of these appears to distribute the benefits unevenly and often increase inequality between different sections of the population and between men and women. Programmes for women have been marginal in economic development activities initiated in agriculture, animal husbandry, handicrafts, small-scale industry, and fisheries. Social welfare services (home economics, nutrition, child care, and family planning) appear to be offered to rural women as some sort of compensation for the lack of attention given them to increase their productivity and income-earning capacity.

One of the explanations given for the lack of recognition of women's role and contribution to the rural economy is the prevalence of a middle class bias in development planning and administration. Middle class women, whose traditional roles have been more confined to home, have hitherto provided the image and leadership for women in their respective countries thus creating an "invisibility barrier". Another explanation lies in the under-representation of women in strategic positions particularly in local and middle level institutions. The representation that does exist has been mainly token, and has not been effective either in articulating women's needs or in mobilizing adequate participation by women.

The first exercise to improve women's role in rural development should, therefore, be to destroy the "invisibility barrier" and look closely at what women do, and how these roles are affected by the development process.

The diversity and importance of the economic and social roles played by women in rural life in developing countries has not been appreciated by planners and policy-makers, so that development projects have been directed mainly at men and projects for social welfare at women. A trend observed in most developing countries (with noted exceptions) is the decrease in women's participation, rewards, status, and security, as traditional (subsistence) agriculture gives way to modern commercial agriculture.

The important variables that impinge on and determine women's roles in the rural sector are :

- (a) *Types of agricultural activity:*
- (i) subsistence farming with high female labour participation and complementarity with men;
 - (ii) labour intensive cash crops where women have to work harder but have little, if any, control over cash earnings;
 - (iii) mechanized cash cropping, where men operate the equipment and take charge of cash income while women occupy increasingly more subordinate positions;
 - (iv) plantation agriculture where women provide a source of cheap labour.
- (b) *Availability and ownership of land:* Size of family farms, landlessness, and systems of tenurial relations, all affect women's roles and problems in a given locality.
- (c) *Changing social relations* resulting from different kinds of innovation (e.g., land reform, collectivization, resettlement schemes, new agricultural technologies, wider markets through improved communications, establishment of cooperatives, credit institutions, social services, local governing bodies, governmental and voluntary women's organizations, etc.) impinge on women's roles either positively or negatively, depending on the extent to which women are included in the scope of the changes. Excluding women on the assumption that any development will benefit both men and women has often resulted in women being pushed out of types of work in which they used to be heavily involved (e.g., marketing) and has denied them access to modern services (e.g., credit facilities, extension services).
- (d) *Patterns of migration:* Heavy male migration increases the work load on the women left behind. Female migration, which is economically conditioned, may extend or restrict women's roles, depending on particular circumstances.
- (e) *Cultural factors:* Marriage practices, family structures, kinship systems, and legal codes (traditional and modern) affect women's position and roles in various ways.
- (f) *The political and administrative system:* Factors such as a country's history in general and its colonial past in particular, slavery, wars and revolutions, patterns of popular participation, etc., all affect the position of women and the roles they play.

The exclusion of any of these variables when investigating the roles of rural women under changing conditions is likely to result in assumptions which are not valid and defeat the objectives of the best-intentioned policies.

An Approach to Rural Development

IN view of the complexity characterizing women's lives and roles, the definition of rural development has to be a broadbased one. The general tendency in most developing countries has been to separate rural development into many narrow compartments – sometimes entrusted to different administrative agencies.

Women have featured more largely in programmes for health, education, and family welfare, but have generally been forgotten in the designing of economic development programmes and institutional infrastructures.

In the Seminar's view, everything that may affect or change life in the rural areas has to be seen as part of rural development. Thus schemes for location of large projects (irrigation, power-generation, heavy or other industry), improving communications and transport, crash employment-generating programmes through relief and other types of public works, creation of large multipurpose corporations (e.g., for procurement, marketing, and pricing of agricultural or handicraft products, agricultural or rural development banks, etc.) public distribution systems, community development and supportive services – each of these may impinge on women's lives. Development of urban centres and the opening of large commercial markets, with increasing role of capital and wholesale trade, can produce either positive or negative effects on rural life, particularly for women.

When development introduces or increases inequalities within rural society, women, at least the poorest ones, become doubly underprivileged, first as members of the rural poor and then as women. While some of these trends call for a reappraisal of the strategy of development itself, the Seminar felt that many of these negative effects could be easily avoided by a careful examination of women's role at an early stage of a scheme and built-in systems to ensure greater involvement and participation of women in all development in rural areas.

Women's development cannot be separated from, or viewed in isolation from, the development of the whole community. Nor can separate programmes for women, detached from general programmes, achieve their objectives, even if they were provided with adequate resources, which is hardly the case at present. However, in view of the

“invisibility barrier” that has prevented planners in the past from considering women’s real roles in relation to development process, i.e., as participants, sometimes victims, and not merely as passive beneficiaries, special institutions and services may be necessary for some time to act as investigators, advisers, pressure groups, and communication channels between women and the complex institutional structures involved in planning and implementing development in the rural areas – their roles can be compared to those of midwives – easing the birth pangs of a new approach to rural development.

In order to achieve greater specificity and practical consideration of particular sets of problems, the Seminar set up three task forces whose reports are given in Part I. As mentioned earlier, socio-legal institutions such as family, marriage, and law play an enormous part in influencing women’s roles and status in the eyes of the community, the planners and the administrators, of internal development agencies, as well as within the narrow framework of the family, and in women’s own perception of their roles. Tension between prescribed and actual roles can be oppressive, a frequent situation for women in modern society. The first task force, therefore, considered the influence of family structure, kinship patterns, marriage and divorce, and legal systems of women’s roles.

The re-definition of rural development called for a new approach to rural services, and an examination of how such services have operated in Third World countries. It was considered necessary to identify problems which restrict women’s access to such services, and to suggest specific measures for different target groups, instead of depending on general principles. This task was entrusted to the second task force.

Discussion throughout the Seminar highlighted the fact that success of all programmes would hinge on increasing women’s participation, particularly of actual target groups in order to (a) change or reorient thinking at policy-making levels; (b) to move from empty generalizations to concrete measures; and (c) to increase women’s self-reliance and determination to play a more active role in the development process. The third task force, therefore, examined various experiments to mobilize women operating in different countries, identified special problems, and indicated ways of dealing with them.

The Seminar examined a number of ongoing development projects,

selecting some for case-study treatment, utilizing the existing literature on women in development and expertise available in the IDS, to suggest possible ways to improve women's participation and contribution. The results of this exercise are given in Part II.

Participants with similar professional interests drafted brief and practical guidelines for planners, researchers and field personnel, which were accepted by the Seminar and appear in Part III.

The Appendices contain a few selected papers, summary of the topic-oriented plenary sessions, a directory of projects considered by the Seminar, and the list of participants.

The Seminar made many recommendations. The most significant ones are summarized below:

1. *Social Security and the Extended Family*

Efforts should be made to avoid the breakdown of the extended family arrangements in order to ensure the maintenance of fundamental social services which are offered free within the family and which the State in less developed countries cannot afford to provide as yet.

2. *Marriage*

The different existing types of marriage (customary, religious, and civil) should be investigated with a view to protecting the rights of women and children.

3. *Family Courts*

Family Courts accessible and with women members should be set up to deal with family problems and disputes in a conciliatory manner. In addition, "legal literacy" among rural women should be promoted.

4. *Legislation*

Legislation should be reviewed periodically to ensure that it keeps in tune with changing male and female roles and responsibilities, and that it safeguards not only men's but also women's rights.

5. *Land Titles*

It should be possible for land titles to be held by women

particularly in female-headed households. Joint title arrangements should also be considered.

6. *Productive Services*

Productive as well as social services should be made accessible to all rural dwellers irrespective of sex. In sex-segregated societies there is a need for female extension workers who would offer advice on productive as well as welfare activities.

7. *Appropriate Technologies*

These should be developed and made available to rural women to help improve their productivity and reduce the labour input necessary in domestic activities.

8. *Women's Participation in Institutions*

Women's participation should be ensured in cooperatives, training institutions, credit institutions, agricultural labour unions, and other such organizations.

9. *Primary Education*

Free and compulsory primary education should be implemented for both sexes. Efforts should be made to increase the relevance of educational content for rural people. Education should include information on the productive roles of women as well as men, and should not be sex-specific. Opportunities for secondary schooling for girls should be extended wherever they are lacking. Vocational training programmes should be provided on the basis of present and future market needs. The timing of educational facilities should be adjusted to suit local work cycles.

10. *Health Care Programmes*

Health Care Programmes should give high priority to preventive services. Expectant mothers and children under five years of age require special attention. Taking into account the recommendations made in the World Population Plan of Action and the relevant resolutions adopted in Bucharest, the Seminar feels that the provisions of family planning and maternal and child health information and services should be part of the regular health programmes in rural areas.

11. *Child Care Centres*

To encourage women to take further training or to involve them in productive work outside the home, or to ease their domestic work load if they are already involved in agricultural or wage employment, government or self-help day care centres should be set up in rural areas.

12. *Women's Groups*

Women's groups at grass-roots level should be encouraged to enable rural women to participate in decisions being made affecting their own and their children's lives and to improve their self-awareness and self-respect.

13. *Mobilization of Women*

When mobilizing rural women modern as well as traditional channels and structures should be used where appropriate and the presence and participation of women in them should be ensured. Mobilization is most likely to be effective if it is linked to income-generating activities and takes into account local work patterns.

14. *Role of Official and Voluntary Agencies*

Official as well as voluntary agencies should cooperate in helping rural women form their own associations. They should work with rural women, rather than for them.

15. *Utilization of Local Skilled People and Leaders*

Every effort should be made to make use of local skilled people and leadership giving them training (pre-service and in-service) where necessary. Local skilled women should be used to teach in vocational training programmes, staff community health services, and as extension workers.

16. *Research and Monitoring*

There is a need for policy and action-oriented research which ought to have a grass-roots level component, particularly focusing on women and their economic activities.

PART I

TASK FORCE REPORTS



Report of the Task Force on “Family, Marriage and Law”

THE task force investigated the impact of recent socio-economic developments and legislative framework on the roles of women in their intra-familial setting.

A. *Family Structure*

The task force began its discussion by looking at the complexity of women's roles within different family structures. Family is the basic unit of the society; however, it is debated as to what precisely constitutes a family and what its functions are. In most parts of the world women have been traditionally more family-introverted than their menfolk; hence, an understanding of their many intra-familial roles is a pre-requisite to the planning and implementation of measures to bring rural women within the orbit of development. Some idea of the differences that characterize women's familial and extra-familial roles in the traditional and newly emerging family structures is indicated in Chart I.

Family structure is an important issue because the view of the family which predominates in the mind of the policy-makers is the visible, usually middle class, urban family which in fact may not always be the norm in the rural context, particularly among peasant populations.

In examining the more traditional structures, e.g., the *extended family*, it was generally felt that the positive features of this system need to be viewed afresh especially in the context of the high cost and impersonality of similar services now provided by the state in developed countries.

Family structures are flexible and adapt to changing conditions. e.g., the “*share-family*”, defined as “a number of near kin – agnatic or affinal – who live separately with their families but who have agreed to share responsibility for their income as well as their expenditure”,* may be a significant new family structure because it provides some of the services and human qualities of an extended family while

*Epstein, S., *South India: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, p. 207.

CHART 1: The Role of Women in Different Family Structures

Family structures	No. of adult generations	Role of women				
		Intra-Familial			Extra-Familial	
		Formal Male/Female	Informal Male/Female	Female/Female	Formal Male/Female	Informal Male/Female
<i>Traditional Extended Family</i>						
(a) Patri-virilocal	Two	dominant/sub-ordinate sex-specific roles	possibly equal or female dominance	mother-in-law dominance	female subordination	examples of male dependence on women, money-lenders; women select brides for sons
(b) Matri-uxorilocal	Two	dominant/sub-ordinate or equal sex-specific roles	likely equal or female dominance	mother/daughter respect relation	female subordination	male dependence on wives
(c) Polygynous	Two	dominant/subordinate	female dependence on male family head	great wife dominance over all other wives	female subordination	female dependence on male head of family
(d) Nuclear	One	husband/wife overlapping roles	equal or male dominance	—	equal	equal

Changing to

(a) Share Family	One	husband/wife sex-specific roles	possibly equal or female dominance	—	female subordination	male dependence on women
(b) Matrifocal Extended Family	Two	men peripheral overlapping roles	female independence	mother/daughter cooperation	female independence	female independence
(c) Nuclear Family	One	husband/wife overlapping roles	equal or male dominance	—	male dominance	male dominance
(d) Sibling Family	One	brother/sister female dominance	female dominance	sister's cooperation	female subordination	female subordination
(e) Single Parent Family	One	—	—	—	female subordination	female subordination

permitting the parents and children to have their own living units. This structure may come into existence when one brother stays in the village to farm the family land and another migrates to the town to earn a cash income. Their resources are pooled to provide a joint family income, thus perpetuating the positive aspect of extended family, while allowing the social and geographical mobility essential for economic development.

Another assumption is that all families are male-headed, which is far from being the case. There are different types of female-headed families: In the *matrifocal extended family* with the men in a visiting relationship the core of the family is located in the women's (mother and daughter) home, with the men playing a peripheral role. This is an important pattern to bear in mind, because it is generally forgotten that women often are the heads of households and responsible for the family income and thus should be included in any scheme to provide economic opportunity. The same consideration has to be extended to the *single parent family* where again the woman is not a dependant but the provider for the whole family. There also exist *sibling families* resulting from sickness, death, or migration of senior members. The pattern which generally evolves is of the elder sister assuming the responsibilities of the head of the family, providing the economic and emotional support.

In most, if not all, cases she is ill-prepared and ill-equipped to perform the roles of both parent and breadwinner, and her task is more difficult in the absence of social recognition of her roles. In areas where the increasing breakdown of traditional kinship systems under pressure of economic changes is responsible for the emergence of such families, special supportive measures, though needed, are regrettably absent.

These illustrations give one a glimpse of the complexities of the situation. The point to be borne in mind is that projects, laws, etc., can change family structures, and conversely family structure can have a profound impact on the implementation of any scheme. For example, if single parent female-headed households form a significant proportion of the population, but are not taken into consideration in the formulation of laws, delivery arrangements of social services and development schemes then they lower woman's position in the community still further. Families with women heads of households have been left out of a resettlement project in Central America, because heads of households were defined as "male". Similarly, in the

milk producers' cooperative in India, although women are often the producers, no provision has been made for them to be members of the milk marketing cooperatives.

At this juncture it should be pointed out that the group's knowledge is limited to family structures at certain levels and in certain countries and the need for research in this area appeared as essential for the purpose of enhancing women's roles in development.

B. Kinship Patterns

Closely related to family structures are kinship patterns which have a significant impact on the position of women.

The minimal premise of kinship is that it is concerned with the allocation of rights and their transmission from one generation to the next. These rights are not of any specific kind but are varied; they include primarily rights of group membership, succession to office, inheritance of property, locality of residence, and type of occupation.

In matrilineal societies the smallest consanguinal unit, entitled to inheritance, is the unit consisting of the daughters (who are sisters) with their descendants and their brothers, thus excluding the wives and descendants of these brothers. According to this system, it is the women who continued the family line though inheritance is still likely to be passed through the male line, i.e., from mother's brother to sister's son. Consequently, in a family without immediate daughters the lineage continues by way of classificatory kin.

Conversely, in patrilineal societies, descent and the right to inheritance follow the male line; consequently, if a family has no sons, classificatory kin are grafted on to continue the lineage.

In bilateral societies such as in Java (Indonesia) both men and women continue the genealogical line and are equally entitled to inheritance. Thus, in this case either a son or a daughter is not a prerequisite for the continuation of the family.

These traditional laws of inheritance operate widely and even if laws are enacted to give women equal rights of inheritance, they may be inoperative if customary practice prevails. It is only when women are more economically independent and can exercise their rights that the laws of inheritance will become meaningful.

To further expand the topic of inheritance and the rights of children, the rights or the lack of rights of adopted children (or if adoption is even possible) must be considered.

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To further expand the topic of inheritance and the rights of children, the rights or the lack of rights of adopted children (or if adoption is even possible) must be considered.

It must also be pointed out that kinship patterns not only affect inheritance but may affect the decision-making process within the family and this is an important factor to remember when trying to mobilize the population. For example, when similar in many respects to a legal marriage but the absence of a legal union leaves the women and the children without any legal claim to the man's property in the event of death or desertion. It is suggested that since it sometimes is the dominant family pattern common-law unions should be recognized thus giving legal protection to the women and children.

C. Marriage

Marriage and/or parenthood form the basis of the family. Culturally recognized marriages, i.e., recognized by custom, religion, or the secular state, give women and men socially recognized status and provide the offsprings of such unions with socially recognized positions.

Customary marriages in most parts of the world preceded the adoption of formal legal codes.

Most customary marriages are accompanied by marriage payment which in societies without written records helps legalize the marriage contract. The broadening of the economic horizon and the influx of new wealth appear to have resulted in inflation of marriage payments. Everywhere it is felt that the consent of both parties to a marriage should be obtained and great efforts, social and legal, should be made to prevent inflation and exploitation of the system of marriage payments, i.e., bride wealth which is given to the bride's family and dowry which is presented to the groom's family in a situation where the payments are a ritual element in the marriage ceremony (a symbol of the bond between husband and wife) the payment should be controlled. High marriage payments tend to debar poorer boys and girls from the opportunity to marry, but in a situation where the payments are perceived as a barrier to marriage, and the cause of reducing marriage to a commercial transaction, and have directly adverse consequences on the status, happiness, and security of the young bride, they should be prohibited.

Closely associated with inflationary marriage payment is the problem of indebtedness which may be incurred as a result of borrowing for social expenditures such as marriage rather than for productive purposes. Rural indebtedness due to this is such that

moneylenders thrive; there are even women moneylenders who exploit their poorer neighbours. It was discovered that in most rural societies there were traditional "revolving credit associations" (savings societies) operated by women which were not part of the formal credit system but rather informal arrangements between villagers. These should be encouraged as they provide an alternative to the high rate of interest charged by the rural moneylenders.

Secular marriages are conducted on the basis of codified rules. Such codes have often been superimposed on existing "customary marriage" arrangements without due consideration being given to the full impact of legislation on the customary roles and rights of men and women, resulting in the loss of previously enjoyed rights and protection. Legislation should always be consistent and promote the raising of status of women as well as the preservation of the family so that effect of one law to increase the status of women is not counter-balanced by others, which by implication or specifically introduces discrimination against women. Legislation should not overlook the fact that society in less developed countries is diverse both ethnically and religiously. In many cases customary laws have evolved over a period of time which statutory laws tend to ignore.

D. Divorce

In the case of divorce also there is often a wide divergence between law and practice largely because women are unaware of their legal rights. For example, the law of a country may often give the right of divorce to women and men equally, but the woman may be either too timid to take advantage of her rights or she may not be even aware of her rights. Often arbitration councils or courts which are set up to deal with divorce and marriage problems are totally male-dominated so that the woman may never be given the opportunity to state her case. Women might be assisted in this if there are women on these councils or in the courts. Where divorce proceedings are implemented it is important that there be an expeditious disposal of these cases to prevent immense hardship to all involved.

The cost of divorce, both in terms of legal cost and sometimes in terms of return of marriage payments (or Mehr under Muslim law), may be an effective barrier to starting proceedings. However, if divorce is desirable, given the situation, there should be attempts to minimize costs, especially for poor rural women who may not have access to any funds.

Marriage guidance services may be beneficial for rural women by helping them acquaint with their legal rights as well as by providing badly-needed expert counselling.

E. Legal Procedure

In most countries statutory laws governing family matters are based on the adversary principle which means that judgements are made on points raised and argued rather than on social needs. This may be particularly detrimental in marital disputes and the custody and guardianship of children. Instead of the adversary principle, conciliation should be the main consideration in family matters. The Family Court system which has been set up in Japan is a good example of a desirable solution. The Japanese experience involved:

1. a change in the role of the lawyer from adversary to conciliator;
2. the court procedure is less formal than the civil court;
3. one of the conciliation commissioners is usually a woman; and
4. secrecy of Family Courts, as the proceedings are not open to the public.

The Arbitration Councils which have been set up in some countries where Muslim law prevails were also considered to be a desirable innovation, but it was pointed out that they need to be more widely dispersed in order to be accessible to even the poorest rural women. They should also, wherever possible, have women members.

F. Labour Laws

When discussing labour laws within the rural sector of the Third World there are two important considerations:

1. the wage sector to which these laws should be applicable may be a very small percentage of the total rural labour force; and
2. even within the rural wage sector the laws are at present not enforceable due to lack of labour organization. (This topic is further discussed in the report of the Task Force on Mobilization.)

In regard to the first point, there exists a great need for giving recognition to the unpaid family workers (non-wage labour) who are

by and large women and produce bulk of agricultural output but do not qualify for legal protection in terms of rewards and conditions of work. They should be defined as part of the labour force and thus be included in rural development schemes.

There was also a discussion on minimum wage laws as they applied to the rural wage sector. It was suggested that (appropriate) wages in kind could help to combat inflation plus providing minimum nutritional needs. This may be seen as an alternative to combat the common pattern of the men receiving the wage which may never reach the household budget but be used on frivolous and harmful pursuits, e.g., alcoholism and other drug addiction, gambling, etc. It was reported that payment of cash wages to men in a development project resulted in a sudden increase in polygamy and even physical fights between husbands and wives for the money needed for food and other necessities of the family.

G. Access to Legal Procedure

A vital problem admitted is the rural women's, particularly the poorer women's, lack of access to needed legal services. Simplification of procedures to make the legal process more intelligible to the people, less costly, more accessible with free legal aid for those who need it, are essential if "equality before the law" is to extend beyond the elite classes in the societies. Rural women, with their present handicaps of illiteracy, ignorance of rights and procedures, poverty and lack of mobility, constitute a distinctly deprived or under-privileged group in their ability to seek protection or redress from the law. Women should be made aware of their legal rights by the spread of legal "literacy". But it must be remembered that when spreading the codified legal system the existing customary laws may in some instances serve the women better and thus the codified law should not necessarily take precedence over the customary system.

A coherent legal system is also necessary; the effect of one law to increase the status of women must not be counter-balanced by others which, by implication or specifically, introduce discrimination against women. This has been frequently observed in property and inheritance laws. In a field like social legislation, which touch everyday aspects of family life (marriage, maintenance, divorce and children, adoption, custody, inheritance), it is important to schedule a periodic review of the laws and their impact in order to ensure that they keep in step with

the requirements of the changing situation, particularly in view of the operational inflexibility of all legal systems.

Recommendations

1. In spite of the considerable volume of available research on the family, the diversity that characterizes this institution at different levels is not sufficiently understood. The image of the family and particularly the women's role in the family that dominates is mainly that of the middle class.

It is important to get more realistic background data on the differences in patterns of family organization with consequent variation in the norms governing the lives of women and bringing up of children of both sexes in the rural sector. In the absence of such understanding development programmes are sometimes responsible for the reinforcement of traditional middle class stereotypes in sex roles and values governing the behaviour of women and men.

2. Both the planners and the legislators should bear in mind that the extended family and the newly emerging share family structures provide fundamental social services (for example, care of children and the elderly, socialization of children), which the state in LDCs cannot afford to provide. Thus, care should be taken not to cause the break-up of these structures.

When change has already caused the traditional family structures and kinship patterns to disintegrate, then it is necessary to provide assistance to those who have suffered as a result, for example, the widows and abandoned wives who no longer have a kin group to help them.

3. Marriage laws should be reviewed when and where necessary. When a woman cohabits with a man in a common-law relationship for a period of not less than five years, she should be entitled to an equal share of any property acquired during the cohabitation.

All children, born whether in wedlock or out of wedlock, should enjoy equal rights of succession to their father's estate.

4. An effective means should be found of standardizing or in some cases prohibiting marriage payments when instead of being the traditional gift of exchange sealing the marriage bond they have become an inflationary trade transaction.

5. Due to the problem of indebtedness which arises in the rural areas when there is a lack of legitimate sources of credit for

non-productive needs, such as marriage, burial rites, existing traditional credit facilities should be encouraged and perhaps institutionalized to free the people from the clutches of the moneylenders.

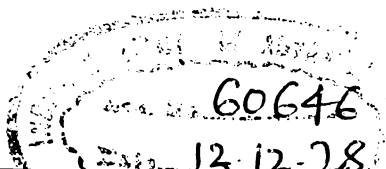
6. There needs to be further investigation into the position of the rural unpaid family workers. This group of workers includes a large part of the rural work force, especially the women involved in subsistence farming. Therefore, ways must be found to include them in the legally defined labour force and thereby see that they are involved in the ongoing or future development schemes.

7. It is recommended that family matters should be dealt with in a different manner than other civil laws. Family Courts could be set up to replace the adversary principle with conciliation, where procedure is less formal than in other courts, where women are included as members and where the court is not open to the public.

Where Muslim law is in force, Arbitration Councils, such as those found in Pakistan, should be encouraged. They should be located so as to be within easy reach of the rural population and women should be included as members.

8. There is a need for the spread of legal "literacy", especially in the case of rural women who are particularly isolated from the legal system by their poverty and sex, to make every person aware of their rights before the law (e.g., the right of bilateral divorce in most countries). To facilitate this it will be essential to simplify the legal procedure so that the rural population can deal with it, to make the system physically accessible and to make the process cheaper, including providing free legal aid when necessary.

A cautionary note must be introduced at this point, in that the codified legal system should not necessarily be superimposed on a customary uncoded system because the customary laws may in fact provide better protection to the rural women. There is a need for a better understanding of the full implication of the existing system before rushing in with reform.



Report of the Task Force on “Access to Rural Services”

IT is important to define basic terms such as rural services, access, and target group in order to identify and resolve problems which have affected the implementation of rural services, particularly in the case of women. Rural services should include all of the welfare and development services needed to improve the quality of rural life and develop its human resources. In the case of rural women, this includes:

- (a) services that recognize and aid women's existing functions, making their multiple roles more effective and less burdensome;
- (b) services that provide new skills and knowledge to widen women's ability to perform new functions; and
- (c) services that promote the development of an effective institutional infrastructure within their physical, social, and intellectual reach, through which they can articulate their felt needs and increase their self-reliance in solving their problems.

Access has often been identified solely with availability. It has been generally seen as a one-way process of supplying adequate resources to a consumers' market and simultaneously educating the market to accept the service provided. Experience and research, however, show that there are physical, social, and organizational constraints operating in rural society which prevent people, particularly women, from availing themselves of even existing services.

It is, therefore, necessary to specify problems that affect the demand as well as the supply of these services. Some of them can be eliminated through organizational changes, allocation of additional resources (wherever possible within national resource constraints), or effective communication systems. Some are, however, deeply rooted in the culture and the nature of the socio-economic and political system, and call for major changes, which are outside the scope of this Seminar. The measures recommended here are mainly directed to improving the existing structure, to bring them within the reach of rural women of all sections.

- (i) Problems of access firstly arise because of scarcity of resources

and the allocation of priorities among services. Most countries do not provide separate rural services for women except those falling under welfare or health. This is based on a failure to understand the real roles that women play in rural society, where the majority of them are engaged in productive functions such as agriculture, handicrafts, etc., and are primarily responsible for provisioning and survival of their families. The small amount of resources allocated to services for women indicates a failure to see that improving women's earning power is necessary for the general development of rural society.

- (ii) Programmes designed for rural women do not take into account the time they have at their disposal. It is often wrongly assumed that rural women have sufficient free time to take part in non-formal educational programmes, e.g., literacy, family welfare, nutrition and child care, etc. Unless these programmes take into account women's excessive burden of work and attempt to reduce it, such services will continue to reach only the affluent leisured women.
- (iii) Such problems really spring from a failure to define actual target groups. Rural women are often visualized as an undifferentiated category, but in societies with considerable economic and social diversity within rural areas, the failure to differentiate between categories of rural women and their differing needs destroy a service or restricts its reach to the more affluent and dominant sections. Where such differentiation is not pronounced, access to services is limited to women in close proximity. It is, therefore, important to identify the target group for any service; the claim being of the poorest working women, viz., those engaged in agriculture as subsistence farmers, family workers, or wage labourers. These women require immediate aid for their productivity and survival.
- (iv) The spatial location of service institutions, the origin and characteristics of change agents, their lack of physical mobility etc., also restrict access to service. When the distance is too great, the immediate utility of the service is outweighed by the time and travel. Nomadic populations and seasonal labour migration have other special problems. Change agents of urban origin do not adapt easily in rural society. Sometimes their youth and low status in the bureaucratic hierarchy make them unacceptable to the local population. This is particularly the case with family-

planning workers.

- (v) The diversity and multiplicity of different service agencies often bewilder the rural population. Because rural women have little spare time, multiplicity acts as a deterrent and discourages them from making use of these services.
- (vi) For most women even basic services such as health and nutrition education are meaningful only if they are of direct use to their families. For poverty-stricken families, ways of improving their earning capacity still remain the basic need. Without this emphasis utilization of other services offered to rural women will remain ineffective for the groups who need them most. The services discussed in the following pages of this section must therefore be offered as an integrated network.

A. Services to Improve Productivity and Earning Power

These services should be based on

- (a) The work the majority of women actually do, and the skills they have – to improve them; and
- (b) Designating new, feasible work-areas, as supplementary or alternative opportunities – to develop their earning powers.

I. AGRICULTURE

Though the large mass of women in the Third World are engaged in agriculture, very few countries have provided them access to new knowledge, technology, and other services to improve their performance. On the other hand, modernization in agriculture has often displaced women.* Services to promote women's development have tended to think only of alternative, generally subsidiary (e.g., handicrafts for the tourist market) channels for women's economic activity.

This bias perhaps springs from the patriarchal philosophy inherent in the industrial revolution. In agrarian societies participation in the primary sector of the economy was the woman's traditional right and influenced, very greatly, her status in the family and society, and the

*Originally indicated by E. Boserup in *Role of Women in Economic Development*, this pattern is now confirmed by an increasing body of new research.

pattern of social values. Detachment of women from these roots has not always produced happy results. Agriculture will remain the major employment sector in developing countries for a long time. Recognition and strengthening of women's existing contribution with improved skills and resources, is essential to extend their role in all development, particularly in the rural sector.

Target groups for agricultural services can be separated into the following broad categories, according to the nature of their problems:

- (a) Subsistence farmers, whose basic needs are for better tools, seeds, fertilizers, knowledge of soil conservation, etc. It is reported that in many African countries, where subsistence farming is mainly done by women, access to modern methods of agriculture is available only for cash crop farmers, who are generally men. In some parts of India, women engaged in shifting cultivation for subsistence have been displaced with the introduction of new methods and technology to improve productivity since the training was provided only to men.
- (b) Small and marginal farmers, in situations of land scarcity – (India, Bangladesh, Indonesia) – whose access to both training and supplies of needed inputs is restricted by poverty and high prices. When freely supplied by the state, these services are apt to be monopolized by large landowners, and the dominant members of rural society. Falling productivity in small farms pushes women (and men) into the wage-sector, to supplement the family's income or to repay debts. Services and institutions (cooperatives, credit facilities, small farmers' development agencies) created for this group have often failed to recognize women's claim to such services.
- (c) Landless agricultural labourers, who face low wages, seasonal fluctuation of earnings, migration, chronic indebtedness, malnutrition, and vulnerability to exploitation and ill-treatment by both employers and their men. Their basic needs are :
 - (i) protection of minimum wage, discrimination against women being the general rule; and
 - (ii) more rewarding alternative and supplementary earning opportunities to increase their bargaining power.

Without the latter, and collective organizations to support them, this poorest group of working women cannot withstand the

exploitation by employers, who pay subsistence wages to women because they provide a surplus labour force.

- (d) All women who engage in specific operations in post-harvest processing and storage, as family or wage-workers, but have little access to modern methods in such operations. While cultural factors designate these as women's jobs, denial of training in modern methods leads to low productivity and wastage of both produce and labour power. It should also be noted that adoption of modern technology for post-harvest operations on a commercial scale (e.g., rice-milling in Indonesia and India) has contributed to displacement of many women from the agricultural sector.

2. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, FISHERIES, HORTICULTURE, SERICULTURE, ETC.

The major work in these industries is done by women but institutions created, e.g., cooperatives, training centres, credit facilities, generally exclude them. When a new industry is introduced to which the people are not accustomed, e.g., fisheries in certain areas of Kenya, their training has not included methods of preservation, marketing, and consumption of the produce, explaining the difference that it could make to the family's life, e.g., nutritional value of fish for children and mothers.

3. AGRO-BASED AND SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES

Local markets are easily accessible to women. Overdependence on tourist trade, foreign markets, or wholesale dealers resulted in failures of many well-intentioned programmes. Traditional handicrafts need to be preserved, but excessive emphasis on such crafts for women has frequently resulted in stockpiling of goods and wastage of labour power.

4. TRADE AND COMMERCE

One of the market trends noted in many developing countries is the gradual erosion of women's role as traders and market women. Easy and cheap transport to market centres, availability of credit, access to techniques of preservation, packaging, pricing, and sales promotion

could help to arrest this trend, and increase opportunities for rural women.

5. SERVICES TO REDUCE BURDEN OF HOUSEHOLD WORK

Rural women spend a long part of their time fetching water, fuel, cooking, cleaning, washing, child care, carrying food/water to men in the family working in the fields, etc. Communalization of some of these services would reduce women's burden (e.g., South Korean practice).

B. Health Services

Health care systems in developing countries have been modelled on those of developed countries and are unsuitable to local conditions. Developing countries have a lot of preventable health problems but spend most of their health budgets on curative care. Three-quarters of the deaths are due to conditions that can be prevented at low cost. Immunization, nutrition programmes, a safe water supply, and adequate sanitation would greatly increase health standards.

To date, the major share of health resources has been spent on hospitals and specialized training which has a limited capacity to serve and a strong urban bias. Though of three-quarters of the population in most developing countries live in rural areas, three-quarters of the medical budget is spent in urban areas, and also three-quarters of the doctors live there. If one looks at the utilization of health care, one may divide the population into three categories.

Type A – Quite effectively use all services	5-10%
Type B – Make some use (make relatively good use of curative services but little of preventive)	30-60%
Type C – Make practically no use (mostly the poorest, illiterate and living in rural areas)	20-40%

Even when a health facility exists in a rural community, the social distance between the educated urban health workers and the local population may hinder access.

Pregnant women and the children under five are "the most at risk group" and require special access to health services. It is also important that the system be designed to take into account cultural

constraints; the absence of women health workers may restrict their access to health facilities. In traditional society, it should be noted that the delivery of health care was the responsibility of women. The formalization and professionalization of the health care system has taken this rôle away from women.

C. Education

Though education has for long been accepted as the crucial service to assist women in playing wider and more effective rôle in development, recent experience in most developing countries has led to considerable rethinking about education's impact on development. The high cost of formal education, particularly of secondary and higher education, has resulted in a severe imbalance in educational investment, increasing inequality of access between different sections of the population. Rural populations, particularly rural women, have been specially deprived as a result. Even where schools are available, girls from poorer families are unable to utilize them because their services are needed by the family, on farms, or in the household.

The increasing tendency of the selection function to dominate formal educational systems has reduced the utility of this service to those who are rejected by it, or drop out of the system, among whom women form the majority. The domination of the curricula and teaching methods by the examination system has resulted in increasing irrelevance, and has added to the urban, white-collared bias inherent in the system.

Thirdly, the formal system is limited to reach young people, and cannot assist older women to overcome their illiteracy. Non-formal education, designed to bridge this gap, suffers from certain limitations, enjoys low status and priority, and is often seen only as a poor man's, or woman's, option to formal education.

Apart from the usual constraints on the supply of formal education (which may not necessarily operate in all situations), viz., inadequacy of teachers, schools, boarding schools (particularly needed in areas of small scattered settlements, or nomadic populations), equipment, etc., there are certain special problems which affect rural women's access. These may be (i) bad timing of school hours (when members of agricultural families are needed for farm work); (ii) distance from homes; (iii) early marriage; (iv) heavy family responsibilities; (v) priority given by families to educating sons; and lack of guidance on

the importance of educating girls; (vi) perceived irrelevance – because formal education is not generally geared to improving productive or earning power; and (vii) absence of women teachers (in regions where sex-segregation is the cultural norm).

Non-formal programmes available for women have generally emphasized literacy and family welfare – e.g., nutrition, child care, health, family planning, and home economics. Even functional literacy programmes, being emphasized in recent years, have seldom included improvement of productivity or earning power – when applied to women. At times they have sought to generate new economic activity – (e.g., garment sewing, handicrafts) – but such training has not necessarily led to increase of earning power, in the absence of supportive measures (organized production and marketing), and hence has not received sustained response from women. Lack of follow-up measures has often led to loss of skills (including literacy) taught through non-formal courses.

Centralization of planning for formal educational programmes, multiplicity and overlapping of agencies for non-formal programmes, and sex-stereotyping in contents of courses (both formal and non-formal) have prevented relating content and methods of teaching to local, perceived needs of rural women of different sections. If education is to fulfil its expected and necessary role in rural development then these obstacles will have to be overcome.

D. Housing

From the common woman's (or man's) point of view, housing represents a basic need – a shelter for the family. Yet its recognition as a service is not universal. In urban areas increasing pressure of migrant population and proliferation of slums have led to a realization of the problem, but the issues are confused by contradictory approaches. Housing is still regarded and operates as an industry – where the question of financial returns governs investment decision. At the same time, questions of environmental sanitation and public health and social evils resulting from inadequate shelter press for its recognition as a service. A third complication arises from high standards adopted from developed and affluent countries, which call for enormous investments not within the reach of less developed countries.

The new approach to housing being advocated by some

international development agencies (e.g., the World Bank) suggests a reappraisal of the earlier theory that housing programmes lead to inflationary tendencies. Instead, it is now claimed that they could well lead to employment generation. Such reappraisal may lead to changing the criteria for planned investment in housing in Third World countries.

Most of the research and planning in this field has been concentrated on the urban sector, and the Task Force was thus unable to obtain any expert advice. A few illustrations were available of rural housing projects which by ignoring women's needs, had added to their burdens, or deprived them of some much-needed assistance. The houses provided for farming families in the Mwea Project (Kenya) did not include kitchens, or plots for vegetable gardening – which resulted in lowered nutrition for the families, and enormous difficulties for the women. Another project (Botswana) did not provide washing places for women, and ruled against provision of hencoops – again leading to a detrimental effect on family nutrition.

There is a need for a comparative overview of housing policies in developing countries. Especially in the rural context, they must be related to the lives and needs of the people – particularly of women, who provide the central core of rural households. Women must therefore be consulted at the planning stage.

E. Organizational Services

Examination of the problems of access for each of the services reveals that without greater involvement of women in the network of organizations engaged in planning and implementing development programmes, the problems of relating services to needs of target groups, and preventing imbalance in access cannot be overcome.

While the need for greater representation of women in decision-making bodies is now admitted, the group felt that for rural areas, village level women's associations, within the reach of rural women, could be a crucial lever – (a) to bridge the communication gap between planners and themselves, (b) to ensure adequate consideration of women's needs by all other local agencies such as cooperatives, credit institutions, local councils, etc., and (c) to provide an institutional framework for integrating various services for women. Participation in such associations would also promote playing a greater role in public life, and self-reliance.

A suggestion was also made that greater involvement of women in certain established governmental services, e.g., police, posts and telegraphs, could well contribute to : (a) better and more sympathetic attention to women's problems, (b) raising women's general status in rural society. Such involvement already exists in the urban areas of some developing countries. While local situations may not permit the experiment everywhere, it is worth trying wherever possible. The Task Force felt that non-representation of women in such services might be responsible for actual oppression in certain situations.

For instance, cases of actual or threatened physical molestation often go unreported in the absence of women in the police force. Women recipients of money sent through the post often receive them late or not at all. Illiterate women have difficulties in receiving messages from family members who are away.

Since rural society attaches considerable prestige to these services, women's participation in them may help to eliminate some prejudices against them. It would also help to avoid excessive emphasis on sex-stereotyping of work and roles.

Recommendations

A. RURAL PRODUCTIVE SERVICES

1. All services for women in rural areas should be integrated and offered as a package programme. The centre of all these services – agriculture, education, health care, nutrition, family planning, and vocational training – must be directed towards improving women's earning capacity, increasing their productivity, and making economic activity less burdensome.
2. Access to new knowledge and technology for the agricultural tasks they perform must be provided to women along with men.
3. The general principle in developing agro-based and small-scale industries and services should aim at locally needed goods and services, e.g., processed food, garments, accessories for schools, child care, general health care, household equipment, etc.
4. While undertaking land reform and redistribution, special attention should be given to claims of women to own land in their own right, particularly of female-headed households.
5. Agricultural labour unions should be organized, for both men and women, but there should be separate women's wings to work against wage discrimination. Such organizations should be given

state protection to curtail attempts by powerful employers to crush them.

6. Women must be encouraged to join cooperatives, training centres, credit institutions, etc., for fisheries, horticulture, animal husbandry, sericulture since they do the major work in these industries.
7. Credit facilities and managerial training should be provided for women in trade and commerce.
8. Appropriate technology should develop energy, other than electricity, to improve fuel supply, particularly for cooking.
9. Women's work in family enterprises should be recognized by according them the status of *workers* and estimating the value of their unpaid labour. Denial of this recognition contributes to their "invisibility" and results in discrimination in the provision of developmental services.

B. EDUCATION

1. Training programmes should be decentralized to meet local needs. Moderately qualified local personnel should be used with additional and/or in-service training which would help to reduce costs and increase grass-roots involvement in organizing programmes.
2. Greater emphasis should be placed on the provision of reading material, equipment and teaching aids rather than on highly qualified personnel and buildings. Mobile libraries and film units should be introduced to improve access.
3. The curricula should have greater relevance to rural life and should include vocational training, food processing, sex education, nutrition, farm programmes, bookkeeping, institution-organization skills. School brigades may be organized to undertake rural education programme.
4. Different agencies involved in education programmes should be integrated.
5. The timing of classes should be adjusted to suit seasonal agriculture and local work cycles.
6. Mass media should be used to increase the effectiveness of specific programmes.
7. More female teachers should be recruited to increase female participation since male teachers may be a cultural constraint under certain situations.

8. Non-formal vocational programmes should not be sex-oriented, and should aim at local market, e.g., sewing school uniforms, binding books, making school equipment, and should be a part of the total education programme to remove the impression in rural areas that this is a poor man's option. Market research should be directed to both quality and quantity.
9. Girl students should be integrated into village women's association so as to establish a two-way learning process.
10. Textbooks should be revised to emphasize a more positive and participatory role of women.
11. Local skilled people should be integrated into the educational process. Non-formal extension teachers could participate in formal education, e.g., family planning officer could teach accounting skills in cooperatives, or agricultural extension personnel could teach agricultural science.
12. Parent-teacher associations should be set up and incorporated into women's cooperatives.

C. HEALTH

1. Health should be part of an integrated approach to rural development.
2. The imbalance in allocation of services between rural and urban areas should be redressed and emphasis put on primary health care in rural areas.
3. There should be an integration of preventive and curative care with a much greater emphasis on preventive measures than there has been to date.
4. Local health priorities should be identified and services should be geared to these needs. There should be local participation to provide health facilities (e.g., health centres, water supply), and in organization and decision-making to ensure that the service is relevant and acceptable.
5. Local health workers should be selected by the community. Their training should be geared to existing conditions. Regular in-service training and on-the-job supervision are essential.
6. The possibility of incorporating traditional practitioners into the system should be investigated as they already have access to the local population.
7. The health superstructure should be geared to supporting

- programmes of this nature and a dialogue between the community and the system is necessary. This would give an opportunity for a free flow of information between the professionals and the community.
8. M.C.H. should be recognized as the priority area and treatment should offer comprehensive care for children including curative and preventive service, mother education, ante-natal care, and family planning. Nutrition rehabilitation centres should be integrated with the under-fives clinic.
 9. The organization of clinics and health education programmes must be geared to the seasonal and daily activities of the community.
 10. Taking into account the recommendations made in the World Population Plan of Action and the relevant resolutions adopted in Bucharest, governments should provide family planning and material and child health information and services as part of the regular health programmes in rural areas.

D. ORGANIZATIONAL SERVICES

1. Women's Associations should be constituted at village level to break through the barrier of invisibility and poor access to
 - (a) determine and articulate the felt needs of different groups of women;
 - (b) organize needed services with the assistance of professional and para-professional functionaries provided by the state and/or non-governmental organizations; and
 - (c) discuss issues affecting women (and children) and communicate their views to local and national authorities.
2. Women's Associations should generate their own savings for development work and increase community participation although they will require governmental support through funds, personnel, and training. The plans of action should be increasingly directed towards making them self-reliant and autonomous.
3. To encourage women to take further training or to involve them in productive work outside the home, or to ease their domestic work load if they already are involved in agricultural or wage employment, government or self-help day care centres should be set up in rural areas.

Report of the Task Force on “Mobilization and Self-reliance”

THE first decision of the group was to make suggestions to mobilize specifically the most neglected social groups usually out of reach of all benefits of development, to participate, to understand and absorb the benefits of development programmes.

Usually development efforts directed to these groups have been imposed from the top so that the most well-intentioned attempts at reaching these groups had failed or had tended to reach only the upper strata of society – including the upper strata of the poor.

The second decision of the group was to understand that the aim of attempts at mobilization should be to make these groups *strong* – which is synonymous with self-reliance. The neglected poor had usually received patronage – which was unsuitable, and the new strategy of reaching development to them should be to organize and stimulate *them* to reaching for it of their own will.

This would suggest that means must be found of making them aware of the various services and opportunities open to them.

While the “target group” was the neglected group, the most unprivileged sub-set of this group, viz. *women*, was identified as the specific group the Task Force would be concerned with.

While it was recognized that the success of such an attempt would depend on the overall political system, its intentions, its willingness to reach and strengthen these groups and the party system and its ideology, the group decided that they would discuss techniques of mobilization at the micro-level, using their individual experience and knowledge of potential, rather than attempt to discuss the framework as it was beyond jurisdiction.

The group focused on the following hierarchy of issues related to the mobilization and self-reliance of women:

- (i) Techniques of mobilization
- (ii) Forms of organization
- (iii) Mobilizing agents
- (iv) Research interests

(i) Techniques of Mobilization

Participants brought their own experience of the use of various

techniques of mobilization. Each technique was based on a facet of the socio-economic setting of the community. All the techniques of mobilization discussed by the Task Force seek to identify a nucleus, either institutional/informal around which to mobilize women of the target group. Examples of such nuclei are social/cultural gatherings, the network of local voluntary/government organizations, audio-visual techniques, group activities (regular "bazaars", sports events, etc.), and most significantly the introduction of "economic" activities.

Illustrations of social/cultural events that provide an entree to poor women's groups include the canvassing of "bhajan" sessions by SEWA in India, play acting in Jamaica, Corn-mill Societies in Cameroon, etc.

The various local voluntary/government bodies operating in developing countries include local self-government bodies in India and Pakistan, extension training centres in Sri Lanka, agricultural extension offices in Ghana, etc. However, the perceptions of the implementing agencies do not always coincide with the felt needs of the group they serve. This could be tackled by a conscious effort to provide a programme relevant to the beneficiaries. It was suggested that micro-level time allocational surveys should be conducted to identify the time constraints of the target group and to specify simple technological changes which would ensure that adequate time is released for the proposed beneficiaries to benefit from the programmes. Such micro surveys are in progress in Ghana, Kenya, India, etc.

Radio clubs, demonstrations, poster exhibitions, health talks, etc., are illustrations of audio-visual techniques which are used in mobilizing the target group. Radio clubs are being used in Ghana, although research is required to evaluate their effectiveness.

"Economic" activities include all those schemes that provide opportunities for wage-employment or self-employment. Training is imparted in crafts which use local raw materials; credit is supplied to start small ventures; and local agencies undertake to market the products manufactured at these centres. The infrastructure of regional level supportive agencies is sought and integrated into the programmes. The trainees receive a sustenance wage during the training period.

Almost all participants provided examples of mobilization through economic activities in their countries. In Ghana women are given training in batik painting (using calico), basket weaving (using local

grass), pottery (clay), bead-making (using broken bottles and wild seeds), soap making (using oil from coconut palms, and alkaline powder from burnt palm waste). In addition to these activities, other countries such as Jamaica also offer training programmes in wood carving, citrus-tree plantation, and welding. In the Cameroons the government runs a catering project for university students, engaging village women. In Nigeria oil-processing cooperative societies operate. India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka offer a wide range of training programmes in handicrafts.

Although economic motivation is considered the most important nucleus for mobilization of unorganized rural women, several problems arise when such projects are launched. For instance, embezzlement of funds by office-bearers of the societies might occur, undermining the trust of the poor beneficiaries. This could be prevented by ensuring the participation of beneficiaries in management and accounting. Inadequate finance for such small production ventures would present another problem. Financial viability of the projects would be a necessary condition for attracting credit. Orienting the products of these centres only towards the competitive export/metropolitan markets would thwart their growth, as was discovered in a leather works centre in Sudan. The centre reoriented its product range to suit local needs, and discovered a lucrative and stable market.

Appendix I (of this group's report) is a tabulation of the techniques of mobilization, with remarks on anticipated problems and tentative solutions.

(ii) *Forms of Organization*

After the target group is mobilized around some issue, the form of organization into which they are to be integrated again, provided several models – professional associations, cooperative societies, registered societies, and informal societies. No general conclusions could be drawn on the ideal form of organization. The effectiveness of a particular method depended entirely on local micro-level organizations.

The organization of beneficiaries may be formal or informal. The basis of formal organizations is usually economic, political, or religious. Social collectivization of agricultural production, as in Tanzania, where wage is related to productivity, provides an instance of economic organization.

techniques of mobilization. Each technique was based on a facet of the socio-economic setting of the community. All the techniques of mobilization discussed by the Task Force seek to identify a nucleus, either institutional/informal around which to mobilize women of the target group. Examples of such nuclei are social/cultural gatherings, the network of local voluntary/government organizations, audio-visual techniques, group activities (regular "bazars", sports events, etc.), and most significantly the introduction of "economic" activities.

Illustrations of social/cultural events that provide an entree to poor women's groups include the canvassing of "bhajan" sessions by SEWA in India, play acting in Jamaica, Corn-mill Societies in Cameroon, etc.

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Political organization is best exemplified by the several national women's organizations that have been established recently. These organizations percolate to the village level through an hierarchical network of national, regional and sub-regional organizations as in the women's organization of the Cameroon National Union. Some groups promote specialization of various interests in constituent divisions. The problem of effective communication between the "top" and the "grass-roots" is encountered in such political organizations. There is a degree of insensitivity of the bureaucratic planners at the national level to the *real* expectations and desire for self-reliance of the population at the local level. In a UNICEF evaluation of an integrated rural development scheme in El Salvador, such lack of communication was recognized as a constraint. It was suggested that local planning committees should be constituted, with representatives of local leaders and agents of government services to design programmes that would promote self-reliance.

Religious organizations have a built-in acceptability for the rural women. As such, they have been particularly successful in introducing and sustaining socio-economic programmes. In Zambia for instance a Christian organization, Namoya, brings women together in weekly meetings. Namoya helps its members at funerals, weddings, births, etc. In Dominica, the Roman Catholic Church has sponsored a Social Centre which arranges programmes on nutrition, farm education, home economics, etc. It specifically seeks to raise the awareness of the rural poor of their own potential in society.

Informal organizations are often organized around an economic issue of traditional origin. In Kenya, for example, almost all women belong to village-based groups for *communal agricultural work*. They work together in turn on each other's land, as well as on other's land for a wage. This wage is divided at the end of the year. These communal groups also serve as an effective source of information relating to agricultural services, wage rates, etc. Other informal groups are limited to providing mutual aid service to members at times of crises such as funerals, etc.

It was felt that informal groups are important organizations of poor rural women, and should be linked to formal organizations.

(iii) *Mobilizing Agents*

In pursuance of the commitment to self-reliance, ideally the mobilized

should become the mobilizers; however, in the first phase a catalytic agent/institution would have to be introduced. An institution with a local origin or representation would be the most effective mobilizer; finding this committed mobilizing agents should be introduced.

In most developing countries the state or the government is a very large presence, and usually the source of finance. Non-official agencies may be weak in this sense. However, government agencies have a tendency to generate dependence. On account of their lack of resources, non-official agencies rely on "consciousness raising", and promote self-reliance.

In either case, whether the mobilizer is an official or a non-official agency, it is important to inculcate an awareness of rights and obligations in both the mobilized and the mobilizers. This is imperative for ensuring that the "target group" is confident and self-assured.

In the Rural Development Training Centres Scheme in Sri Lanka, the trainees are exposed to the technical aspects of forming organizations/cooperatives, including management and bookkeeping. Courses also include an analysis of the village power structure, the infrastructure of government services available at the local level, need-based planning programme, etc. In addition, separate sessions are held on food preservation, dress-making, cottage industries, etc., and on health and family care. The scheme emphasizes the role of women mobilizers, and encourages their participation in training programmes.

Appendix II (of this group's report) gives different categories of official and non-official mobilizers with their respective advantages and disadvantages.

The major *official mobilizers* are extension officers of government departments (rural development, health, social services, agriculture, small industries, cooperative development, etc.) and school teachers. These agents represent authority, and therefore offer suitable bona fides to the rural poor. However, the role of official institutions as mobilizers is beset with problems of coordination and rivalry between departments, poor quality of extension services and personnel, lack of familiarity with local requirements, etc. which causes loss of faith on the part of the target groups. It is important to provide the correct perspective to official mobilizers, so that their established authority is not mis-utilized or under-utilized.

The *non-official mobilizers* include welfare organizations, political parties, religious organizations, work camp organizations, and the local "mobilized" population. These bodies might relate more closely

to the socio-economic aspirations of the local community than official agencies and might bring a sense of dedication and personal involvement to the task of mass mobilization. On the other hand, non-official mobilizers would require intensive training and would have to be educated to transcend narrower interests such as party, religion, etc.

(iv) Research Interests

The primary area of micro level research was identified as the investigation of time allocation of women of the target group as well as analysis of the constraints that operate on the women, impeding their participation in income earning activities, knowledge of their time allocation, especially of the time taken by certain avoidable household chores such as fetching water or fuel, grinding corn, etc., would indicate the most relevant economic input as mentioned in (i) above. This would indicate what type of technologies would release women from inefficient repetitive tasks.

It was also suggested that quick action-oriented socio-economic surveys of actual and potential skills of the target group should be conducted by local social workers or field personnel. The investigation could include in-depth village studies or studies of selected groups, investigating parameters such as occupational structures, income, demographic features, local resources, etc.

At the macro level, the development of an adequate data base is a necessary condition for identifying major programme needs and for making policy recommendations to relevant government departments. Analysis of existing macro-level details on women (i.e., national census, economic surveys, etc.) would provide information on gaps in the data base. It is essential also to conduct historical research in the contribution of women to the economy.

Education and Training

New methods need to be developed to educate and train both the mobilizers and the mobilized. Different categories and levels of training are suggested below:

- (i) the executive, administrative, and operational staff of ministries concerned; also agencies and voluntary organizations, who will

- be involved in planning, execution, allocation of resources, and evaluation:
- (ii) the educators and trainers who will be responsible for training field staff;
 - (iii) the field staff themselves, i.e., supervisors, teachers, extension agents, community development workers, etc., who are directly involved with rural women;
 - (iv) the rural women themselves.

Each of these categories requires different types and lengths of training. In addition, orientation courses must be conducted for all those local leaders, religious or otherwise, politicians, government officials, etc., whose support will be essential for the successful implementation of the programme.

Experience indicates that, apart from core materials, existing training curricula need considerable review and revision, and that new curricula need to be formulated. Training obviously must be geared to the content of particular programmes. The transfer of Western type curricula must be viewed with great reservation as experience has shown frequently that imported systems are irrelevant to local needs.

At level (i) training should take the form of conferences and seminars to orient decision-makers, politicians, and executive staff to the problems of women in the context of the country and its national goals; alternative measures to improve the situation and the magnitude of funds, resources, and personnel needed have to be explored. It is valuable to hold inter-disciplinary meetings and to bring together appropriate academic and operational staff.

At levels (ii) and (iii) curricula should include the following minimum elements:

- training in methods of working with villagers.
- pedagogical instructions.
- the development of a willingness to question programme methods in the light of actual experience; too many programmes are handed down by "superior persons" (teachers) to "inferior persons" (students), without the former ever really teaching the latter nor are the students encouraged to question the wisdom of what they are told or to apply it to their practical knowledge of prevailing conditions.
- training in the collection of data: in addition to general instruction

- in how to elicit information, how to apply statistical methodologies, etc., in each programme it should be possible to give trainees a *specific* list of items on which data are to be gathered and checked.
- training in monitoring and assessing ongoing activities.
 - improvement of communication skills, especially those of concise and comprehensive reporting.
 - the importance of use of local personnel, materials, and facilities available for teaching, demonstration, and other purposes.
 - instruction and practical experience in the preparation of "extension" materials (for example, in a handicraft programme this must include information about designs, marketing, cost calculations, cooperative organization, etc.).
 - development of the capacity to take independent and pragmatic action when necessary and encouragement to do so.

Multipurpose and inter-disciplinary training is a valuable resource. Because of shortage of staff, it is usually necessary to use existing personnel in many disciplines: midwives, MCH workers, agricultural extension officials, community development agents, youth workers, home economists, nutritionists, or volunteers (e.g., from women's organizations). When using such auxiliary personnel, care must be taken to coordinate their efforts: experience has shown that if a message is to be effective, it must be repeated many times using a variety of channels.

The messages, however, must be basically consistent otherwise none of the changes proposed will be acted upon.

Training of the people themselves (the recipients), i.e., level (iv), takes place in a large variety of ways and with different kinds of curricula, mainly *non-formal*. The training depends heavily on demonstration and word of mouth since the majority of participating women and girls are illiterate.

The development of instructional materials must rely heavily on *local* ingenuity and imagination. Posters, films, filmstrips, slides, flannel-graphs, teaching models, etc., must be devised to suit local situations and the levels of the learners. All channels of communication must be explored.

Recommendations

1. When mobilizing rural women modern as well as traditional channels and structures should be used where appropriate and the

presence and participation of women in them should be ensured. Mobilization is most likely to be effective if it is linked to income-generating activities and takes into account local work patterns.

2. It is important to develop new methods of education and training for both the mobilizers and the target groups. This would require a better understanding of the life situation of women in rural areas and training in monitoring and assessing on-going activities.

3. Training must be geared to the content of particular programmes. The development of instructional material must rely on local ingenuity and imagination. Posters, films, filmstrips, slides, flannel-graphs, teaching models, etc., must be devised to suit local situation and the levels of the learners.

4. Mass communication media is necessary to support and supplement efforts to mobilize rural women. Such communication system may be based on a two-way flow of ideas and information.

Appendix I

TECHNIQUES OF MOBILIZATION

Technique	Problem	Solution
1. Using existing cultural and social gatherings for getting acceptance. <i>Illustrations:</i> 1. Jamaica – playacting 2. India – SEWA, canvassing at bhajan sessions	Where the population scattered as it is in regions like Panama and the Arab countries, where women have no cultural gatherings at all as in some Islamic countries the technique would be difficult.	It was suggested that if radios were available the Radio Club idea could be used for bringing together such communities.
2. To bring the women together around issues of immediate economic relevance. <i>Illustrations:</i> 1. Cameroon – old government station catering project 2. Cameroon – corn-mill societies	The danger of financial embezzlement. The poor women's money could be embezzled by the office-bearers of the society. Cost of living might get higher and profits may fall and cause discontent.	A greater degree of self-management by the beneficiaries of the scheme should be ensured by functional literacy programmes. The cost of the catering charge should go higher proportionately. Women to produce more foodstuffs from their farms.

Technique	Problem	Solution
3. Jamaica – training in welding & woodwork	Peculiar to a situation like Jamaica where there are largely female-headed households.	Cooperative societies and other credit facilities are helping in Ghana.
4. Nigeria – oil-processing societies	It was unsuitable in the absence of related marketing and credit facilities.	Marketing and credit facilities should be brought within the reach of the concerned women.
5. Imparting skill training for handicrafts, e.g., in India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Ghana, and Nigeria		
6. Ghana – Nacwod Multipurpose Organization by NCWD		
3. Utilizing the existing local organizations, voluntary or government, to reach the grass-roots level.	The major problem with most organizations was that they were geared to representing the interest of the elite or the relatively well-off to the extent of determining the qualitative nature of the particular activity, e.g., kind of vocational training given to women in India. Lastly, the extension workers trained did not go back to the villages.	It was suggested that care should be taken to relate the activities to the actual material needs, given the particular socio-economic set-up. In addition, motivation should be provided for the trained workers to go back to the villages.

Illustrations:

1. Local self-government bodies in Pakistan
2. Extension training centres in Sri Lanka

(contd.)

Technique	Problem	Solution
3. Nutrition Offices in Ghana, Agricultural Extension Offices in Ghana 4. Rural Women's Development Centres, Sri Lanka 5. Social Development Women Training Centres, Nigeria		
4. Using Audio-Visual techniques	The major barrier in its effective implementation was the time and space allocation of programmes.	It was felt that the programmes should be organized as to fit into the daily life study of the women – in terms of both time and place.
<i>Illustrations:</i> 1. ECA-Radio Clubs 2. Demonstrations 3. Posters 4. Health Talks 5. Production demonstration methods and result demons- tration methods in addition to audio-visual aids in Ghana		There is the need for undertaking surveys to find out if the programmes are achieving their targets as is done in Ghana.
5. <i>Massel:</i>	Two main problems encountered with a house-to-house type of contact were:	In order to overcome these hurdles, it was suggested that the person chosen should be from within the community and with a certain minimum level of education.

Technique	Problem	Solution
1. House-to-house canvassing or carry out questionnaire research	1. The need to follow up. The difficulty is getting information from some households.	
2. Organizing bazars	2. The socio-economic background of the person conducting these surveys was unrelated to the community.	
3. Organizing different activities for different age-groups e.g., sports activities for the younger members	(Inevitably some expertise knowledge is needed in this.)	
6.	Last but not the least there was the common problem of financing the various schemes.	Consequently, it was suggested that the particular techniques chosen should be financially feasible in order to ensure their implementation. Also care should be taken to finance through the right channels in order to reach the right people a mistake which CUSO (a Canadian development agency) realized in not having investigated the class background of the women's organization they financed.

Appendix II

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CATEGORIES OF MOBILIZERS

Categories

Category A. Government (Official)

Extension officers of government departments working at divisional and village level. Would include representatives of departments such as Rural Development, Health, Social Services, Small Industries, Agriculture, Cooperative Development, Rural Works, etc.

Positive Aspects

1. In keeping with government's increasing role in development in most Third World countries.
2. More impersonalized services. No vested interest. Could work in professional capacity.

Limitations

1. Poor coordinator of activities. Duplication of services. Same service sometimes provided by different agencies. Could cause confusion to community.
2. Inter-departmental rivalry, reflected among officers at village level. Therefore lack of team spirit.
3. Agricultural inputs such as seed, paddy, and fertilizer or yarn for handlooms, often not available at correct time – hampers extension activity.
4. Lack of training. Extension officers often fail in their role, and mobilizers for self-reliance.
5. Poor service conditions of extension staff. Low salaries, (not commensurate with difficult living conditions in rural areas). Poor promotional prospects. Extension service fails to attract the better type of officer.

Categories		
	Positive Aspects	Limitations 6. Lack of cooperation and support from superior officers who fail to understand the human resource development aspects of an Extension Programme. 7. Often extension workers are not local people; unfamiliar with culture, and of higher class. 8. Extension workers are often male and unfamiliar with role of women.
<i>School teachers</i> in the village schools.	Positive Aspects They are influential in position. Can stress the equality between girls and boys, and raise girls' consciousness of their equal rights.	Negative Aspects The other side of the medal: the teacher can condition the pupils into their traditional (local or Western) services.
<i>Category B. Non-official</i> 1. Voluntary Social Welfare Organizations such as Women's Institutes, mobile samitis, National Voluntary Organizations, and Professional Organizations	Positive Aspects 1. Could be considered as a source of funds and personnel to supplement government services.	Limitations 1. Often motivated by self-interest, of reigning sound promises. This might sometimes shift the emphasis of their role as mobilizers. 2. Economic class and the urban culture they represent could also act as a limitation.

(contd.)

Categories		
	Positive Aspects	Limitations
2. Political Parties	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Good organizational tactics could help in mass mobilization. 2. Dedicated, trained party workers could play important role. 3. Funds available. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interest not sustained, often confined to election time. 2. Conditioned by desire to get more people into particular party.
3. Religious Organizations	Could be source of dedicated workers.	Could be associated with religious conversion, narrow sectoral interest.
4. Work camp organizations, mainly youth groups, Shramadera, Sanykycedona	Could act as catalysts – could play important role in leading and teaching the rural community.	
<i>Category C. Mobilizers from within the community</i>	Positive Aspects	Limitations
Need to be mobilized first. But could function later as effective mobilizers. Could include coders from within the village community, in reference to sub-groups 1, 2, and 3 in category B above.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advantage of sharing the same socio-cultural background, therefore greater access to community, more acceptable. 2. Also would have self-generation and multiplier effect could help to reduce attitudes of dependence. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Need training and follow-up. 2. Need support – financial.

PART II

PROJECT CASE STUDIES

Introduction

FIVE Projects are included here. The recommendations for improvement made during the study of each case have a special importance because of the experience in the field of what makes or mars projects at the grass-roots. Indeed, in so far as case after case provoked similar recommendations their importance cannot be ignored.

All five Projects had one main object in common – they were specifically intended to motivate and assist rural development in countries as far apart as Panama and Indonesia, as diverse as Cameroon and Jamaica. In each case the approach to development has varied according to the organization through which it was hoped to mobilize people's participation.

A number of recommendations kept recurring and reinforcing each other; these are listed below, not necessarily in order of importance.

1. The extent to which it is essential, when planning for rural development, to take into consideration the effect each project has on women must never be overlooked. Indeed, the omission of the project's impact on women prompted the delegate from Panama to drastically revise her report.
2. Before embarking on a project it is vital to find out the pattern of the time expenditure of those the project tries to motivate.
3. Next to the need to know how much time is spent on each activity it is necessary to understand how this time is spent; this can involve drawing up elaborate inventories.
4. Only after one knows how much time is spent doing what with which technology, can appropriate technology be developed in order to free women from unnecessarily time-consuming chores.
5. The adapting of technology to local needs should take into account historical and cultural backgrounds. As far as possible change should not be made to break with tradition and continuity because evolution tends to be more acceptable than revolution.
6. The substitution of appropriate new technology for traditional technology has to pay for itself. It is therefore essential to carry out market research to assess the economic viability of every

innovation. There is no point in introducing unwanted goods or services.

7. The importance of ensuring local participation and leadership is self-evident but it is a time-consuming objective which requires tact and imagination. *Change takes time.*
8. Two-way communication is absolutely essential. Unless there is a two-way flow between the organizers and the organized there can be no lasting development.
9. Finally, the most important prerequisite for success in development is meaningful consultation. At this point it may be relevant to quote the village women from the Bolivian Seminar who “demanded to be consulted about their needs and allowed to participate in Rural Development Projects” (see p. 103).

Case I

The "Taman Gizi" or Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre (NRC) in villages of West Java, Indonesia

Pudjiwati Sajogyo

1. IN the search for specific target groups in Applied Nutrition Programme (ANP), for diet improvement in the category of children under seven, the Indonesian ANP-evaluation study 1972/73 made the important finding that the incidence of PCM (Protein-Calorie-Malnutrition) or PEM (Protein-Energy-Malnutrition) was as widespread in "food-adequate" households as in "food-deficit" households – 37% were "below normal" and 16% had "moderate or severe" PCM. The main "reason" is that small children are not getting enough and have become victims of the existing food distribution in the household.¹

It is clearly important to determine which factors are primarily responsible for undernourishment in each of the major socio-economic groups. In particular, research is needed not only on actual food intakes but also on the ability of low-income households to produce and/or purchase the components of an adequate diet, on constraints in cooking technology, and on the time available for food-preparation.

Problems of employment, income, and food habits cannot be separated from one another.²

2. *Basis for Action-Research*

In farm extension work before adopting new technologies, farmers need adequate "proofs" (demonstration) first. In nutrition extension work it is the same with mothers (half of them illiterate) who demand "proofs" that recommended foods, involving change of food habits.

¹Sajogyo: Hasil Survey Evaluasi Proyek U.P.G.K. with English summary: Applied Nutrition Programme in Indonesia, Centre for Rural Sociological Research, IPB, Bogor, 1973.

²The Agro-economic Survey and the Centre for Sociological Research, IPB, Bogor: Rural Household Economics and the Role of Women – a Study in two areas of West Java, Indonesia 1977 (a Research Proposal).

are indeed better. Demonstrations in short "courses", especially three months' access to demonstrations, weekly meetings, and appropriate food-supplements, can provide such proofs.

ORGANIZATION

The action-research organized by IPB, Bogor (Bogor Agricultural University), under Prof. Sajogyo (Centre for Rural Sociological Research), started in 1975/76 as a small pilot project in West Java. This involved 6 villages in 3 *Kecamatan* (sub-districts), in cooperation with 3 district governments (Sukabumi, Bogor, Karawang) chosen because of existing cooperative relations in community service between IPB and the 3 districts (*Kabupaten*).

ACTION

The target groups of nonformal nutrition education were mothers with under-five children having PEM (Protein-Energy-Malnutrition) for three months' courses with demonstrations and food-supplements in local "Taman Gizi".

Phase one. One-day workshops were held at *kabupaten* level followed by *kecamatan*-level discussions on the new approach in the nutrition programme starting with two villages in one *kecamatan*. In each of the three *kabupaten* one *kecamatan* was chosen. Discussions were attended by *kabupaten* and *kecamatan* officials as well as village leaders and IPB Team members.

Phase two. Eight or more persons per village (mostly women with elementary school education) were selected as candidates for cadres and given five days' training in teaching practical nutrition to rural mothers.

This training was given by selected *kecamatan* personnel who had been trained by *kabupaten* officials, previously trained by the IPB Team. For this three-step training activity the IPB Team had specially prepared two manuals on nutrition. The first describes the meaning of nutrition, the caloric and protein value of foods, and the vulnerable groups of children and mothers. The second book was written as a guide for village cadres on how to teach rural women in 24 lessons, each with one health-meal recipe for demonstration purposes.

RESULTS OF NUTRITION SURVEY

To make them more aware of local nutritional problems, village local leaders were urged to conduct a nutritional survey, supervised by the IPB Team. The village cadres were trained to measure the nutritional status of about 100 children (per village) measuring upper-arm circumference of the child (under five years) and to interview their mothers on food habits.

In the six chosen villages in the three *kecamatan*s of Sukabumi, Bogor, and Karawang the percentage of PEM children under five was 32 and higher. In the two Sukabumi villages the mortality rate of children under five (per 1,000 live born infants) was 219; a bit lower than the average rate in rural Sukabumi (in 1971: 269/1,000; source: Population Census 1971).

Food habits among children under five, found in "Pesawahan" village of the *kecamatan* of Sukabumi:

- (a) Of the five main carbohydrate sources (rice, corn, sweet potato, cassava, and bread made of wheat), the ones given to children twice a day were:
 - (a.1) Children up to 11 months: rice (33%), fresh cassava (20%), and steamed rice (13%) (% of children)
 - (a.2) Children 12 to 13 months: rice increased to 77%, fresh cassava (33%), and bread (13%)
 - (a.3) Children 2 to 4 years: rice (94%), bread (15%), and fresh cassava (12%)

The rice (usually cooked), fresh cassava (cooked), and bread (usually bought) given to the children show that mothers do not prepare special food for their babies.

- (b) In the case of pulses, for example soyabean or other beans (source of cheap protein compared to egg or milk), 54% of children get these, either in processed or in unprocessed form. Most children under five (75%) get the processed ones, like "*tempe*" and "*tahu*" (made of soyabean).
- (c) 58% of the children do eat green vegetables at least once a day beginning at one year of age.
- (d) Bananas are the most popular fruit for children under five (55%), then come tomatoes (46%) which are given to children from age one, followed by citrus (16%).

- (e) Children age one are given dried fish (39%) increasing up to 81% in the 2-4 years age group.
- (f) Meat, eggs, and milk which are expensive foods are better known to more well-to-do people; children under five eat them rarely: meat 19%, eggs 26%, and milk 21% of children.

FOLLOW-UP

After the choice of hamlet (5) in each village to start action in the first year (*decided by local leaders*), mothers with children under five were visited by village cadres. Mothers with "too thin" children (or PEM cases) were advised to join a *Taman Gizi* group to be started in the village (Nutritional Rehabilitation Centre).

ACTIVITIES AT THE "TAMAN GIZI" (NRC)

The *Taman Gizi* was led by local "cadres" of the same hamlet under the responsibility of local women leaders and formal village leaders, on the basis of self-organization. The *Taman Gizi* as a course in nutrition with food supplements (bi-weekly meetings for 3 months) was planned to show that better food for thin children would get them healthy and strong within three months. This was based on food-supplement experiments in West Java where mothers were very impressed by the fact that their thin and indolent children were getting more alert, a happy sign for mothers keen that their children should grow up as good, clever learners. This seemed to be their perception of "healthy children".

A rice-soyabean mix was chosen as a food-supplement (about 16% protein) in flour-form (soyabean as extruded full-fat soy flour). Children under five got a 60 gram per day ration (cost: about Rp. 15),³ pregnant mothers a 100 gram daily ration of the mix.

For demonstration purposes, twice a week the village cadres in the *Taman Gizi* prepared food using the food mix supplement, each time using one recipe mentioned in the manual. The mothers were also taught to prepare that recipe with locally available pulses.

3. Results of Action

A decrease of PEM among the target group, children under five.

³Rupees 725 = £1 sterling.

The use of food-supplement distributed through *Taman Gizi* in four villages in Sukabumi and Bogor produced convincing results.

After two months weighing showed an average of 1.5 kg increase per child, among 80% of the under-fives brought by their mothers.

CHANGING CHILD FEEDING HABITS AMONG PARENTS

Changes in children are acknowledged by the mothers in *Taman Gizi*: most children after the food-supplement treatment were seen to have become more alert, a sign of being healthy. The mothers thought this was because of the food mix given to children. Some mothers expressed the wish to buy the food mix.

Some of them said they prepared green leaf vegetable dishes every day, not only for adults but also for small children, because they were convinced that green leaf vegetables were healthy, and could get these from their own garden or buy them from local vendors, whereas other mothers seldom prepared special food for their children. The reasons were lack of time and utensils.

STRENGTHENING OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP

Organizing a *Taman Gizi* in the village was meant to strengthen local leadership, to enable it to solve local nutrition and other related problems.

Response was poor in one village; a permanent place for the meetings could not be found and the village cadres said local leaders showed little interest in nutritional problems. The meetings, therefore, were held in the houses of the village cadres; this shows the crucial role of village cadres.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE *TAMAN GIZI*

There was a difference between participation of the village cadres and that of the mothers with PEM children.

The activities of the local cadres depend upon the economic conditions of their families; thus those with low incomes were much less active. On the other hand, mothers were subject to different factors. Only women whose husbands let them, attended the *Taman Gizi*. This underlines both the subjection of women and the need for directing nutritional programmes at both husbands and wives.

Case Study Deliberations

The following should be considered in order to increase the effectiveness of nutritional programmes such as the *Taman Gizi*:

1. Comparison between the base data and an evaluation after one year should provide guidelines for further action. Key factors are time allocation and availability of materials among the target group. More women should be involved as time goes on. To this effect it is important to find out the economic strata to which local women leaders belong.
2. The village community should run "kindergartens" for the undernourished children and set up reserves of paddy and pulses to supplement their diet in bad times.
3. The minimum period of an Action Nutrition Programme is three years.
4. Not only women but also men should be drawn into such Programmes.
5. The cooperation of Extension Fieldworkers is essential to avoid confusion.

Case II

Specific Problems as They Relate to Rural Jamaican Women

Audrey Roberts

RURAL Jamaican women have traditionally been workers in farming, marketing, i.e., collection and distribution of food. In fact, during slavery and post-emancipation, women were pioneers in establishing cooperatives and friendly societies, where they pooled their energies in working the land, in higglering, and in savings schemes.

Over a period of time, however, there has been a trend towards individualism, a moving away from the cooperative and communal life style, so developing a work force which was even less economic than traditional patterns. And now modern social and economic pressures have been forcing women to earn and to look again at former patterns of income earning.

The school system which exists in Jamaica has not been linked with training useful to a rural community. Education has been coeducational but has not been co-equal. More girls than boys excel at the primary level. However, more boys than girls leave school with a better chance of finding employment. This is because girls are still being geared towards home-making rather than farming and middle level technology.

A high level of internal migration of both sexes has developed over the years. Internal migration to the cities of Kingston, Mobay, and to parish capitals is highest among the female population. Young women migrate in search of "live-in work" and other low-paying service jobs. The high level of migration has created a peculiar set of problems regarding rural communities, urban areas, and rural/urban towns. The rural areas are bereft of development as those with the highest potential for creating change and social mobility migrate often leaving young children behind with grandmothers.

Too often the dream of pursuing job opportunities in the cities falls short of the mark as young men and women are exploited in city life and slum areas. The women are often unable to find work or, when

they do, earn so little that they are often unable to support their children at home.

Migration has devastating effects on family life, children are left with little or no support from irresponsible fathers and well-meaning mothers.

Young women usually find themselves involved with a new man, mainly for economic reasons, and end up having still more unfathered, unsupported children.

During International Women's Year, the Women's Bureau in the Office of the Prime Minister held a number of parish workshops throughout the country to which a cross-section of women were invited to discuss and had explained specific problems significant to their life styles. The workshops were specially designed to allow for a high degree of participation and a wide range of socio-economic groups though the largest attendance came from women in low-income earning positions. A few men were present.

Employment and Training came out quite clearly as the number one priority. The consensus was that training is very important for rural community development, but must be reinforced by managerial and cooperative training to assist women towards self-employment and the development of cottage industries.

Many of the mature women present at the workshops were actively involved in farming mainly on a seasonal basis, though few were farmers on any significant scale; therefore they had to supplement the family income through an "outside job" usually working in someone else's home.

Discussions about training and employment were closely correlated with family life issues. Discussions of family life so often focussed on the absent or non-participating father that it was obvious that many women were relying entirely on their own earning capacity to provide for themselves and their children. Clearly while new directions in training of women are being considered, these cannot bring meaningful benefits to women and by the same token to rural communities while women remain overburdened with family responsibilities.

Rural women are particularly hampered by conservative and restrictive male attitudes. There has been a general pattern of unsupportive fathers and where there are fathers, girls are conditioned to stay home or at best enter traditional overcrowded fields such as nursing and teaching.

Mothers realize that so long as they continue to be overburdened, they cannot offer the best care to their children or take the opportunity of personal advancement especially since there are no possibilities to earn and learn simultaneously.

In general, both men and women, in the parish workshops, were critical of the future of the whole society. For an improved family life, it is necessary to re-educate the whole society so that both sexes have equal responsibility in maintaining the family, i.e., in providing emotional, educative, and economic care.

It was clearly demonstrated from the extensive mandate the government received from the people that Jamaica is very ready to accept changes.

There have already been many changes. Project land lease started in 1974, and out of a total of 11,566 farmers who have gained access to large size arable lands 1,201 are women. Enrolment of women in the Jamaican School of Agriculture started in 1968; there are now 93 women out of 386 and the annual intake of women is increasing each year.

Really comprehensive programmes aimed at very poor unskilled rural women and the semi-skilled women are urgently needed. The Special Employment Programme which started in Jamaica in 1973 has particular implications for the development of women and their families; it has provided employment for 45,000, approximately 60% of which are women. Though not geared to production, this programme provides a base from which others like it can emerge.

Thus in 1976, the Women's Bureau recruited 35 women for a special skill pilot project, in collaboration with the Vocational Training Division. These women have been trained in what are traditionally male skills such as woodwork and welding. The ultimate goal of this project is the development of a women's cooperative, owned and maintained by the women themselves.

To make a serious appraisal of the training and employment situation confronting rural women, one has also to look at agriculture in all its dimensions. Agriculture has always been a lagging untended component of Jamaica's rural economy. Before land lease was introduced in 1973 there had been hardly any change since the days of slavery. Emphasis continued to be placed on monocrop cultivation. Sugar estates structured as total self-sufficient entities continued to dominate the agricultural scene leaving small holders severely neglected, having to seek out an existence on hill-side land. Even now

the very poor rural woman does not own land. Even with the dynamic sugar cooperative system established in 1975 which has brought social and economic benefits to sugar labourers who formerly had no stake in the land, the really poor rural women were left out.

It is this level of rural women which provides higgler. The Jamaican "higgler" has, in most cases, never owned land or grown produce. She has bought and collected from small farmers, usually travelling from town to rural community collecting, distributing, and selling ensuring that agricultural products reach townfolks.

Yet throughout the years, she has been neglected and left underdeveloped, her managerial skills have never been upgraded, or included within the framework of the A.M.C. In fact, while the urban higgler has benefited from the A.M.C. the rural higgler has been neglected and fallen into a very dangerous position should she continue to be overlooked as an imperative component of the A.M.C. The Ministry of Agriculture is looking at the dangers of fostering such a situation perhaps because though extremely worthwhile in concept the A.M.C. has not proved very successful in implementation. Although prices are much lower shoppers still support the itinerant market vendors whose products are in better condition.

Indeed in Jamaica, as in the case of Puerto Rico as described by M.G. Smith, the rural sector was badly neglected.

Fortunately, under the present government land has been better utilized and distributed, but the rural woman still needs more attention.

Bauxite, an important part of the entire economy and the rural economy in particular, has provided employment, but prior to nationalization of the industry in 1975, the larger percentage of money made from the extraction of the mineral benefited rural Jamaica very insignificantly.

While training and employment within this industry has been provided to locals, the rural woman has not been included except in employment in service areas. Alcan Jamaica has one female chemical engineer.

The bauxite industry has deprived farming communities of potential developers by attracting workers, and utilizing productive farm land for mining. This industry has been very expensive for rural Jamaica, it has forced small holders with mineral deposits into even smaller holdings, often back to the uneconomic hillside plots with the result that farming is eventually neglected. Rural women in such a situation

have been the first to migrate when there is no job in the service area of the industry.

Moreover, the industry has created pockets of employment and high salaries pushing up the local cost of living while disguising the high-level of unemployment it creates especially in the agricultural sector.

There has to be a conscious effort on the part of rural communities and government to correlate farming with the bauxite industry. Emphasis must be placed on the rural women in this interdependence of industry and agriculture.

The Prime Minister stipulated that the proposed JAVEMIX plant planned for South Manchester by 1979 must employ 50% women. Plans are now being made through the Vocational Training Division, Industrial Training Centre, in that region to train women in relevant skills.

Organizations on a community or national level must encourage women who often perform the ground work and the supportive functions to assume positions of leadership.

The recent general elections have provided women, who formed 70% of the electorate, with a Minister of Women's Affairs Mrs. Carmen McGregor. Mrs. McGregor has been in politics for approximately 20 years, until recently canvassing always for a male candidate. Most important is the fact that Mrs. McGregor is a rural woman, M.P. of a rural constituency, and committed to the advancement of the rural Jamaican woman.

A most significant input has therefore been met in the nation's struggle under democratic socialism to integrate rural women into the national development and to create a reserve of professional and skilled women, usually concentrated in the urban areas, within rural communities.

Case Study Deliberations

TIME ALLOCATION

As indicated in the report, Parish Workshops were held during I.W.Y. as a method of fact finding. While it is true that the role-play often brought out the fact that women are overburdened with family responsibilities, it is nevertheless very necessary to conduct detailed time allocation surveys.

It is imperative before implementing a project to know exactly how the target group spends its time on duties inside and outside the house. Such knowledge should help introduce an appropriately simple technology to release the target group individually for training. Moreover, it provides information on existing skills and with appropriate technology can lead to increased earnings.

Where the technology is very simple, it may also be possible to generate earnings around this technology, i.e., the women themselves would produce what they need to release them for other things, while producing for other women who are outside the target group but constrained in similar fashion. This may or may not be organized on a permanent basis.

The initiative to develop one's own technology is itself a mobilizing factor, providing women with more power, and integrating them from the primary stage into the process of decision-making and self-reliance.

MARKETS

The example and suggestion was made by a working group participant that a group in the Sudan had been producing leatherwork mainly for export and tourist markets, but had been so subject to fluctuations of the markets that the producers soon became very frustrated besides which there was such an emphasis on mass production they were no longer enthusiastic about their work.

It was suggested to this group of producers in the Sudan, to pursue alternative markets – local markets. A sample survey was carried out in surrounding villages to find out what type of leather goods were needed. In this way a number of ideas were generated and people even suggested designs. As a result of this pragmatic approach creativity increased and the market became much more lucrative and constant.

This example certainly has important implications for Jamaica where the emphasis has always been too strongly placed on export and tourist markets while underestimating the importance of local needs and markets.

Women who are already involved in agricultural production must be able to see whether their activity can continue or be extended to feed into the proposed industry.

Agro-based cottage industry and cooperatives should be established around what will constitute the new needs of the area while catering to the old established order.

Case III

The Participation of the Women's Organization of the Cameroon National Union (WCNU) in Rural Development

Gladys Endeley

CAMEROON is an agricultural country with a population of 6.5 million (1975). It is bi-lingual – French and English. After reunification in 1961 and the peaceful revolution in 1972, it was divided into seven administrative provinces which are developed under one national plan by the *Cameroon National Union*.

The WCNU Organization

The WCNU aims at mobilizing women for social work. Political activities are conducted by cells, branches, sub-sections, and sections of the Cameroon National Union.

The WCNU follows the same pattern of the administrative divisions. In the seven provinces of Cameroon are forty divisions with forty section presidents responsible to the National Bureau of the WCNU made up of fifteen women. Each section or division with an executive of eleven members is again divided into various sub-divisions depending on the size and population of the division. The sub-divisions with an executive of seven women are also divided into branches. These branches for organizational purposes are divided into several cells of women from thirty to fifty in number, with an executive of three women responsible to the branch. Each subsidiary organ is responsible to the higher organ as a relay team.

The objectives of the WCNU are carried on by three main committees elected by the National Council of the WCNU. The Council sits every two years or on the recommendation of members on urgent and pressing matters. It is made up of the executive members of the WCNU National Bureau, all section presidents, all female members of Parliament, all female members of the economic council, female members of the trade union, wives of the members of Parliament, the CNU central committee, most female top civil servants, ex officio members of the CNU Central Committee and the

honorary president of the WCNU who is the wife of the President of the Republic.

The Council then elects members for the three committees dealing with: (1) Social and Cultural Affairs, (2) Domestic Sciences, and (3) Festivals and Sports.

The objectives of the WCNU are to implement and investigate the following action programme:

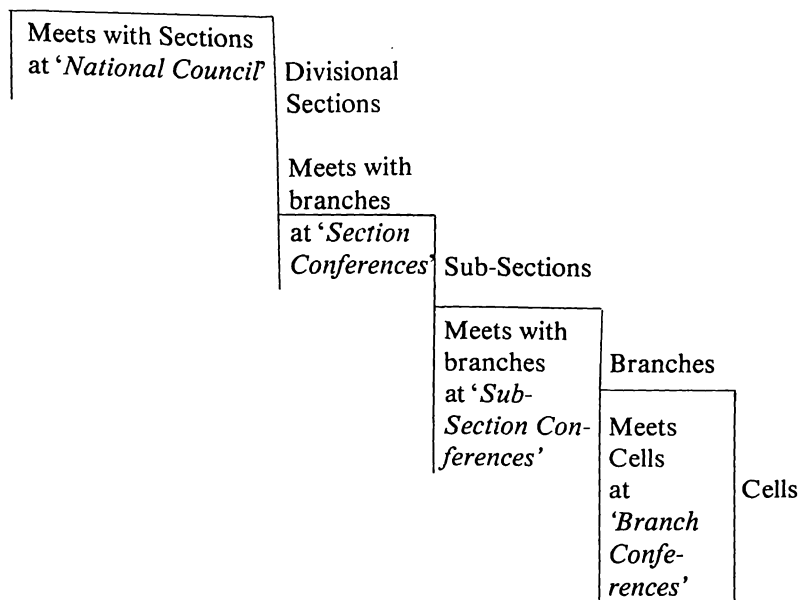
1. Identify in each appropriate organ an appropriate economic technological programme to increase the income of the women who spend such long hours on their farms in search of cash and food, which will settle them down even more for better development activities of the community in which they live.
2. Check and identify the cause of the great gap between male and female education, and remedy through safeguards, the rate of dropouts of girls from schools, colleges, and universities and bridge the gap of illiteracy of women by functional and adult education (i.e., socio-domestic science centres).
3. Investigation and revival of the cultural heritage. Discarding or improving obsolete areas in artistic works and reviving meaningful music, dances, and other traditions.
4. Research and careful handling of the increasing social problems of juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, prostitution, widowhood, divorce, and inheritance.
5. Participation of women in policy-making bodies to be encouraged, and suggested at all levels.

This plan of action was adopted at the recent Council meeting of the WCNU, in accordance with its deliberations set down by the Constitution Rules and Regulations and the World Action Plan of the International Council of Women.

Case Study Deliberations

The Working Group felt that the following model for the complete mobilization of women had its pros and cons.

Organigram Showing Channels of Communication in the WCNU
The National Bureau



PROBLEMS TO BE OVERCOME

1. Proper two-way communication between the hierarchy and the rural areas.
2. Wrong choice of leaders which is difficult to avoid as groups often choose leaders for sentimental reasons.
3. Lack of transport facilities.
4. Inappropriate technology.
5. Coordination and cooperation between groups involved in rural mobilization.

It was suggested that "action programmes" be precise and specialized. Expert agencies and materials should be made available and only suitable programmes pursued. Leaders should use all their energies and persuasion to prevail on the administration to listen to what people want.

Case IV

Ghana National Council on Women and Development (GNCWD)

Jane Cole

GNCWD was established in 1975 as an advisory body to government on all matters relating to women, to ensure the full integration of women in development and the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

The Council is composed of 30 men and women: 15 women and 5 men serve on the Council in their personal capacity, 10 are representatives (one each) of the Ministries of Education, Health, Labour, Social Welfare and Cooperatives, Finance, Economic Planning, Foreign Affairs, Agriculture, Information, Establishment Secretariat, and the Attorney-General's Department.

The Council has drawn up a 10-year Plan of Action covering the period 1975-1985, with a programme of sustained concerted action by government and non-governmental organizations for the advancement of women and their integration in all spheres of national life.

Specialized committees at the national level undertake specific functions: Education, Home, Employment, Women in Society, Legal, Projects, and Steering Committees.

Each region has an Advisory Committee of representatives of the Ministries of Education, Health, Social Welfare, Agriculture, and Regional Administration. In addition two ladies in each region chosen for their interest and concern for the advancement of women sit on the Advisory Committees.

National Secretariat

The National Secretariat is the executive arm of the Council and its Committees. It is headed by the Executive Secretary, appointed by the government. The Secretariat has several units, one for administrative matters providing supporting clerical, secretarial, and other auxiliary staff for servicing all units within the Secretariat. It is responsible for personnel matters including employment and training and for the library and research data and reports. It serves as a central source of information on women providing readily available facts and figures.

The counselling unit provides guidance on opportunities in education, training, employment, and counselling in marriage, child care and matters relating to the family and it organizes one-day schools and seminars for women's groups.

A research unit conducts research into specified areas assigned to it by the Council. It is also responsible for devising and applying such methods as may be necessary for conducting sample surveys to assess the present situation of women in education and for coordinating and evaluating the effectiveness of the Council's programme for achieving its objectives.

Each region has a Secretariat directly in touch with women and women's groups in their communities, and it feeds the National Council with information relating to the welfare and advancement of women throughout the country.

There is, too, an advisory body to the National Council which considers the priorities and recommendations on projects and areas of research for the National Council.

Activities of the National Council

Research studies have started documenting the contributions of women to the economy and the barriers inhibiting their full participation. Efforts are being made to identify appropriate technologies to lift the burdens and time constraints on women and to assist them in expanding their productive activities.

Some of these are being undertaken by the Council's own research staff, but others have been given out on contract to various individuals and university departments, and research institutions. This was made possible by USAID financial assistance.

On-going research programmes involve the compilation of:

1. Protective and promotive measures for female employees in major collective agreements in Ghana.
2. A bibliography of on-going research projects in 1975.
3. Male-female registration and placement at all levels of education.
4. Aggregate data profile of Ghanaian women.
5. The participation of women in the labour force at all levels of education.
6. Trends in female participation in major occupations using census data, data from surveys conducted by the Ministries and data from researchers in the three universities in Ghana.

7. A report on female participation in education at all levels with a special investigation into girls' access to good quality science and mathematics teaching in secondary schools, in response to the emphasis on the sciences in the recent policy statement on courses in the universities.
8. Annotated bibliography on women's roles and time allocation in the various regions and among different socio-economic strata of women in Ghana.
9. File and working out a research project on female excision in the North-eastern area of Ghana, i.e., Bawku area.
10. Data on women and cooperatives; interviews with women currently involved in cooperatives both in areas dominated by women and in those with relatively few women.
11. A study of women's health problems and utilization patterns.
12. Mental health of Ghanaian women.
13. Parental aspirations of sons and daughters in Ghana.
14. Working mothers and their child care arrangements.

Projected research programmes are as follows:

1. The role of women in agriculture.
2. Evidence of stress symptoms among Ghanaian women.
3. Inter-ethnic marriages.
4. Implications of female religious inclinations for their economic, social, and psychological life.
5. National problems of pregnant and lactating mothers.

Technical Unit

This encourages the setting up of viable small-scale industries producing labour-saving devices and giving technical training in skills. It organizes workshops which form a large percentage of the Council's activities. The aim is to increase the earning capacities of rural and other unskilled women. As a large number of women are single parents it was decided that priority be given to enhance the earning capacities of women.

The workshops also aim at counteracting inflation and scarcity. Accordingly the Council organized a country-wide "crash programme" of workshops to revive old skills and also teach new ones to meet the demand for items such as soap, cooking oil, etc., which were in short supply.

The common features of these workshops were teaching skills such as extraction of oil from palm fruit and kernels, coconuts, groundnuts, soap-making, and production of dehydrated lye from cocoa husks and palm bunch waste for use in the manufacture of soap. The preservation of vegetables and fruits were other features as well as tie and dye cloth making and batiks. In some regions emphasis was laid on the production of gari, beads, mats, baskets, handbags, spinning, pottery, etc., depending on the availability of raw materials in that region.

In addition, there were lectures on Credit Unions, cooperatives, bank facilities available for agriculture, housing, and small-scale industries.

The Council did not only insist on receiving evaluation reports on the workshops and feedbacks but also mounted follow-up actions: the projects committee visited five centres where they inspected the economic activities of the women and held discussions with them.

The Northern Region

Women in this region, with the help of the GNCWD Regional Secretary, have organized themselves into the "NACWOD Multipurpose Cooperative", and a group of women made decisions how to run this cooperative, what to pay for registration, how much to save from profits. The cooperative employs a full-time secretary and has already saved a handsome amount of C17,000.00* after only a few months of its existence.

The National Council on Women and Development Northern Regional Secretary helps the group by making the necessary contacts for them and explaining to them what they do not understand. The women themselves, although mainly illiterate, know what they want. They have been meeting and exchanging not only views and ideas but also skills. Those who have certain skills teach those who have not and together they learn from one another.

Already the "NACWOD Multipurpose Cooperative" finds itself strong enough to enter into negotiations for the setting up of a cooperative shop in Tamale and to acquire land for the building of a Common Service Centre for the use of the members of the cooperative.

*2 Cedis = £1 sterling.

The projects committee held discussions with the Northern Regional Commissioner, who suggested that the women's cooperative could start another viable project in carpet-making since the raw materials were available in the region. The projects committee is studying this proposal.

Brong-Ahafo

The projects committee visited Techiman to gain a first-hand knowledge of the proposed gari-making project. The committee was impressed with the outcome of a meeting between the chiefs, queenmothers and farmers (both men and women). The gari-making project is an area in which cassava grating machines and improved roasting pans and procedure can be introduced with great advantage.

Cassava growing projects to feed the gari-making industry are other viable activities this region is planning to undertake. Women could hire tractors for ploughing and harrowing. The chiefs in the region have already offered to the women large tracts of land for farming. Brong-Ahafo women are ready for help to set up their own cooperative. The Council has been making efforts to secure improved sunflower seeds to grow sunflowers and castor for oil. The need for a simple machine for extracting oil from sunflower and castor seeds is one that the Council is trying to meet.

The Regional Commissioner recommended that the NCWD should help women in the region to secure trucks and tractors to help the women's groups in the Region.

The Brong-Ahafo is the first Advisory Committee to have a good grasp of its functions and other Regional Advisory Committees should learn from it.

Volta Region

The women of the Volta region actively pursue the following viable projects:

THE DABALA BASKET WEAVING PROJECTS

The Republic of China helped set up a basket weaving industry at Dabala. A factory was set up and the women were taught to use the leaves of date palms which abound in the area for the production of baskets and straw hats. This project was abandoned after 1966.

Women who had acquired the skill requested that the factory be re-opened. The project committee visited Dabala and found that with a little help, the women of Dabala could produce good shopping baskets for export. One of these baskets was exhibited at the Seminar in Liberia and demand for it was so great that the NCWD is actively preparing to help the Volta region set up this industry in a big way. The grass is being tested in West Germany for fast dyes and the committee is considering helping the women of Dabala to weave not only baskets and straw hats but also table mats for export.

THE VEGETABLE GROWERS ASSOCIATION

Some women in the Kpandu area decided to grow vegetables for sale after the Ho Workshop. With the help of the Regional Commissioner they received tractor service for ploughing and harrowing. The vegetables were planted and are doing well, but the women ran into financial problems in maintaining the farms. The Regional Commissioner was so impressed with their effort, that he gave them a loan of ₵1,000.00. This is a project that has great possibilities.

POTTERY

Women pot-makers from Kpandu attended the Ho Regional Workshop and brought with them samples of their work. The projects committee was so impressed that samples of the finished products were exhibited at the West African Seminar on "Small Business Enterprises for Women" held in Liberia in October 1976.

As a follow-up, the committee visited the pot-makers in Kpandu to see whether they could organize and produce for export. The women were delighted but complained that with the construction of the Volta Dam, the good clay deposits were flooded and that they had to buy clay from the Adidomo area at ₵30.00 a cocoa bag.

The Committee recommended that the National Council on Women and Development should seek the help of the Regional Commissioner in securing trucks to convey the clay, and also in the construction of a "Common Service Centre", where a kiln should be built for the use of all the women pot-makers in the area. This is a project with great export potential, and the NCWD is studying it.

RAFFIA MATS AND BAGS AT HOHOE

After the Ho Workshop, a retired school teacher organized a group in

this area to weave raffia mats and bags from available local materials. The products have great marketable potential and the Committee has recommended that this activity should be encouraged.

OYSTER SHELL PROJECT

The women at Sogakofe after the Ho Workshop, requested the help of the NCWD to secure a crushing machine to prepare oyster shells for animal feed. The projects committee is making a feasibility study of the proposal.

Eastern Region

The Committee visited the Kwamoso Palm Plantation and inspected the huge stock of palm-bunch waste lying idle. It therefore requested the manager of the plantation to make this waste product available to the women of the area. With the help of the NCWD technical experts, the women learnt to produce alkaline powder for the making of local soap (Amonkye). The women quickly acquired the skill and are producing the alkaline powder. The NCWD Technical Unit is preparing a simple recipe for soap-making at home with the use of this alkaline powder. The aim is to sell the powder in polythene bags so that housewives anywhere can produce their own household soap, with the help of the recipe.

At the New Tafo Cocoa Research Institute, the projects committee requested that the waste cocoa husks be made available to women in the area, for the production of alkaline powder for soap-making. The women have already produced large quantities of alkaline powder ready to be bagged in polythene bags for sale.

Case Study Deliberations

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TOTAL MOBILIZATION OF WOMEN FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. *Mobilization at grass-roots level:* In most cases, policy-makers at the national level make decisions for mobilization of rural women at the macro level. Experience has shown that mobilizing people at the micro level with a view to involving them in their own development has more meaning for these people. Instead of policy-makers deciding

what rural people want, the approach now should be to ask rural people what they think their needs are and to involve them in both programming and implementation of appropriate projects.

2. *Inputs for income generating activities:* Efforts to encourage village and cottage industries can be thwarted if markets are not available for the items produced. Market surveys for the items produced should be conducted before any small-scale venture can be undertaken on an economic basis.

3. *Research programmes – use of local personnel to collect data:* Hitherto officers collecting data from households have been either university graduates on National Service Programmes or students on long vacation. They usually have to make several trips in order to obtain whatever data they have to collect. Local personnel with some basic educational qualification can be trained for data collection. This approach removes suspicions surrounding “strangers coming from urban centres to collect data”. Local people know the life style of their villages and could know when to enter any household to collect data.

Case V

An Integrated Rural Development Project in the Tonosi District in Panama

Magaly Jurado

THIS is the integrated rural development project of a region where agriculture and cattle are the main economic activities. It depends on the appropriate use and combination of its human and natural resources. To resettle 1,000 households the following supportive services are needed:

1. Supply of inputs, required to promote agricultural production growth and urban-rural transactions involved in providing these supplies.
2. Post-harvest (agro-industries, storage, transportation, marketing, etc.).
3. Public Services.
4. Personal Services and Social Institutions that include
 - (a) Health
 - (b) Education
 - (c) Recreation

The realization of the potentials of this target group of 1,000 households depends on the optimization of the following:

1. Concentration of small settlements around service centres, providing basic production inputs and marketing facilities.
2. Economies of agglomeration in the provision of essential services, located in selected centres.
3. The consolidation of a network in the district to connect centres with complementary zones as well as with markets in view of transport restrictions and costs.
4. The creation of incentives for self-help.

Considering the erratic public transport in the area and the low incomes which limit its use services should not be outside a radius of about 10 km (two hours' walk).

Four centres and complementary zones were selected in the Tonosi district. These form a hierarchic pattern in which the main centre, which is the most complete and complex, will serve the whole district as well as its complementary zones. For the other three zones sub-centres are planned to cater to local needs.

The Tonosi district was sparsely populated: in 1960 it had 163 settlements of which 41% had less than 100 inhabitants; by 1970 there were 184 settlements, 65% of which had less than 100 inhabitants. The district, with 7.9 inhab/km² has the lowest density of population of all the districts in the Los Santos province with its average density of 18.7 inhab/km²; Tonosi's density is also below the average for the Republic of Panama, which is 18.9 inhab/km². In 1970 the Tonosi district had 10,690 inhabitants. Assuming an average of 4.7 members per family, there were then about 2,275 families. Of these 1,000 families, who were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry had a gross annual income of less than \$1,500, i.e., 43% of the population had less than the minimum to meet their basic needs. These 1,000 families are to be the beneficiaries of the Tonosi Integrated Rural Development Programme. It is planned that 566 participants (57%) should join farm groups, 184 (18%) agricultural individual farms, and 250 (25%) livestock units. The participants to be integrated in farm groups are *campesinos* with less than five hectares who constitute the poorest strata in the district. Other resettlements are considered in the cattle sub-project, but for medium-sized farmers.

The planners of the Tonosi Integrated Rural Development Project emphasize that resettlement has to be carefully mapped out to provide a master plan; there has to be proper phasing of the integration of migrants in the various resettlement zones so that the newcomers are readily accepted by the host community; distance plays an important factor and provides one of the main constraints of the resettlement process; motorized transportation has to be limited to the minimum because of cost. Options open are:

1. Housing provided by the Administration; this implies resettling the farmer's family from the very beginning.
2. Progressive housing; initially minimum core facilities are provided allowing the farmer gradually to create his own quarters and to bring his family when his home is completed. This reduces administrative investment.

3. Hostels, which are a temporary solution only because of the considerable social and economic costs involved.

Resettlement requires careful phasing; the minimum plan period ahead is one year, to allow for essential preparations.

Case Study Deliberations

It emerged that a number of important aspects had been overlooked in the master plan. Fortunately, there is still time to incorporate them.

1. No attention was paid to female heads of households (though there was a high percentage of such households), because women are traditionally not considered by planners.
2. Recognition should be given to the unpaid family labour; these workers should be included in all development schemes.
3. Time, space, and skill studies (differentiating women as household heads from women as wives of male household heads) should be performed to discover the most suitable income-generating activities. Adequate training and marketing facilities also need to be considered.
4. Non-governmental women's organizations should be encouraged at an early stage in order to ensure the women have a significant say in the construction of the project framework, e.g., women's groups should be included in the designing of the cooperatives.

Throughout one must ensure a continuous two-way communication between planners and the population of the district.

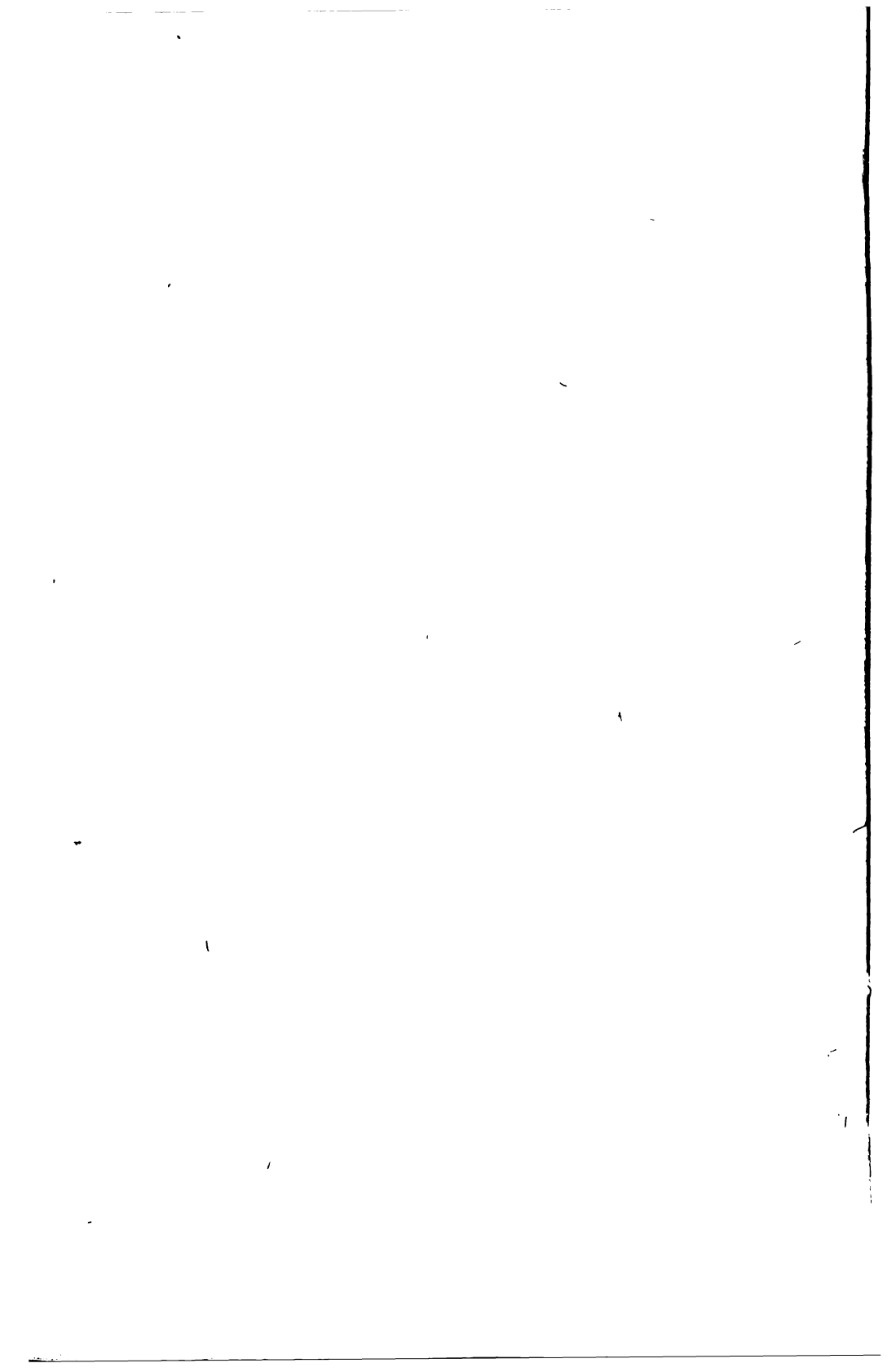
5. Arrangements should be made so that both men and women become members of the cooperative, with equal access to credit, training, and other facilities and services.

Land title should be held by women in female headed households, and joint title arrangements should be considered in households where both husband and wife are present.

6. Land speculation is likely to occur which affects the small farmer the most. This calls for corrective measures such as land ceiling and restriction on re-sale of land.
7. The operation of cooperatives in collective farming should be evaluated after a period of two or three years – from the standpoint of participation, efficiency in marketing, controlling migration, checking drunkenness and promiscuity, etc.

PART III

GUIDELINES



Guidelines for Planners

THESE guidelines were produced by a group of study fellows involved in planning in their respective countries.

As planners their concern was to work out how the recommendations brought forth by the plenary could be implemented by the planners. They found that attention to women's needs and women's programmes should be given at different stages of plan preparation and implementation since the exclusion of women is misusing a high-potential resource which in the end affects the overall economic growth rate.

1. *Plan Preparation.* At the various stages of plan preparation, the needs of women of each sector should be examined and identified. Appropriate programmes should be formulated and incorporated into the district development plan, the provincial plan, and the national plan.

2. *Consultations for Plan Preparation.* Voluntary and official organizations dealing with women's problems should be involved in a systematic and institutionalized way at the time of plan preparation. Consultation with women's organizations (especially at the grass-roots level) as well as field staff should be incorporated into action programmes by the planners.

3. *Pre-project and Pre-feasibility Studies.* Seldom do pre-project and pre-feasibility studies consider what is the future impact of these projects on women. For each project there should be special consideration of its impact on women, whether or not the project deals directly with women.

4. *Project Evaluation.* Evaluation of rural development projects should include an evaluation of the impact of these projects on the female population. This is usually done only for pilot projects or specific women's projects. Evaluation of the impact of development projects on women (whatever the sector under consideration) would give a more accurate picture, thus allowing the monitoring of on-going projects and the designing of new ones.

5. *Inter-ministerial Liaison and Consultation.* Liaison and consultation are needed between the various government departments and voluntary organizations dealing with related women's problems and programmes. For example, women's employment might be

simultaneously and in isolation dealt with by women's groups and manpower planning sections.

6. *Planning Perspective.* Planners of both sexes ought to be more aware of and sensitive to the importance of integrating women in development as a normal element of the planning process. Training programmes for planners should give special attention to the requirements and potentials of women.

Guidelines for Researchers

Research Priorities

1. HISTORICAL studies which concentrate on changes in the roles of women in society over time.

2. Collection and analysis of macro-data on such subjects as women's work participation, fertility, mortality, education, and participation in politics.

3. Micro-level studies at the village level, including studies of time-allocation, nutrition, division of labour within the household, women's participation in social and political life outside the home, women's role in decision-making within both the home and the community, attitudes to different types of work.

4. Action-oriented research either for collecting base-line data for future development programmes, or for project implementation, or for monitoring pilot projects. It is important that such research include a consideration of the effects of development projects on women, whether or not they are directly related to women.

5. The organization of a dialogue within the academic community to review the existing assumptions about society, women's roles, the family, etc. Close attention to be paid to the concepts and theories on the social sciences which influence research and data collection about social change and development. Particular emphasis should be given to examining the appropriate indicators of social change and women's roles within this process, especially in a situation of socio-economic diversity.

Organization of Research

1. National Research Institutes or Councils should form teams of researchers to conduct research on women. The team should be divided into sub-groups with different approaches: historical research on the role of women; macro-level data collection (surveys and analysis of census data); micro-level, in-depth studies of villages or small groups; action-oriented research, etc.

2. Use of locally based personnel (e.g., extension workers) with minimal training to collect basic, micro-level data for problem-oriented research related to specific planning needs.

3. Need for more trained women researchers.

Documentation and Dissemination of Research Findings

1. Documentation Centres to be set up where necessary and they should include a section on women (both rural and urban).
2. Publishing the research findings in a clear, concise, non-technical form, summarizing the most important points useful for planners, field-workers, and those who were the subject of research.
3. Closer cooperation between the various agencies and institutions doing research on women. This would prevent overlap and duplication. A Register of Research, which would list the on-going research projects, would also be useful.

Guidelines for Field Personnel

1. THERE should be more women field workers on productive income-generating services directed to rural women. Follow-up and supportive services should be supplied.
2. Field personnel involved in productive income-generating services should utilize local skills and where necessary assistance from outside supportive agencies should be sought and integrated into the programmes.
3. Training institutes should provide pre-service and in-service training for women field workers.
4. To make extension services more effective, there is a need for preparing para-professionals, since they are effective in communications with rural women. They need not possess a great deal of formal education beyond basic literacy skills.
5. The contents of this training should be decided by the personnel involved in it, on the basis of work, objectives, programmes, and resources of the locality concerned.
6. Local leaders (women as well as men) should be developed to assist the professionals and para-professionals in designing and carrying out extension work effectively. Members of women's associations and other local women leaders could be trained for this purpose.
7. Training institutions should also take care to give in-service training to the trainers from time to time. Their knowledge should be periodically updated.
8. All personnel directly involved in rural development planning, implementation, and training should be required to have periodic first-hand experience of rural people in the field. Such personnel should go prepared to learn rather than teach, in order to familiarize themselves with the lives and problems of rural people, women as well as men.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

An Approach to the Rural Poor

Ela R. Bhatt

Introduction

IT has been well emphasized that important aspects of action affecting the rural poor are:

1. Agrarian Reforms and Tenancy Rights
2. Minimum wage for agricultural workers
3. Availability of inputs such as credit to remove the exploitation by the moneylenders, etc.

The goal has often been stated as rural development with social justice. In this paper the institutional pattern required for achieving these goals will be discussed.

In the prevailing social and economic situation in India, there are two considerations of paramount importance :

1. All the rural poor should be effectively united in one organization to be able to combat and resist the tremendous powers of the rural elites.
2. Effective economic and social institutions should be built which, through this organization, provide the services which the rural poor so badly need.

Often, attempts at organizing the rural sector have tended to become charitable social welfare organizations rather than viable organizations drawing upon their *own* resources in providing services to their members.

Given below is one attempt at organizing agricultural workers.

Background

In Gujarat there is an Agricultural Workers' Union, which was set up by the Textile Labour Association (TLA) of Ahmedabad.

The TLA is a Union of 120,000 textile workers, founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1917. This Union set up a small Village Service Cell in 1935, to attend to the village level problems of its members, the majority of whom come from villages. They had problems pertaining to land ownership, village community services such as wells for drinking water, harassment by anti-social elements, illegal possession of the land of the tenant-cultivators, lack of proper housing, etc.

Over the years the Village Service Cell expanded into a full Section, bringing more awareness in the villages. In 1975, the minimum wages were revised for agricultural labour in Gujarat from Rs.3.50* to Rs.5.50 per day. The agricultural labourers came to TLA to help them demand the minimum wage from their employers. A Union called Khet Majoor Mahajan (Agricultural Workers' Union) was formed in 1975.

The TLA has sponsored the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA)** where urban poor women workers engaged in production and services on a self-employment basis are organized with objectives to regenerate their income and social uplift. SEWA also serves, therefore, as a background to the organization of agricultural workers.

The main problems of these workers were:

1. The minimum wages were not paid to them.
2. Unemployment – for four months there is no work due to seasonality of agriculture.
3. No rules for working conditions, e.g., hours of work were not fixed. They worked from 4 A.M. to 8 P.M., and brought their own meals.
4. Drought in the region.
5. Lack of facilities such as medical facilities, housing, schools.
6. The fair price shop run by the cooperative is not satisfactory.
7. Exploitation by local vested interests such as businessmen, moneylenders, government officials, politicians.
8. Very little influence of science and technology.
9. One season crop, i.e., monsoon and winter.
10. Village Councils, Panchayats not conscious of their duties.

The region, apart from being predominantly dry, is also relatively "backward" educationally and ridden with superstition.

*Approximately Rs.15 = £1 sterling.

**For more information on SEWA, refer to "Profiles of Self-Employed Women" by Ela R. Bhatt in *From Dissociation to Association*, edited by D. Jain, ICSSR.

The craftsmen and marginal farmers suffer as much as agricultural labourers. Hence they were also part of the same Union.

Women, for the first time perhaps, were recognized as individual workers, and given independent membership. The men did not object.

The women of the region are hardworking, intelligent, resourceful. Their main problem is that they have too many children: social barriers do not let them grow fully. They need training to improve their skills. Though they are now mainly in manual labour, they were weavers, spinners, potters, cobblers, milkmaids before. Now, they too go for *digging* labour, often under the Relief Programme by the State government.

Infrastructure of the Village

1. A Village Service Cooperative exists in each village, but it fails to serve the purpose, it is often under the control of one of the local vested interests. Moreover, it is afflicted by corruption and politics.
2. Fair price shops sell consumer goods, provisions, seeds, fertilizers, pesticides. Here too corruption, politics, and bad management prevail.
3. Scheduled Banks exist in neighbouring towns, but access for the poor is not easy.
4. Primary Health Units exist in some villages, but service, equipment, etc., are scarce and poor.
5. Primary Schools exist in every village but students' attendance and teachers' performance are both far from satisfactory.

Characteristics of the Region

POPULATION

Villages	1971			Union Members		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
25	20,712	10,609	10,103	1,860	941	919

Ahmedabad city and towns such as Sanard, Bavla, Viramgam being nearer, men migrate to these places for work.

LAND HOLDINGS

Marginal farmer's average size of holding comes to 0.75 acres.

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME

	<u>Annual Income</u>	<u>From Land</u>	<u>From Labour</u>
Marginal Farmers	Rs.2,000	✓	✓
Landless Ag. Labourers	Rs.1,800	—	✓

IRRIGATION SOURCE

<u>Average Rainfall</u>	<u>Tubewells</u>	<u>River</u>	<u>Lake</u>
4½" to 10" p.a.	24	Bhogaro but dry	12 sq. miles Dry in summer

Big farmers have their own wells.

CROPS

The main crop is rice, barley, small millet in summer. Cash crop is cotton in four villages.

SOIL

Soil is saline.

CATTLE HUSBANDRY

Livestock population:

<u>Cows and Buffaloes</u>	<u>Camels</u>	<u>Sheep, goats</u>
700-800	200	600

There are camels only in four villages; they are used for transport.

There are sheep and goats only in four villages; the wool is used for processing.

Ten Jersey cows have recently been brought to Zamp village to improve the quality of the breed.

Milk production average 2½ litres per buffalo and 1 litre per cow. More than 60% of the cows are dry and old.

Each village has its own grazing plot managed by the village panchayat. The size of the plot is about 10 acres. One acre per 100 cattle is the standard.

Cattle are purchased on individual dealing, and also at Cattle Fairs held every three months in different villages of the taluka (district sub-division).

There is one dairy among the group of 25 villages.

HEALTH CARE FACILITIES

There are two government hospitals.

Each village has a private doctor but there is no lady doctor.

Each village has one or two village midwives.

Diseases: malaria, dysentery, skin disease, respiratory, eye infections, coughs, etc.

Children are prone to sickness, specially due to malnutrition.

The drinking water is contaminated.

Clothing is inadequate.

Infants are fed on cereals.

Most of the households have no milch cattle and milk is not available for children.

The level of health consciousness is very low.

Medical aid is sought only for serious illnesses.

The concept of preventive medicine is almost non-existent.

Awareness of family planning programmes exists and probably the small family norm is also accepted as desirable but there is no conscious effort to implement it. FP is almost completely identified with vasectomy and loop insertions. The number of vasectomies reported were much higher in the low-income groups (low caste). It was evident that the money incentive was the most important motivating factor for them. Very few cases were reported from high castes, land-owning groups.

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

	Town	Village	No. of Units
Rice Mills	2	—	10
Cotton Gin Press Mills	1	—	4

	Town	Village	No. of Units
Oil Mills	1	—	2
Agricultural Instruments			
Industrial Shed (Coop)	1	—	1
Dairy	1	—	1
Handlooms	1	7	11
Roof Tiles Manufacture	—	8	14
Brickmaking	—	20	20
Pottery	—	25	25
Tanning and Shoemaking	3	3	6
Tailors	3	25	59

Felt Need for Agricultural Facilities

Looking at the characteristics of the area and the difficulties faced by the workers, it seems apparent that they need the following improvement in agricultural facilities.

The main sources of water are tubewells and one lake. The large farmers have their own wells and tend to bore deeply, with the result that saline water comes up spoiling the soil. The lake dries up in the dry season. Hence the poorer farmers have no water, while the larger farmers destroy their top soil.

Guidance in the use of tubewells and what crops to grow is required.

CREDIT

The farmers need credit facilities for the following inputs: fertilizers, seeds, water pumps, housing, social customs, and consumption.

Their main difficulty seems to be unpaid loans from previous years. Due to three consecutive years of famine, they could not generate income from the loans and do not have enough cash for recurring expenses. An action programme was needed. Before taking action, a survey was conducted by the volunteers of SEWA of the members' living and socio-economic levels.

MEMBERSHIP

Out of the total population of about 20,000, 1,860 are the members of the Agricultural Workers' Union.

	Total	Female	Male
1. Agricultural labour	1,328	821	507
2. Craftsmen	202	118	200
3. Marginal farmers	330	2	212
Total	1,860	941	919

Craftsmen are mainly carpenters, weavers, barbers, leather workers, potters.

MEMBERSHIP DUES

Each member contributes Rs.4.00 as membership dues per year.

CASTE COMPOSITION OF MEMBERS

Harijan	30%
Kolipatel	50%
Lohar (Smith), Suthar (Carpenter), Ghanchi (Oilman), Mochi (Leatherworker), Prajapati (Potter), Vaghari (Vegetable grower), Rabari (Milk producer), Rajpul, Muslim	20%

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD OF MEMBERS

Percentage of literacy

Members	Male	Female
1,860	10%	2% (Harijans)

Action Programme

An Action Programme was attempted to assist the members. Due to the reputation of the TLA being a constructive organization, believing in a peaceful approach towards problems (it must be recalled that the TLA was founded by Gandhiji and still is under that influence), the Union could get support not only from the farmers, but also from the government and cooperative department.

The following were the main points of the Action Programme and its results.

The struggle for minimum wage was partly successful during the agricultural season. In off-season it is not possible for the small farmers to give the stipulated minimum wages.

The minimum wage for an agricultural labourer is Rs.5.50 per day – the minimum wage for a share-cropper is Rs.2,500 per year. The region is poor in resources, hence it is not possible to get the minimum wage for the whole year, for the present.

Village Name	Activities run by the Union
A. Zamp	Clothmaking, weaving, night school
B. Vekaria	Bhajanmandli, night school
C. Dev Dholera	Wool-weaving, night school
D. Raika	Milk union of women
E. Bavla	Milk union of women

Efforts are being made to activate the government and other agencies to solve some of the major problems, e.g.,

1. Public Works Department, for roads and irrigation; State Transport, for the routing of buses.
2. Banks, for credit.
3. Housing Board (Rural), for housing.
4. Dairy Development Board, to improve the cattle breed.
5. Agriculture Department, for soil investigation, extension services.
6. Cooperative Department, for credit extension.

Cycle rickshaws for the unemployed: With the help of the bank, 13 Vaghari unemployed youth were provided with cycle rickshaws, the first of their kind in the region, earning Rs.6 per day.

Woollen Blanket Unit: 27 families of weavers were in a state of starvation in Dev Dholera village for want of working capital. The Union helped them with a loan of Rs.1,000 per family.

Production started in no time. Each family earned about Rs.250 at the end of the month after repayment of Rs.50. After ten regular monthly instalments the Bank advanced a further Rs.500 to them. This has boosted their production and income. Women and girls are the most active in the production. Men usually attend to the sale, very

often go to neighbouring villages. Out of the 27 families, seven families have women as the head and sole supporter of the family.

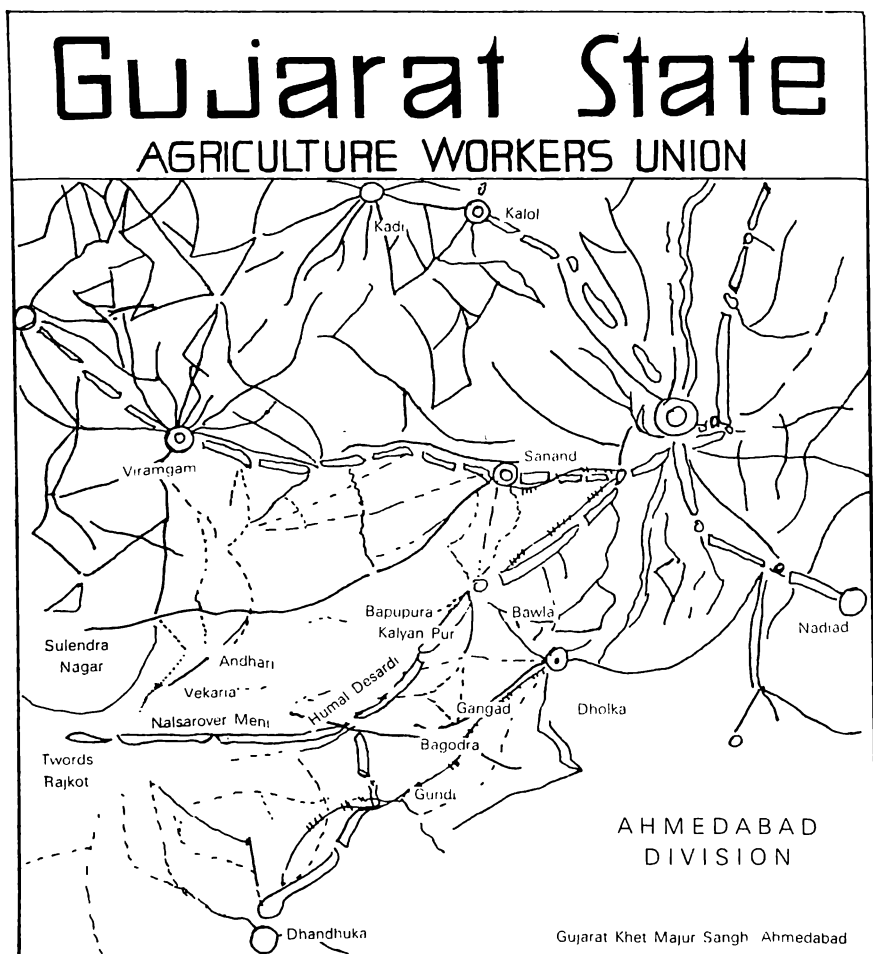
Sewing Class: 35 women and 27 men are learning to sew in Zamp, where women from neighbouring villages walk up to three miles to learn sewing. Seven have their own sewing machines, the others use the machines of the class.

Conclusion

Started in 1975, this programme has not been in action long enough for inferences or conclusions to be drawn.

However, what seems to emerge is that it is possible without elaborate techniques and high expenditure to reach and initiate self-help programmes among the rural poor.

Being an extension of a large experienced Trade Union does of course provide a vital and favoured take-off base. But agricultural workers, like other workers, including the *women* among them, are most ready to be organized, and capable of absorbing assistance and ideas if exposed to them.



APPENDIX B

A Rural Women's Seminar in Bolivia

G. Barrios

FOLLOWING agrarian reforms in Bolivia in 1953 there has been a considerable improvement and change in the semi-slave conditions of the villagers. Since 1953 the rural masses have been acquiring power and are by now important pressure groups. No government, right or left, can forfeit rural support. Already before the agrarian reform there were a few trade unions and their extension has been very rapid. As a result, the influence of the latifundia has disintegrated.

In course of time women's trade unions have also acquired importance and some women's committees were formed in the countryside with the purpose of discussing above all problems the home, the family and the community. Later on more important organizations were formed, showing the progress of rural women towards taking interest in national matters. Nevertheless, village women still have a long way to go before the laws are changed to give them the rights that would suit them. In any case, there already exists an appreciation of the part women want to play in rural development as can be seen from the following minutes of the first regional seminar on the participation of village women in rural development.

A seminar of village women was held in Cochabamba (Bolivia) in November 1976 to discuss the participation of rural women in community development. These are the recommendations of that seminar:

1. Women should be treated like the menfolk and they should have their own women's centres.
2. Women should be given responsible positions, particularly those of treasurers since they are better at managing money than the men.
3. Spinsters help their mothers in the home, work in the fields, and earn money by weaving and selling goods in the market but surrender their earnings to their parents. Married women work more in the home and help in the fields but have no control over their earnings. The

seminar thought that women should be able to spend what they earn without having to ask permission.

4. The women want to be taught domestic science as well as the use of manure, fertilizers, and improved agricultural methods so that they can earn more from the sale of their produce. At present they only know what their parents teach them. They want to be able to go to secondary school and want more rural colleges, specially teachers' training colleges, and universities.

5. Each village should have sewing classes, a sewing machine, and a power loom so that they can learn to make clothes and men's shirts because they lose a great deal in bartering their produce for those commodities.

6. They want a church in each village to avoid the expense of travelling to town for marriages and christenings.

7. They want a nurse, a doctor, a hospital with a maternity ward, and a dentist in every village to avoid having to travel great distances.

8. They do not want to be looked down upon any longer and want to be treated like urban women. They want educated women to visit the village so that they can learn to understand and empathize with the village women.

9. They want to be taught first-aid and midwifery so that women in labour should no longer be treated like animals.

10. Technicians and agronomists should come to the villages to demonstrate improved methods. Talks and leaflets are useless; they are not understood or remembered.

11. Men should work as hard as the women if the community is to improve.

12. The delegates said that on their return to their homes they would form pressure groups to demand dairies, weaving cooperatives, first-aid classes, drinking water wells, shops to sell their produce directly, and loans for working capital.

13. They demanded that rural women should be represented on Works Committees.

14. In the village of Cocopata there is already a plan for a Centre for the promotion of rural women. Construction to be started in May 1977. It will have weaving and embroidery classes and it is hoped that the authorities as well as the wife of the President, the Republican Committee for National Social Action, the Inter-American Women's Committee, and of the Committee for the Development of Community Projects will give it their support.

15. The delegates demanded that Rural Education should reach the remoter areas. Finally they demanded to be consulted about their needs and allowed to participate in Rural Development Projects.

APPENDIX C

Summary of Topic-oriented Plenary Sessions

IN the course of these sessions the following major points were raised:

1. *National Accounting:* Women's problem in all exercises of National Accounting is that most of their work goes uncoded. This is partly due to the fact that services are difficult to evaluate – they are totally excluded from socialist national accounting. However, E. Boserup suggests methods for the costing of traditional female labour – for example, the time taken in collecting firewood can be equated with the price of the kerosene which would otherwise have to be purchased. Moreover, E. Boserup insists that National Accounts are too incomplete, biased against women, and therefore unreliable to provide guidelines for planners. *Specific investigations are an essential supplement.*
2. *Development Planning:* Under conditions of severe unemployment planners face a real dilemma: should they try to provide work for one member of *each* household, i.e., mainly for men, or two members – i.e., husband and wife – for *some* households. This, it was suggested, should be left to the decision of the people involved through the democratic process.
3. *Traditional and Modern Agriculture:* In the traditional set-up women could combine domestic and agricultural activities. In the modern, mechanized set-up they tend to be ousted by men. Where mechanization is very recent, as in the Peoples' Republic of China, sex specificity has not had time to be established in work patterns so that one can find women tractor drivers, whereas one hardly ever sees a women driving a plough, say in India. Indeed in China domestic tasks have mostly been communalized in order to release female labour for productive purposes as has been done in the Israeli kibbutz. It should be noted here that in the case of the kibbutz where men and women are treated equally women have opted for their traditional roles (kitchen, creche, etc.) in order to be near their children.
4. *Population and Development:* High fertility affects rural families adversely. The more educated a woman is the higher the rate of

employment and the lower her fertility. Family planners should consider legal and safe abortions as a complement to contraceptive drives.

5. *Appropriate Technology*: Capital-intensive technology replaces female labour (e.g., threshing, rice-milling, etc.). Technology in the Developed Countries is the result of development, not its cause. H. Singer pointed out that the average annual rate of population growth in LDCs is five times that in DCs, while the per capita income in the latter is about 100 times that in the former. This means that LDCs need to employ labour-intensive appropriate technologies. Yet 98% of the world's expenditure on research and development is incurred in Western Industrial Market Economies. There is thus an urgent need for LDCs to develop their own technological expertise appropriate to their conditions. This could be done under the auspices of Councils of Science and Technology in LDCs.
6. *Education* should be geared to the needs of the recipients and not to getting qualifications aimed only at providing access to jobs. Until this is done there will continue to be high dropout rates among girls whose education makes them into social misfits. Moreover, since it has been shown that women are more receptive than men to non-formal education special emphasis should be placed on non-formal teaching – particularly in income-generating activities instead of the present concentration on home economics.
7. *Resettlement* should always take women's needs and potentials into account, preferably through consultation on matters such as type of housing, kitchen gardens, poultry rearing, etc.
8. *Communication Media*: Need to avoid falling into trap of using DC's techniques which are inappropriate in various ways: (a) separate the indigenous elite from the masses; (b) expensive and difficult to maintain; (c) TV requires sophistication to be absorbed; (d) mass media must be complemented by informal face-to-face communication.
9. *Research and Monitoring*: Most important of all if one is to achieve anything is to know what happens at the grass-roots, how it happens, and why it happens. This requires not only base data research but also regular monitoring.

A model developed and used by R. Seneratne in Sri Lanka was outlined; it represents a compromise between the labour and time intensive participant observation methodology and the quick and

superficial survey with teams of interviewers. Requested by the Planning Commission to consult on social aspects of development, Seneratne demanded a small budget and six months: he trained 12 graduates in anthropological-type research methods for three months, while he selected 12 villages representative of different ecological areas and ethnic groups; subsequently, each researcher moved into one of these villages and for three months collected socio-economic background data and established rapport with informants. Since then whenever planners need specific information about village-level conditions and/or aspirations (e.g., rural housing, family planning, etc.) the research team holds a one-day conference, designs a strategy to collect the relevant data, and within one or two weeks researchers send their reports back to base where they are collected and immediately submitted to the Planning Commission.

This interesting research model does not only offer efficient ways of offering reliable socio-economic information quickly but it can also be used to monitor on-going policy implementation. Moreover, it provides a channel of communication from micro-village to macro-planning levels. However, the model also has certain built-in problems: the same researcher cannot remain in one small society for more than two years before he is likely to become biased; overlapping of phasing individual investigators and specific base villages may help in this context.

APPENDIX D

Directory of Projects

Country	Contact Address	Project
Botswana	CUSO, P.O. Box 252 Gaberones, Botswana	<i>Village Home Affairs Leadership Programme (VHAL)</i> The VHAL Project was initiated in 1974 to train village women to be instructors in home affairs skills such as soap-making and knitting in a module programme. The Botswana Extension College has produced and supplied the training materials.
Botswana	CUSO, P.O. Box 252 Gaberones, Botswana	<i>Solar Cookers</i> Eight Solar Cookers have been made in the Rural Training Centre for demonstration and replication in the villages. Botswana has large areas of land where fuel is unobtainable. The Solar Cookers can be made from scrap material.
Botswana	CUSO, P.O. Box 252 Gaberones, Botswana	<i>Oodi Blanket and Tapestry Weaving Cooperative</i> Women have learned to make looms, process wool and produce high quality blankets and tapestries for the export market. The work is done on a cooperative basis.

Country	Contact Address	Project
Dominica	Miss H. Ewin Chief Youth Develop. Officer Youth Develop. Div. Ministerial Building Roseau, Dominica	<i>Building of Foot Bridge</i> This was an example of a successful village project which was decided on and run by the villagers with the assistance of a community organizer. This organizer assisted the village to decide on a development priority, after which the villagers raised money and built the bridge in a communal effort, under her supervision.
India	Mr. Kureen Chairman National Dairy Develop. Board Anand, Gujarat	<i>Milk Cooperative for Women in Anand, Gujarat</i> This project is designed to form associations for women milk producers in Gujarat.
India	Ela R. Bhatt General Secretary SEWA Ahmedabad India 380001	<i>Self-employed Women's Association</i> A Union of self-employed women sponsored by the Textile Labour Association. Provides banking services, health facilities and other services for the members.
India	V.I. Chacho Executive Secretary United Planters' Assoc. of South India UPASI Coonoor	<i>Comprehensive Labour Welfare Scheme</i> <i>No-Birth Bonus Scheme:</i> <i>Association of Tea Plantation Workers'</i> <i>in the Coonoor</i> Unions of women tea plantation

Country	Contact Address	Project
		workers – No-Birth Bonus Schemes as part of Labour Welfare Scheme offering: preventive medicine, hygiene, nutrition, maternal care, creches, craft training, family planning.
Jamaica	Audrey Roberts Women's Bureau Office of the Prime Minister 2 St. Lucia Avenue Kingston, Jamaica	<i>Vocational Training for Women: Special Employment Programme</i> This project is attempting to train a group of selected women in vocational skills, such as wood working and metal working. These women who received some literacy, accounting, and banking skills as well, are formed into cooperatives.
Morocco	Maria Diamanti Programme Officer UNICEF Office for North Africa BP 660 Alger-Gare Algeria	<i>Women's Centres' Integrated Rural Development Project</i> Operating in 3 provinces of Morocco one of its more successful aspects is the running of 500 and promotion of Feminine Centres in larger villages and small towns. The Centres are low budget, operating a simple curriculum aimed at young girls. The curriculum includes literacy classes, banking, simple accounting, health, nutrition, family planning, child care, first-aid, sewing, knitting, poultry farming,

Country	Contact Address	Project
		animal husbandry and kitchen garden. Each Centre provides a creche, so that girls who have to care for siblings can go to classes.
Tanzania	CUSO Tanzania P.O. Box 1697 Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania	<i>Irengi Tailoring Cooperative</i> Twenty-seven women have grouped together to produce school uniforms, household linen, and garments to order. With the masterful coordination of the local officer of cooperatives, the women are assured of a workplace, market, and contact with foreign aid sources.
Tanzania	CUSO Tanzania P.O. Box 1697 Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania	<i>Kilimanjaro Women's Club; High Yield Milking Goats</i> A women's club has purchased a hybrid type of goat which produces more milk than a local cow, and needs less feed.
Zambia	CUSO Zambia P.O. Box RW 320 Lusaka, Zambia	<i>African National Council of South Africa, Publication of the Voice of Women</i> The ANC-SA, Women's Branch has produced a news magazine to inform their sisters in Africa and the developed countries. The women are responsible for all aspects of its production.

Country	Contact Address	Project
Zambia	CUSO Zambia P.O. Box RW 320 Lusaka, Zambia	<i>African National Council – South Africa. Fund- Raising Tour</i> In conjunction with trade unions and support groups in Canada the members of the ANC-SA, Women’s Branch, are touring Canada to raise money and discuss the problems facing black women inside the Republic of South Africa.

APPENDIX E

List of Participants and Their Papers Presented

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
Mrs. P. Abeywardene Sri Lanka	Assistant Director Dept. of Rural Development Colombo Sri Lanka	Mobilization of Human Resources & Development of Self-Reliance – special reference to Sri Lanka
Mrs. M.A. Adekoya Nigeria	Social Development Officer Social Development Division Ministry of Local Government & Info. Oyo State P.M.B. 5170 Ibadan Nigeria	Barriers to Good Organization of Women's Work in Rural Area
Mrs. M. Akhtar Pakistan	Deputy Chief Economic Research Planning Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad Pakistan	Women and Rural Development – Problems and Issues
Mrs. K. Alam Afghanistan	Director Educational Relations Department Afghan Women's Org.	

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
	Jah-de-26th Saratan Kabul Afghanistan	
Miss T. Aziz Pakistan	Dept. of Anthropology Quaid-i-Azam Univ. Islamabad Pakistan	The Role of Purdah
Mr. G. Barrios Bolivia	Legal Advisor (Land Colonization Studies), Project Abapo-Izozog La Paz Bolivia	A Rural Women's Seminar in Bolivia
Mrs. E.R. Bhatt India	Chief Women's Wing Self-Employed Women's Assoc. (SEWA) Gandhi Majoor Sevalaya Ahmedabad 380001 India	An Approach to the Rural Poor
Mrs. S.A. Chellah Zambia	Senior Female Ext. Officer Department of Agriculture P.O. Box 427 Livingstone Zambia	The Role of Women in Zambian Rural Development

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
Miss J. Cole Ghana	Executive Secretary National Council on Women and Development P.O. Box M53 Accra Ghana	Women's Active Participation in Insuring Continuous Improvement in the Quality of Rural Life
Miss E.I. Cudjoe Ghana	Industrial Officer Department of Rural Develop. P.O. Box 55 Accra Ghana	The Fabric Dyeing and Printing Cottage Industry of the Dept. of Rural Dev.
Mrs. T. Dawit Ethiopia	ECA Training and Research Centre for Women P.O. Box 3005 Addis Ababa Ethiopia	Mass Communication Media and the Role of Women in Rural Development
Mrs. M. Diamanti Greece	Programme Officer UNICEF Office for North Africa B.P. 660 Alger-Gare Algeria	UNICEF and the Participation of Women in Rural Development
Miss H.I.R. Elwin Dominica	Chief Youth Dev. Officer Youth Development Division Ministerial Bldgs. Roseau Dominica	Aspects of Women in Rural Development in Dominica

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
Mrs. G.S. Endeley Cameroon	Provincial Deleg. for National Educ. South West Province P.O. Box 3 Buea Cameroon	The Participation of the Women's Organization of the Cameroon National Union in Rural Development
Miss T. Foggelberg Netherlands	Inst. of Cultural Anthropology and Non-Western Sociology University of Leiden Netherlands	The Context of Women Studies
Mrs. J.M. Gibson New Zealand	Project Division Women's Activities CUSO P.O. Box 3844 Dar-Es-Salaam Tanzania	
Mrs. H. Goonatilake Sri Lanka	Lecturer Vidyalankara Campus University of Sri Lanka Kelaniya Sri Lanka	Women and Development: Social and Political Participation. Tradition, Prejudice, Myth, Reality
Mr. A. Halim Bangladesh	Dept. of Agricultural Extension and Teachers' Training Bangladesh Agricultural University	Household Education: An Accelerator of Rural Development

<i>Name and Country of Origin</i>	<i>Present Position and Address</i>	<i>Paper Submitted</i>
	Mymensingh Bangladesh	
Miss M. Hekmati Iran	Projects Officer Projects Division UNFPA, United Nations New York USA	A Review of the United Nations' Involvement in Population Question
Mrs. D. Jain*	Director Institute of Social Studies New Delhi India	Proposal for a Research/ Action Project to prepare and test an Assistance Plan for Women from the Poorest Rural Households
Miss M.O. Jurado Panama	Rural Physical Planning Integrated Rural Development Prog. Ministry of Planning and Economic Policy Panama	The Role of Physical Plan- ning in IRD Programmes – A Case Study of the Tonosi District, Panama
Mrs. W.M. Kamau Kenya	Planning Officer Planning Division Ministry of Housing and Social Services P.O. Box 45958 Nairobi Kenya	
Mrs. S. Kamil Pakistan	Dept. of Sociology	Status of Village Women in Pakistani Society

*Co-Director

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
	University of Karachi University Road, Karachi. Pakistan	
Mrs. S.P. Kassulamemba Tanzania	Ujamaa & Co-op. Dev. Officer & Admin. Officer Regional Commissioner's Office P.O. Box 9084 Dar-Es-Salaam Tanzania	Women's Active Participation in Improving Rural Life: The Case of Dar-Es-Salaam Region, Tanzania
Mrs. M.E.S. Khidir Sudan	Post-Graduate Student Dept. of Rural Econ. Faculty of Agriculture, University of Khartoum P.O. Box 32 Khartoum North Sudan	An Explanatory Rate on the Initial Results of the Socio-economic Survey Investigating the Role of Women in Agricultural and Related Activities in Rural Khartoum and Equatoria Province
Dr. V. Mazumdar* India	Director of Women's Programmes Indian Council of Social Science Research I.I.P.A. Hostel	A Programme of Research and Publications on Women

*Co-Director

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
	Mymensingh Bangladesh	
Miss M. Hekmati Iran	Projects Officer Projects Division UNFPA, United Nations New York USA	A Review of the United Nations' Involvement in Population Question
Mrs. D. Jain* India	Director Institute of Social Studies New Delhi India	Proposal for a Research/Action Project to prepare and test an Assistance Plan for Women from the Poorest Rural Households
Miss M.O. Jurado Panama	Rural Physical Planning Integrated Rural Development Prog. Ministry of Planning and Economic Policy Panama	The Role of Physical Planning in IRD Programmes – A Case Study of the Tonosi District, Panama
Mrs. W. M. Kamau Kenya	Planning Officer Planning Division Ministry of Housing and Social Services P.O. Box 45958 Nairobi Kenya	
Mrs. S. Kamil Pakistan	Dept. of Sociology	Status of Village Women in Pakistani Society

*Co-Director

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
	University of Karachi University Road, Karachi. Pakistan	
Mrs. S.P. Kassulamemba Tanzania	Ujamaa & Co-op. Dev. Officer & Admin. Officer Regional Commissioner's Office P.O. Box 9084 Dar-Es-Salaam Tanzania	Women's Active Participation in Improving Rural Life: The Case of Dar-Es-Salaam Region, Tanzania
Mrs. M.E.S. Khidir Sudan	Post-Graduate Student Dept. of Rural Econ. Faculty of Agriculture, University of Khartoum P.O. Box 32 Khartoum North Sudan	An Explanatory Rate on the Initial Results of the Socio-economic Survey Investigating the Role of Women in Agricultural and Related Activities in Rural Khartoum and Equatoria Province
Dr. V. Mazumdar* India	Director of Women's Programmes Indian Council of Social Science Research I.I.P.A. Hostel	A Programme of Research and Publications on Women

*Co-Director

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
	Indraprastha Estate New Delhi India	
Dr. J. Momeni Iran	Associate Professor Dept. of National Development and Sociology Pahlavi University Shiraz Iran	Research Priorities in the Study of Women in Rural Development
Ms. K. Murphy Canada	Regional Field Director Canadian University Services Overseas P.O. Box 3844 Dar-Es-Salaam Tanzania	Programming for Women in East Central and Southern Africa: A Non-Governmental Organisation's Analysis and Experience
Miss R.N. Musyoki Kenya	Institute for Dev. Studies University of Nairobi P.O. Box 30197 Nairobi Kenya	A Socio-Economic Status of Families and Social Participation. A Case of Mbooni in Rural Kenya
Mrs. P. Ramachandran India	Women's Welfare & Development Dept. of Social Welfare New Delhi India	The Role of Women in Rural Development

Name and Country of Origin	Present Position and Address	Paper Submitted
Mrs. A. Roberts Jamaica	Women's Bureau Office of the Prime Minister 2 St. Lucia Ave. Kingston Jamaica	Specific Problems as They Relate to Rural Jamaican Women
Mrs. P. Sajogyo Indonesia	Lecturer Social Economic Dept. Bogor Agricultural University Jalan Pajajaran Bogor Indonesia	A Case of Women's Active Participation in Insuring Continuous Improvements in the Quality of Rural Life
Mrs. C.O. Taylor Ghana	W.F.P. Coordinator Department of Rural Dev. P.O. Box 55 Accra Ghana	W.F.P. Assistance and Voluntary Work in the Rural Areas

Observers

Shireen Huq	Dacca, Bangladesh
Jasveen Jairath	IDS, Sussex University
Julia Meiklejohn	London
Taya Zinkin	Author of several books on India. Senior Programme Officer
Renee Gerard	UNICEF, Dacca, Bangladesh
Carlos Bazan	CEPD, Lima, Peru
Terry Spense	ODM, London
Carrie Marias	UNESCO, Paris, France
Shirley Seeward	IDRC, Ottawa, Canada

Research Officer

Nici Nelson

IDS, Sussex University

Director

T.S. Epstein

IDS Fellow, Sussex University

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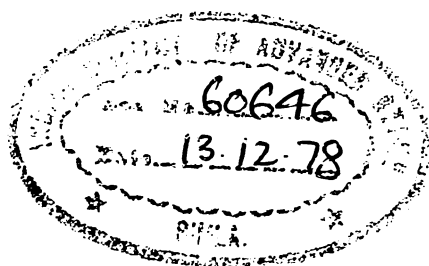
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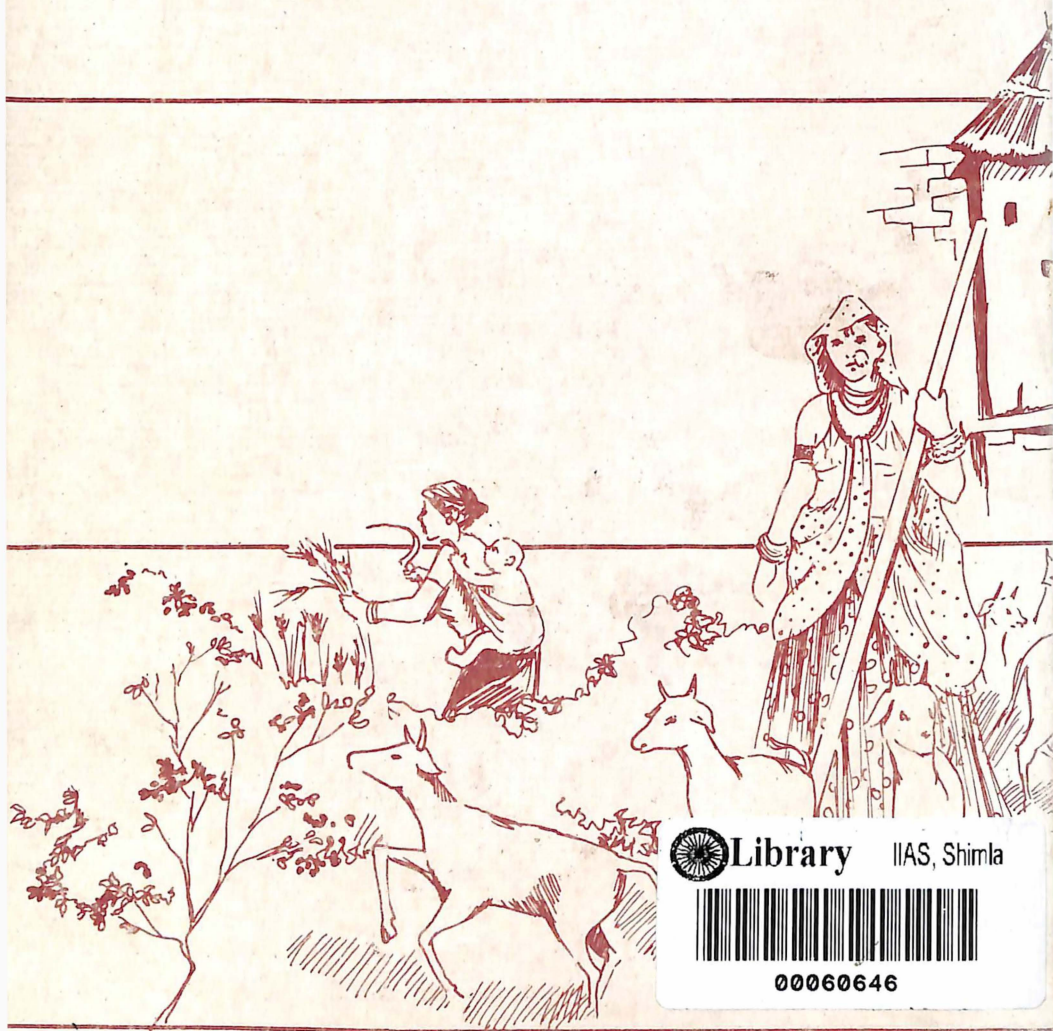
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