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Titel

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Enthält

Artikel, Berichte Presseausschnitte, epd-Nachrichten u. ä. betr. Stellung der Frau weltweit; Frauen in Nepal; Entwicklungsprojekte für Frauen; Weltwirtschaft und Frauen

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- ALLES ZUR FRAUENREFER.
- ARTIKEL, BERICHTE ETC.

1. Protokolle
2.
3. Seminarvorbereitung (Zi.-Reservierungen/Flüge etc.)
4. Allgemeine Korrespondenz
5. Korrespondenz mit Kuratorinnen
6. Korrespondenz mit Referentinnen
7. Referate
8. Programme
9. Anmeldungen
10. Absagen

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ALLES
ZUR
FRAUEN-
REFERENT-
IN

Stichpunkte zum Aufgabenbereich einer Frauenreferentin

Aus der Sicht der Länderreferate (Nepal, Indien, Zambia) sowie des Gemeinde-Öffentlichkeitsreferates benötigt die Gossner Mission eine Frauenbeauftragte, die die jeweiligen Referenten in ihrer Arbeit berät und begleitet; dies insbesondere in folgenden Bereichen:

- Auswahl und Vorbereitung von ÜberseemitarbeiterInnen,
- Erarbeitung entwicklungspolitischer Konzeptionen, Strategien, Maßnahmen,
- Mitarbeit und Entscheidungsgewalt in den länderspezifischen Ausschüssen und in dem Verwaltungsausschuß,
- regelmäßige Fortbildung der ReferentInnen und KuratorInnen zum Themenkomplex "Frauen in der Ökumene" (in Zusammenarbeit mit den Frauenbeauftragten des Kuratoriums),
- Erstellen von Materialien zum Themenkomplex "Frauen in der Ökumene" für die pädagogisch-gemeindliche Arbeit und für die Öffentlichkeitsarbeit,
- Erarbeiten geeigneter Besucherprogramme für ökumenische Gäste (weibliche und männliche).

Bärbel Barteczko-Schwedler

Berlin, den 10.12.1990

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Leitfaden zur Beteiligung von Frauen in Entwicklungsprojekten

1. Ist die Beteiligung von Frauen gewährleistet bei:
   Initiierung, Planung, Durchführung und Auswertung der Projekte.

2. Werden Frauen "empowered"?, d.h. ermächtigt, selbstbewußt und autonom gemacht (z.B. durch Verbesserung ihres Bildungsstandes, Stärkung ihres Selbstbewußtseins, Erhöhung ihres sozialen Status) oder werden sie "instrumentalisiert"?

3. Geschieht die Arbeit "für" oder "mit" den Frauen?

4. Trägt die Arbeit zur ökonomischen Unabhängigkeit der Frauen bei oder nicht?
   (Einkommensschaffende Maßnahmen)

5. Ist das Projekt geeignet, den Frauen in gleicher Weise wie den Männern Zugang zu und Verfügungsmacht über Ressourcen (z.B. Landeigentum, Produktionsmittel, Geld, Wissen) zu verschaffen und zu sichern oder könnte es eher zu einer weiteren Beschneidung dieser Möglichkeiten führen?

6. Wird die Subsistenzproduktion durch das Projekt gestärkt/verbessert oder zumindest erhalten oder wird sie reduziert bzw. durch Marktproduktion ersetzt?

7. Steigert das Projekt die Arbeitsbelastung der Frauen oder verschafft es ihnen Erleichterung?

8. Trägt das Projekt dazu bei, das stereotype geschlechtspezifische Rollenbild aufzubrechen, (z.B. durch Zugang und Umgang mit Technologie) oder wird es verfestigt?

9. In welcher Weise fördert das Projekt die Zusammenarbeit und die Gemeinschaft von Frauen

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fällt weg da eingearbeitet

Organisationsstruktur zur Gleichberechtigung von Frau und Mann in der Mission

Arbeitsauftrag:

Die Arbeitsgruppe ist aufgefordert, für jede der unten genannten Maßnahmen klarzustellen, wer die jeweilige Maßnahme für die Praxis erarbeitet, sie implementiert und sie im jeweiligen Arbeitsprozeß begleitet. Außerdem sind Zeitangaben zur Realisierung der entsprechenden Maßnahmen auszuweisen.

1. Neubesetzung des Kuratoriums und der Geschäftsstellen: Bei der Kuratoriumswahl und der Einstellung von Referenten ist eine Besetzung von mindestens 40 % von einem Geschlecht zu verwirklichen. Die Gossner Mission fordert die sie unterstützenden Landeskirchen auf, eine entsprechende Zahl weiblicher Deligierte ins Kuratorium zu entsenden. ✓

2. In den Jahresabschlußberichten der Länderreferate sind die jeweilig geleisteten Beiträge zur Verbesserung der Situation der Frauen auszuweisen. Dabei ist der "Leitfaden für Frauen in Entwicklungsprojekten" zugrunde zu legen. ✓

3. Es ist Aufgabe der Gossner Mission, alle EntscheidungsträgerInnen (ReferentInnen und KuratorInnen) regelmäßig zum Thema "Frauen in der Entwicklung" fortzubilden. ✓

4. Jede/r Ausreisende ist in der Vorvertragsphase auf die Rolle der Frauen in "seinem/ihrem" Land vorzubereiten. Die Referenten sind gehalten, hierfür entsprechendes Material bereitzuhalten und entsprechende Bildungsangebote bundesdeutscher entwicklungspolitischer Organisationen miteinzubeziehen. Für die konkrete entwicklungspolitische Arbeit ist der "Leitfaden zur Beteiligung von Frauen in Entwicklungsprojekten" mit den Ausreisenden als Grundlage ihrer entwicklungspolitischen Tätigkeit zu erarbeiten. ✓

5. Bei Bewerbungsgesprächen und Auswahlverfahren ist das Problembewußtsein des Bewerbers/der Bewerberin für Frauen und Entwicklung als <u>ein</u> Entscheidungskriterium mit zu berücksichtigen. ✓

6. Die Referenten sind aufgefordert, in Zusammenarbeit mit Überseemitarbeiterinnen einen Fragekatalog zur Situation der Frauen im jeweiligen Land/Projektgebiet zu erarbeiten. Die MitarbeiterInnen sind um ein- bis zweimalige Beantwortung des Fragenkatalogs während ihrer Vertragszeit gebeten. ✓

7. Der/die ÖffentlichkeitsreferentIn ist gefordert, den Bereich "Frauen und Entwicklung" in die bewußtseinsbildende Arbeit miteinzubeziehen und entsprechende Information der Öffentlichkeit regelmäßig und in geeigneter Form zugängig zu machen. ✓

8. Die Arbeitssituation von Frauen in den Geschäftsstellen kann nicht abgelöst gesehen werden von der allgemeinen Forderung zur Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern in der Mission. Es liegt nahe, daß Pläne zur Frauenförderung auch in und für die Geschäfsstellen erarbeitet werden. ✓

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ARTIKEL
BERICHTE
ETC.

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18.4.91

Konstanz Januar 1990 | Frauen-Reader

Eva von Hertzberg:

Frauen - Objekte der Entwicklungshilfe?

Es mag manche unter Ihnen geben, die sich fragen, was dieses Thema eigentlich in einer theologischen Vorlesungsreihe zu suchen hat. Dieses erschließt sich in der Tat nicht auf den ersten Blick.

Die Verbindung finden wir jedoch in verschiedenen Programmen und Themen der ökumenischen Bewegung. Seit 1983 auf der Vollversammlung des ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen in Vancouver mit Nachdruck postuliert wurde, daß es keinen Frieden ohne Gerechtigkeit gibt, ist Gerechtigkeit zu einem Schlüsselwort geworden. Vor allem sind es die Völker im Süden und mit ihnen die Kirchen dort, die den Ruf nach Gerechtigkeit zum Norden hin eingewendet, nicht verstummen lassen.

Dies wurde z.B. 1988 in Berlin deutlich als dort die jährliche Konferenz der Weltbank und des Weltwährungsfonds abgehalten wurde und die Kirchen ein Hearing veranstalteten, in dem die ungerechten Wirtschafts- und Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Nord und Süd angeprangert und alternative Forderungen zur Lösung der großen Verschuldung der südlichen Länder gestellt wurden.

Im März findet in Seoul, Korea, die Weltversammlung des ÖRK zu "Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Bewahrung der Schöpfung" statt, ein weiterer Versuch, das Weltgewissen aufzurütteln und unsere Denkstrukturen und Mentalität zu verändern, damit unsere Welt überleben kann.

Und nicht zuletzt ist die "Ökumenische Dekade der Solidarität der Kirchen mit den Frauen" zu nennen, die 1988 ausgerufen wurde und von der wir hoffen, daß es uns gelingt, die Institution Kirche aus ihrer patriarchalen Verknöcherung zu erlösen hin zu einer gleichberechtigen Gemeinschaft von Frauen und Männern.

Mit dem Generalnenner "Gerechtigkeit" im Sinn müssen wir jetzt aber bei unserem Thema "Frauen - Entwicklungshilfe" genauer ansehen, in welchen Lebenssituationen sie leben und welche Faktoren bei ihnen Ungerechtigkeiten schaffen. Ich rede dabei vor allem von den Frauen im Süden.

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Mit dem Jahre 1990 sind wir in die sogenannte 4. Entwicklungsdekade (Vereinte Nationen) eingetreten. Der Entwicklunsoptimismus der 60er Jahre - der 1. Entwicklungsdekade - wich in den 70er Jahren langsam einer Desillusionisierung und einem Entwicklungspessimismus.

Es wurde zunehmend klar, daß die Hoffnungen auf einen "trickle-down" Effekt des wirtschaftlichen Wachstums und der neuen Produktivität in die armen ländlichen und städtischen Bevölkerungsschichten sich nicht erfüllt hatten. Die industrielle Entwicklung und der Aufbau waren in den meisten Ländern der 3. Welt nicht in erwünschtem Maße vorangeschritten.

Die UN-Frauendekade, 1975 in Mexiko beginnend, richtete das Augenmerk auf die "Hälfte des Himmels" - die Frauen, die bis dahin vollkommen übersehen worden waren. Sie wurden nun "sichtbar" gemacht

Es gibt eine Grundtatsache, die mehr oder weniger in allen Gesellschaften besteht: Frauen werden nur deswegen, weil Sie Frauen sind, diskriminiert. Wir nennen dies die Diskriminierung aufgrund des Geschlechts = Sexismus. Frauen sind Menschen zweiter Klasse, in ihrer Kultur, in der Gesetzgebung, im lokalen Brauchtum. In vielen Kulturen sind sie noch immer Besitz des Mannes, sie haben weniger Rechte, z.B. das Erbrecht benachteiligt sie, sie können kein Land besitzen, keine Verträge abschließen, kein Bankkonto führen. ~~Dies kann hier nur kurz gestreift werden.~~ Der tägliche Arbeitstag der Fauen ist sehr lang, länger als der.der Männer, oft bleiben nur .5-6 Stunden Schlaf. Weltweit (im Süden) arbeiten und leben Frauen bis zu 80% auf dem Land. 30%, oft mehr, leben ohne Mann, sie sind Haushaltsvorstände und müssen für ihre Kinder alleine sorgen. Die Männer sind in die Städte abgewandert auf Arbeitssuche, sind Kontraktarbeiter (Südafrika) sind in Freiheitsbewegungen (EL Salvador), sind im Krieg oder durch den Krieg getötet worden.

Die Konferenz in Mexiko entwarf einen Aktionsplan mit dem Ziel der Integration der Frauen in die Entwicklung, in die moderne Ökonomie, in die Förderung von Klein- und Mittelbetrieben, in die Landwirtschaft.

Die Weltbank zog die Konsequenz aus den Resultaten der ersten Entwicklungsphase und konzipierte eine neue Strategie, die "Investition in die Armen". Als Ziel wurde die Befriedigung der Grundbedürfnisse der bisher

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vernachlässigten Bevölkerungsgruppen gesehen. In diese Strategie waren auch die Frauen eine Zielgruppe. Sie wurden gesehen als "ungenutzte Ressourcen der Entwicklung."

Das heißt auch, daß die Wachstumsorientiertheit dieses Ansatzes erhalten blieb und sich alles im Rahmen kapitalistischer marktwirtschaftlichen Denkens bewegte.

Obwohl die Frauen zur Zielgruppe wurden, gab es 1980 bei der UN-Frauendekadekonferenz in Kopenhagen Kritik an der entwicklungspolitischen Praxis.

Es wurde festgestellt, daß die Entwicklungsprogramme bis dahin z.T. nicht nur nicht nützlich für Frauen gewesen waren, sondern sie im Gegenteil schädlich waren, im Blick auf zunehmende Arbeitsbelastung, Benachteiligungen und Festschreibung von Rollenklischees.

Bei der Analyse der Abläufe in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit wurden mehrere Faktoren genannt, die bei der Verschlechterung der Lebenssituation der Frauen eine Rolle spielten.

- das Bild der patriarchalischen Familie mit der untergeordneten Frau wurde auf alle Gesellschaften übertragen, mehr noch: die bürgerliche Kleinfamilie - der Mann als Verdiener - wurde überall als grundlegend angenommen. ~~z.B. Peru: Schafe scheren~~

- Ausbildungsangebote richtet~~en~~ sich an Männer, Frauen hatten kaum Chancen, im modernen Arbeitssektor unterzukommen.

- Bei Einführung neuer Produktionsverfahren und Technologien (Traktor, Pumpe) wurden Frauen nicht einbezogen.

- Frauen blieben im 'traditionellen', im Subsistenzbereich, der kaum produktiv gewertet wird, und bekamen daher keine Entwicklungshilfe.

- Nur in Bereichen wie Hauswirtschaft, Familie, Gesundheit gab es 'kleine' Projekte, z.B.: Handarbeitsprojekte, die arbeitsintensiv sind, aber ohne sicheres Einkommen. Die Frau als Bäuerin, Erwerbstätige wurde übersehen.

- Landwirtschaftliche Beratung richtete sich an Männer für die Cash-crop-Produktion. ~~Beispiel Tansania: Bananen/Kaffee — Garten in der Steppe Beispiel Brasilien: Sojabohnen bis zur Haustür~~ Für den Anbau von Gemüsen und Früchten für den eigenen Bedarf bleibt oft weder Zeit noch Land, das Arbeitskraft

- Frauen wurden und werden nicht bei der Projektplanung gefragt, sie können nicht ihre Wünsche äußern und mit entscheiden, etc.
Beispiel: Wasserprojekt, bei dem Kenntnisse der Frauen über Bodenbeschaffenheit nicht genutzt werden, falsche Stelle der neuen Wasserstelle.
Chipko-Movement - ökologische Bedürfnisse der Frauen werden nicht beachtet.

- Kommunikationsstrukturen sind nach wie vor von Männern beherrscht. Männer reden mit Männern, bestimmen über Gelder und Projekte.

1985 am Ende der UN-Frauendekade (Konferenz in Nairobi) wurde eines unüberhörbar deutlich: die Lebensbedingungen der Armen - und daher vor allem der Frauen (und ihren Kindern) waren alarmierend weiter abgesunken Trotz anders lautender Berichte der offiziellen Ländervertretungen waren diese Tatsachen nicht zu verdrängen. Das Schlagwort von der Feminisierung der Armut kam auf.

Einen besonderen Anteil an der rapiden Verschlechterung der Lebenssituation für Frauen hat die Schuldenkrise.

Aufgrund des Drucks des Internationalen Währungsfonds (IWF), der Weltbank und anderer Gläubiger auf Schuldnerländer, das Haushaltsdefizit zu verringern, haben viele von diesen ihre Sozialausgaben drastisch gekürzt. Durch diese Kürzungen wurden die ohnehin bereits geringen Beihilfen des Staates für bedürftige Familien noch .weiter herabgesetzt. Das UNX-Kinderhilfswerk (UNiCEF) hat seit 1980 in vielen Teilen der Welt einen Niedergang der elementaren Gesundheits- und Bildungsdienste für arme Familien festgestellt. Davon sind Frauen sowohl als Verbraucher dieser Dienste als auch indirekt betroffen, da in der Regel die weiblichen Mitglieder von Haushalten mit dem Abbau der öffentlichen Dienstleistungen fertig werden müsen.

Weil sie Kinder gebären und versorgen, sind Frauen häufig stärker auf Gesundheitsdienste angewiesen als Männer. Wenn diese Dienste sich verschlechtern, kann das erhebliche Auswirkungen auf die Gesundheit der Frauen und ihrer Kinder haben. Darüber hinaus müssen Frauen häufig kranke oder ältere Familienmitglieder versorgen, wenn sich Krankenhäuser in der Krise befinden, wenn ländliche Krankenstationen geschlossen werden oder wenn die Kosten für medizinische Versorgung zu hoch sind.

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Auch im Bildungsbereich werden, wie jüngst Studien ergeben haben, Mädchen von der Kürzung der Ausgaben stärker betroffen als Jungen, auch hier sowohl direkt als auch indirekt. Wenn das Schulgeld erhöht wird investieren Familien eher in die Ausbildung ihrer Söhne als ihrer Töchter. Auch die in schweren Zeiten anfallende grössere Hausarbeit ist meist stärker von weiblichen Kindern zu tragen, wodurch ihre Fortschritte in der Schule behindert und ihre Ausbildung beeinträchtigt werden. Das wirkt sich natürlich auch auf künftige Aufstiegschancen aus.

Wenn Familieneinkommen zurückgehen und Preise steigen, müssen Frauen sowohl in ihrem eigenen Haus als auch ausserhalb mehr arbeiten. Die Auswirkungen der Wirtschaftskrise auf die bezahlte Beschäftigung der Frau waren unterschiedlichm, in erster Linie deshalb, weil Frauenarbeitsplätze meist niedriger bezahlt und weniger attraktiv sind als die von Männern.

Paradoxerweise hat der niedrige Status von "Frauenarbeit" manchmal deren Arbeitsplätze besser geschützt. So haben jüngste Untersuchungen ergeben, daß Arbeitsplätze am unteren Ende des Dienstleistungssektors, in dem weitgehend Frauen beschäftigt sind, in manchen Fällen erhalten bleiben, während höherbezahlte Arbeitsplätze in Fabriken, die häufig von Männern eingenommen werden, abgeschafft werden. Kürzungen staatlicher Ausgaben im Gesundheits- und Bildungsbereich bedeuten jedoch direkte Arbeitsplatzverluste für die in diesen Bereichen beschäftigten Frauen.

In manchen Fällen ist die Zahl der für Frauen verfügbaren Arbeitsplätze wegen des Drucks auf Schuldnerländer, ihre Exporte zu erhöhen, sogar gestiegen, allerdings werden sie in diesen Arbeitsplätzen äußerst stark ausgebeutet. In Südostasien und entlang der US-amerikanischen Grenze zum Beispiel sind Fertigungshallen in freien Produktionszonen antstanden, wo junge Frauen niedrige Arbeiten verrichten, die sehr schlecht bezahlt werden, kaum Arbeitsplatzsicherheit und Sozialleistungen bieten, wo die Arbeitsbedingungen gefährlich und die Frauen in manchen Fällen auch sexueller Belästigung ausgesetzt sind.

Nach Angaben der Hilfsorganisation "War on Want" verdienen Industriearbeiterinnen auf den Philippinen

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durchschnittlich 57 US-Dollar im Monat, etwa ein Drittel dessen, was für die Grundbedürfnisse einer Familie notwendig ist.

Frauen auf dem Land sind ebenfalls von der Krise häufiger anders betroffen als Männer. In einigen Teilen Afrikas, wo Frauen traditionell für die meiste Nahrungsmittelerzeugung sorgen, dürfte ihre Arbeitslast durch die Notwendigkeit, Nahrungsmittel zum Verkauf anzubauen, lediglich verstärkt worden sein, ohne daß dadurch auch ihr Einkommen erhöht wurde. Aus jüngsten Studien geht hervor, daß die Einnahmen aus dem Verkauf von Nahrungsmitteln ins Ausland eher an die männlichen Mitglieder des Haushalts gehen, von denen man nicht unbedingt annehmen kann, daß sie diese Einnahmen für Nahrungsmittel und sonstige Bedürfnisse der Familie verwenden.

Wenn Arbeitsplätze schwer zu bekommen sind, stellen Frauen zu Hause Gegenstände her, die sie auf dem Markt verkaufen können. Das ist ein Teil des rasch wachsenden, von Wirtschaftswissenschaftlern so bezeichneten "informellen Sektors". Während die bezahlte Arbeit der Frauen somit als Folge der Krise zugenommen hat, müssen arme Frauen weiterhin soviel oder gar noch mehr Zeit im eigenen Haushalt verwenden als früher. In Krisenzeiten kommt der unbezahlten Arbeit der Frau im eigenen Haushalt noch zusätzliche Bedeutung zu.

Als traditionelle Garanten für das Überlebens der Familie müssen Frauen mit sinkenden Familieneinkommen und drastischen Preiserhöhungen fertig werden. Das bedeutet, daß sie Gegenstände herstellen oder Dienste für den Haushalt leisten müssen, die sie in besseren Zeiten gekauft oder wofür sie bezahlt hätten, oder daß sie weitere Gänge tun müssen, um möglichst billig einkaufen, daß sie zu Fuß gehen müssen, statt den Bus zu nehmen und so weiter. Somit bedeutet die Schuldenkrise für viele Frauen eine Verlängerung des ohnehin bereits langen Arbeitstages.

Auch die wachsende Prostitution ist in vielen Ländern eine direkte Folge der Schuldenkrise. Die Prostitution hat in der Dritten Welt vor allem wirtschaftliche Ursachen. Frauen verkaufen ihren Körper, um ihre Familien zu ernalten. Die Dritte Welt-Staaten wiederum erhalten durch die Tourismusindustrie, die die Notlage der Frauen zu nutzen und anzubieten weiß, Devisen. In

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Thailand existieren fast eine Million Prostituierte und erwirtschaften dem Land ebensoviel wie der Export von Reis. Andere Frauen lassen sich auf Heiratsangebote ein, weil sie hoffen, dadurch ihren Angehörigen dann und wann etwas schicken zu können. Allzuoft enden sie in Bars und Eroscentern oder erleiden eine Ehe, in der sie als Arbeitstier und Sexobjekt benutzt werden.

Nach diesem deprimierenden Katalog von Zustandsbeschreibungen muß aber etwas betont werden. Soviel uns bei dieser Schilderung Bilder von armseligen, mit Kindern und großen Lasten beladenen Frauen vor Augen kommen, gibt es auch eine andere Wirklichkeit. Unser Bild ist einseitig, weil es uns nicht vermittelt, mit welcher Energie und mit welchem Lebenswillen Frauen in der 3.Welt das Überleben ihrer Familien sichern, und mit welcher Tatkraft sie sich diesen miserablen Lebensbedingungen entgegenstellen.

Ohne diese Beteiligung der Frauen an der Überlebenssicherung wäre in vielen Ländern die Krise weitaus größer.

In allen Ländern der 3.Welt haben Frauen angefangen, sich in Bewegungen ,Gruppen, Netzwerken zusammenzuschließen, um ihre Bedürfnisse durchzusetzen. Wir kennen alle Bilder von den protestierenden Frauen, die "madres de la Plaza de Mayo" in Argentinien, die Müttervereinigung der Verschwundenen in Guatemala.

In Lateinamerika arbeiten sie zusammen in sogenannten comedores populares - Volksküchen - , sie schließen sich in Kooperativen zusammen zur Herstellung von Nahrungsmitteln, Betreiben von Gärten, Bienenzucht, Kleintierzucht, Räuchern von Fischen, Herstellung von Geräten (Tontöpfen) u.a. für den täglichen Gebrauch.

Sie kümmern sich um die Erhaltung ihrer Umwelt, von ökologich wichtigen Bäumen und Pflanzen, z.B. die Green-Belt-Bewegung in Kenya, die Chipko-Bewegung in Indien, Forschungprojekte in Madagaskar zur Sammlung und Erhaltung lokal genutzter Blätter und Pflanzen zur Ernährung, Wiederentdeckung lokalen Wissens um die Nutzung medizinischer Pflanzen zur Medizinherstellung.

Frauen organisieren sich gegen Sextourismus, gegen Gewalt gegen Frauen, gegen transnationale Konzerne (z.B. Nèstle, ein Konzern der mit Milchpulver Muttermilch verdrängt).

Seit der UN-Frauendekadekonferenz 1985 in Nairobi

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melden sich die Frauen aus der 3.Welt immer stärker zu Wort. Frauen aus der 3.Welt stellen sich quer und auf die eigenen Füße. Sie, die in die Entwicklung integriert werden sollten, kritisieren nun eben diese Strategien und bestimmen selbst Entwicklungsziele. "Objekte der Entwicklungspolitik setzen sich als Subjekte derselben." (Christa Wichterich) ~~[soziologin und Journalistin].~~

Es gibt verschiedene Netzwerke von 3.Welt-Wissenschaftlerinnen, die in eigener Regie Forschung betreiben und die zur Weiterentwicklung alternativer Entwicklungsmodelle beitragen.

Im herrschenden wachstumsorientierten Entwicklungsmodell werden Frauen unsichtbar gemacht, weil ihre Aktivitäten - nämlich Reproduktion des Lebens und der Arbeitskraft - in den Nationalökonomien nicht vorkommen.

Aber gerade diese Aktivitäten garantieren Überleben der Menschheit. Kindererziehung und Pflege, Haushalt, Nahrungsmittelerzeugung und -verarbeitung, die Subsistenz-Produktion im weitesten Sinne und auch ein großer Teil des sogenannten informellen Sektors werden nicht als produktive Arbeit verstanden.

Die Bewertung der Arbeit ist also ein Dreh- und Angelpunkt der Analysen dieser Wissnschaftlerinnen.

Lourdes Arizpe aus Mexiko hält eine Änderung der ökonomischen Wertkriterien für eine unabdingbare Voraussetzung für eine andere frauengerechtere Entwicklung, weil das alte Bedingungsverhältnis zerstört ist, daß Arbeit Reichtum schafft. Arbeit, auch unterbezahlte und Hausarbeit, muß ihrer Auffassung nach wieder als wertvoll und als Quelle von Reichtum definiert werden.

Solange Geld als der absolute ökonomische Maßstab gilt und nicht die Arbeit, muß die 3.Welt arm und verschuldet bleiben, weil sie reich an Arbeit, aber nicht an Kapital ist.

Auch die Äthiopierin Zene Tadesse forderte eine Strategie der "self-reliance", die bei den verfügbaren menschlichen und materiellen Ressourcen ansetzt, und die Abkehr von dem nach außen orientierten Entwicklungsmodell, das die Maßstäbe für Produktion und Verbrauch nicht aus den eigenen Ressourcen und Bedürfnissen ableitet.

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Ela Bhatt, Leiterin der indischen Frauengewerkschaft SEWA, plädierte ebenso für eine Umstrukturierung des ökonomischen Systems, die einen Ausgleich schaffen soll zwischen dem informellen Sektor, in dem die Frauen dominieren, und dem organisierten Sektor, zu dem in der Dritten Welt nur wenig Frauen Zugang haben. Als ersten Schritt zur Einlösung der Vision, daß Leben und Arbeit wieder höher bewertet werden als Geld, betrachtet DAWN (ein Netzwerke von 3. Welt Fra eine Ausdehnung und Verbesserung der Subsistenzproduktion mit Rückkehr zu traditionellen Anbauprodukten und Mischkulturen und eine Zurückdrängung der Exportproduktion und arbeitssubstituierenden Technologien.

Uns Frauen im Norden, und besonders denen von uns, die mit Menschen im Süden zusammenkommen oder beruflich Reisen dorthin machen, wird deutlich, daß unser westlicher Feminismus viel von diesen Frauenbewegungen im Süden zu lernen hat. Unser bürgerliches Konzept von Emanzipation hält den Anfragen unserer Schwestern aus dem Süden kaum stand. Solange wir bei unseren Forderungen nur auf Gleichberechtigung mit den Männern unserer Gesellschaften fixiert sind und nicht gleichzeitig auch die weltweiten Zusammennänge sehen lernen, werden die errungenen Privilegien oder Rechte auf Kosten der Menschen im Süden gehen. Es geht nicht ohne die Änderung unseres Wertesystems ~~(Paradigmawechsel)~~ und der Strukturen , auch in unserer Gesellschaft. ~~(Zitat aus Vandana Shiva, S. 234-35).~~

Literatur:

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Frauen der Welt 1

1) Viele Pfleider, wenig Rechte: traditionelle gebeit das Land den Männern. Frauen haben keinen Zugang zu Krediten od. landwirtschaftlichen Dienstleistungen.
2) Glauben Sie, daß die UNO alle Frauen ist? Bis zu 16 Std. harte Arbeit ist „normal": Feldarbeit, Kinderarbeit, die Verarbeitung von Getreide, Kochen, Wasser holen, Feuerholz beschaffen u. das bei viele kräftezehrenden Schwangerschaften.
3) Die Verarbeitung v. Getreide ist Schwerstarbeit. Frei sein? Dieses Wort kennen afrikanische Bäuerinnen nicht.
4) Kinder ohne Kindheit. Kinder ohne Zukunft. Allein in Lateinamerika sollen 40 Millionen Kinder auf der Straße leben. Das heißt: Betteln, Betten, Stehlen, Prostituieren.
5) Frauen bringen weltweit drei Viertel aller Arbeitsleistungen auf dem Lande. In Afrika ernähren Frauen die Familien, denn sie bauen die Grundnahrungsmittel an.
6) In vielen Ländern Afrikas sind bereits zwei Drittel aller Haushaltsvorstände Frauen. Wenn der Boden nichts mehr hergibt, ziehen die Männer weg, um in der Stadt nach Arbeit zu suchen.
7) In Bolivien übernehmen die Aymara-Frauen die schwersten Arbeiten, die sonst den Männern oder Lasttieren zufallen. Ein wenig mehr in der Hauptsache: das ist nicht spektakulär, aber viel.
8) Alltag in Haiti: Wasser ist knapp, Brennholz, Öl knapp. Nur eine Mahlzeit kann die Familie noch

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Juni 1989

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9) Nur 16% der Frauen in der 3. Welt haben eine
abgeschlossene Pflichtschulbildung. Frauen sind
arm sie: denn doppelte Bürde müssen sie allein
oder kaum tragen.
10) In den Slums der Städte gibt es keine Form von
wirtschaftlicher u. sozialer Selbsthilfe.
Jede ist Überlebenskampf.
11) Kampfen alle sind wir aufgerufen.
Ja, kämpfen, aber nicht ...
Jetzt kann uns nichts aufhalten
jetzt kann uns nichts halten.
Wir sind jetzt Aufgewacht
Jetzt stehen wir Frauen, neben alle Anderen
Wir sind jetzt Aufgewacht." (Christa Wickerich: Streikende)
12) Im entgegen handel. Entwicklungsprojekt kann die Frauen
nicht direkt beeinflussen. Sie habe 32 Frauenprojekte gefördert,
erhalte dies ...
13) In unserer Doktor produziert die Frauen bereits keine
Überschüsse, die sie auf den lokalen Märkten verkaufen. Nicht
messbare Erfolge: Ein Stück Selbstbewusstsein wächst u. das
Vertrauen in die eigene Kraft.
14) Ich hat viele Gesichter: Prostitution, Kinderarbeit ist illegal.
Armut nicht. Nichts als die nackte Armut treibt Familien
dazu, ihre Kinder zu verkaufen. Armut nährt Prostitution.
15) Armut u. Würde vertragen sich miteinander nicht.
Das war auch in unserer Gesellschaft so, bevor steigende Gewalt
die Hand an Schwächere legte. Die Ärmsten Familien sind
16) Ein ländl. Entwicklungsprojekt: ... Mit der Kredit, durch
Einkommen u. angepasste Verbesserung der Produktion
der Bauern.

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17) Haushalt ist die Kernzelle, in Zanbaar
die Hälfte, die nicht macht, aber keine Nah-
rung herstellt.

18) Das Spinnrad Mahatma Ghandis als Symbol der
Befreiung von Armut. Unabhängigkeit. Die indische
Realität ist da von noch viel entfernt. Das gilt er-
besondere für Frauen.

19) Ausbeutung, Arbeit, Knechtung: die 6 Mrd. verborgte
mehrere Weltalter, wo Frauen die Ausbeutung
erhalten.

20) Frauen stehen im Zentrum des Entwicklungsprozes-
ses. Sagt der Weltbevölkerungsbericht der Vereinten
Nationen von 1989. Tatsächlich aber haben Drei-
viertel Zehntel an Fortschritt und Entwicklung die
wirtschaftliche u. soziale Situation negativ
21) Die Energie- u. Umweltkrise in der Dritte Welt
wird auf dem Rücken der Frauen ausgetragen. Denn
die Suche nach Brennholz wird immer aufwendiger.

22) Wasser ist Leben. Verschmutztes Wasser, wo die Weltge-
sundheitsorganisation, Weltbank rund 80% aller
Krankheiten in der Dritten Welt. Da... haben nicht
die Frauen den Brunnen bauen beteiligt.

23) Auch in ... ist „Technik" Männersache. Alle jene
Entwicklungsprojekte, die auf „in patriarchi-
sche" Struktur der Frauen nicht.

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Dr. Sharon Ghosh, a respected Indian pediatrician and senior health consultant with the United Nations, was one those who put "girl child" concerns squarely on the South Asian agenda. What follows are excerpts from a conversation with Dr. Ghosh in New Delhi.

HIMAL: Why is there this sudden focus on the young girl?

Ghosh: In 1985, the United Nations Decade for Women had ended, but the people concerned seemed to have forgotten about the status and needs of the female child, who ultimately becomes a woman. The whole issue of boy preference was also coming into stark focus with the increasing misuse of amniocentesis to determine the fetus'sex, to abort if it were female.

UNESCO

Article 4

The family as a basic unit of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members, particularly children and youth, should be assisted and protected so that it may fully assume its responsibilities within the community. Parents have the exclusive right to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children.

Principle 1
The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2
The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3
The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4
The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Is development progress? (See the experience of nurses and breast feeding)

Notice that young children in Nepal learn mainly through imitation. How can new models of male/female behaviour be created?

What can be done to improve the health of girl children?

Do we prevent death without improving life?

Distinguish between good and bad cultural habits, but remember that there is always a reason behind every tradition, although we may not understand it. How can we gain this understanding?

Table 2. Estimated number and rate for stillbirths, neonatal deaths, and their sum (total late reproductive loss) attributable to iodine deficiency in eight countries of the WHO South-east Asia Region. (Based on the epidemiologic method described in Section 2. of this chapter.)

Country	Stillbirths		Neonatal Deaths		Total Late Reproductive Loss	
	No.*	Rate**	No.*	Rate**	No.*	Rate**
Bangladesh	10.5	2.3	9.6	2.1	20.1	4.4
Bhutan	2.3	36.6	2.1	33.6	4.4	70.2
Burma	7.6	5.0	7.0	4.5	14.6	9.5
India	47.4	1.9	43.5	1.8	90.9	3.7
Indonesia	9.2	1.7	8.5	1.6	17.7	3.3
Nepal	15.0	21.0	13.8	19.3	28.8	40.3
Sri Lanka	1.4	3.1	1.3	2.8	2.7	5.9
Thailand	8.4	4.9	7.7	4.5	16.1	9.4
TOTAL	101.8	2.6	93.5	2.4	195.3	5.0

Such changes have occurred over the last 25 years, without any particular emphasis being placed on the needs of children. Recent developments have shown that HMG now proposes to give priority to children, and this should result in an accelerated improvement in survival rates and in the environment in which they grow up. The experience of nearby countries, most notably Sri Lanka and [illegible] with IMRs of 36 per 1,000 and 66 per 1,000 respectively, is evidence of the dramatic improvements which can be achieved in the well-being of children, even in conditions of considerable poverty.[2]

The leaders of SAARC, kings, prime ministers and presidents, have indicated that they are indeed aware of the inequity that exists. That is a big step forward, but the hurdles remain. Girls in South Asia enter life heavily disadvantaged, at home, school, farm and workplace, and remain so all the way to the burning ghat. If they practice what they have begun to preach, the governments of South Asia can begin to change the situation.

The biggest challenge, though, is to bring about a change in the self perception of the girl child: that she is not property, but a person, with the same potential as the "boy child" △

		% of infants with low birth weight 1980-85	% of mothers breast feeding 1970-85			% of children under five suffering from mild moderate severe malnutrition 1980-85	Population under 15 under 5 (millions) 1988	Population annual growth rate % 1965-80 1980-85	Crude death rate 1960 1988	Crude birth rate 1960 1988	Life expectancy 1960 1988	Total fertility rate 1965 1988	Infant mortality rate 1965 1988
			3 months	6 months	12 months								
	Very high USMR countries (over 170) Median	15	95	90	70	31/7	228T,88T	2.5 2.6	28 19	48 47	38 48	6.5	24
21	Yemen, Dem	12	80*	60*	55*	32*/8*	1.0/0.4	2.0 2.6	29 16	50 47	37 50	6.6	41
22	Bhutan					33/6	0.6/0.2	1.5 2.2	25 17	43 37	38 48	5.4	5
23	Nepal		99*	99*	97*	50/7*	7.6/2.7	2.4 2.4	26 17	46 40	38 48	6.0	8
24	Burundi	14		95*	90*	30/5	2.3/0.9	1.9 2.7	25 18	44 46	42 48	6.4	6
25	Bangladesh	50	98*	97*	89*	63*/21*	49.6/18.1	2.7 2.6	22 16	47 42	40 49	5.7	12

Gossner Mission

Girls and Women in Nepal



INFANCY 0 - 4 YEARS

From birth onwards, the child's life is determined by its gender role. Unconsciously or consciously, baby girls and baby boys are treated differently. The preference of the mother for a son and the social pressure on her to give birth to a boy find their continuation later on in the treatment that the sons are likely to receive: better food and medical care if they are sick. Observations and the higher mortality rate of females from one year onwards indicate this. Also breast feeding seems to be shorter for baby girls. As the rice feeding ceremony is earlier for girls, they are weaned earlier as well.

Many Nepali children are malnourished. This is due to various reasons. Firstly, there is the lack of food in many families who have to live below the poverty line and have not enough land to produce the food they need. Secondly, the heavy workload of the mother doesn't allow her to look after her children carefully enough. She has to leave the child with the grandparents or an older child (mostly a girl), so it is difficult for her to control the child's food intake.

Some traditional habits as well contribute to this as do the frequent diarrhoea attacks caused by poor hygiene. "Progress" may bring the feeding bottle or biscuits to increase the problem.

After giving birth to one or more girls, the mother is more and more under pressure to produce a son the next time. Short birth intervals also lead to malnourished children. The belief in the spell which is placed on a child when touched by a pregnant woman may reflect the observation that the child gets "runche lagyo" when its mother becomes pregnant again too early.

When they are very young, infants and children are watched carefully. Up to 5 months the baby gets an oil massage twice daily and this can continue, less frequently, depending on the time the mother has.

Most Nepali women are able to live in a close and loving relationship with their babies. It may be that the happiness of many Nepali people, despite the daily hardships of life in the hills, has its roots in this symbiosis of mother and baby. Later on, as well, the family's attitude towards the child is permissive - which might be dangerous, e.g. if the child is sick and refuses to eat.

The traditional habits around child care need to be examined very carefully. It is dangerous to make general statements and judgements too quickly.

Customs of child-rearing differ from tribe to tribe, from caste to caste, from rich to poor, from cities to villages, from the hills to the Terai. Nepal should be proud of this multicultural heritage.

To improve child-rearing practices there is no need to look abroad. Many ethnic groups living in a harsh environment and difficult circumstances bring up children who are beautiful, happy and healthy.

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989, for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990.

The under 5 mortality rate is estimated at 165 per 1,000,[71] representing a significant drop from the rate of 210 per 1,000 quoted in the 1981 census. The cause of this decline is probably related to the same factors which brought a reduction in infant mortality. Children dying between the ages of one and four do so from causes similar to those which cause the death of infants.

Many deaths are accounted for by diarrhoeal diseases, often complicated by malnutrition and acute respiratory infections. One survey conducted in nine hospitals during 1983, revealed that water and hygiene-related diseases accounted for 15 percent of all cases and 8 percent of all deaths in the general population. From birth to the age of four years, however, water-related diseases were responsible for 41 percent of all cases and 32 percent of all deaths.[72] Measles is also a major cause of child death.

Approximately 16 percent of all human labour in the country is devoted to fuel and fodder collection.[2] Considerable variations exist between different parts of the country, and it is therefore difficult to interpret household conditions from aggregate statistics. Nevertheless, the extent of deforestation, the general ecological decline and increasing population, imply that these tasks are likely to be placing increasing demands on rural households in the hills and mountains. As a result, women have less time to devote to breastfeeding and other child care activities, and girls, in particular, have less time in which to attend school. Families who have to devote long hours to fuel collection, also tend not to light fires more often than is necessary. In consequence, child nutrition may suffer, and the sterilisation of drinking water through boiling in these households remains largely impractical.

CWN 59

Diarrhoeal disease is one of the most important child health problems in Nepal. It has long been recognised as a major killer of infants and young children. A child with diarrhoea will loose weight and his nutritional status will worsen. This in turn reduces the child's resistance to other infections and can result in severe malnutrition.

CHILD NUTRITION AND HEALTH

Breast Feeding and Nepal

Though breast milk is an ideal food for infants, breast feeding is not practised everywhere, particularly in urban areas. For various reasons, mothers in urban, semi-urban and some rural areas prefer formula feeding to breast feeding.

The Nepal Fertility Survey (NFS) 1976, showed that for almost 80% of the population in Nepal, infants are breast fed. But the survey also showed that parents with some schooling particularly parents in cities, are showing less interest in feeding their babies on breast milk. Also, the younger mothers with only a few children were more inclined towards formula feeding than older mothers with many children.

CHILD NUTRITION AND HEALTH

Attitudes towards child feeding

A mother in a typical Nepali household is a very busy person. She finds it difficult to give full attention to the child at mealtimes. A mother generally knows what the child was given to eat, but she might not know how much her child actually ate. The competition for food among older siblings, and even pets, is a great risk. A child may simply play with his food, especially if he is tired or not feeling well. An undernourished child has often been the result of unsupervised mealtimes.

When the mother is away from home, a child may be left with an elderly grandparent or with an older child who might not be capable of caring for a lively child.

In addition, nurses may find that they are unable to breastfeed their own infants, due to difficult working hours. In consequence, the only advice they give to mothers may be based on their own perhaps difficult experience of breastfeeding. Some more affluent mothers will choose bottle feeding because they find it more convenient, but difficulties begin to arise when wealthy, educated and working women, who often hold high status in their communities, are seen to bottle feed their infants. Other mothers, who may be much poorer, may decide to imitate them because they find it hard to believe that wealthier and better educated women can be ignorant of what is best for their babies. It is through such a process that the widespread practice of breastfeeding in Nepal could be undermined.

But, the preference for males does not end at birth. The man continues to benefit at cost to the woman. In a nearly broken chain of privilege from infancy through old age. The girl knows this and must accept in from the start. In studying situations of extreme hardship UNICEF has found that young boys tend to get more and better food than do girls and are accorded better medical attention result: females suffer higher mortality rates in every age category after the first year of life. On

Child Care

For a complete two months the child is taken care of by the mother herself. But later as the mother carries on her usual work, the child care responsibility shifts to the grandmother (the woman's husband's mother); and if a grandmother is not available, any older children look after the child. Usually girls between 4 and 11 years old take care of young children. Children are closely watched up to about three years of age, and after this they are allowed to go out to play with other children. Child care on the part of fathers or other males is negligible, though sometimes grandfathers who are too old to work in the fields look after the children.

CHILD REARING PRACTICES 48

Children Stage (0-5 Years)

Children (boys & girls) want love from the guardians. The love given to boys is often more compared to the love for girls.
They should be fed from time to time. Beside breast feeding boys are fed more sweet and milk products. The food to girls is of less quality.
They play if they are well. Girls are involved in the work at an early age compared to boys.
They are afraid if they see new persons. Girls seem to be more shy than boys up to an older age as well.
They are ignorance about good and bad. Boys have more freedom.
If the mother dies they cannot get sufficient food, specially girls are less cared for in such times. It seems that girls can survive better under hars conditions than boys.

CDHP September 89

For the first few years, children are usually surrounded by other family members and carefully watched. By the time children can walk and move about with ease, however, they are considered to be old enough to be left in the care of an older sibling. Girls who are only six years old, or even younger, may be entrusted with the responsibility of looking after children of two or three.[49]

Children rarely receive direct instruction in social behaviour but are expected to learn by imitation.[50] The household atmosphere is often one of indulgence and permissiveness; discipline tends to be casual and physical punishment rare, although children may be threatened or verbally reprimanded. Often, disciplining begins as a sort of game when a child is young and gradually becomes more serious.

CWN

Approximately 16 percent of all human labour in the country is devoted to fuel and fodder collection.[2] Considerable variations exist between different parts of the country, and it is therefore difficult to interpret household conditions from aggregate statistics. Nevertheless, the extent of deforestation, the general ecological decline and increasing population, imply that these tasks are likely to be placing increasing demands on rural households in the hills and mountains. As a result, women have less time to devote to breastfeeding and other child care activities, and girls, in particular, have less time in which to attend school. Families who have to devote long hours to fuel collection, also tend not to light fires more often than is necessary. In consequence, child nutrition may suffer, and the sterilisation of drinking water through boiling in these households remains largely impractical.

In the village I was often wondering how the babies survived with so few clothes even in the cold time of the year. When I observed mothers rubbing their children with oil it came into my mind that they put a coat of love around their babies.

Under-5 mortality rate:

1960	297/1000
1986	202/1000

Infant mortality rate:

1960	186/1000
1986	130/1000
1988	107/1000

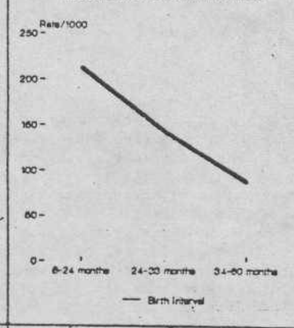
Malnutrition:
50% moderate
7% severe

Breast-feeding:

1986 97% of mothers breast-fed 12+ months

Children born in the country's towns and cities have significantly greater chances of survival than those born in rural areas. The infant mortality rate is estimated at 115 per 1,000 in rural areas and at 80 per 1,000 in urban areas. The under five mortality rate is assessed at 168 per 1,000 in rural areas, and 112 per 1,000 in urban areas.[66] This seems to be due to the greater availability of medical services and immunization, higher literacy and a generally higher standard of living. The large squatter settlements which are characteristic of cities in many other developing countries, have hardly become visible in Nepal's small urban centres. Moreover, many urban households are still engaged in farming, while being able to diversify their sources of income through the opportunities offered by the city.

INFANT MORTALITY PER 1000 LIVEBIRTHS ACCORDING TO BIRTH INTERVAL



THE SON PREFERRED

Bias against the girl begins at birth. Nepal, for example, is said to have among the highest index of son-preference in the world. In a recent survey, economist Yagya Karki found 90 percent of the parents wanted two sons and then one girl. Given the theoretical choice of having only sons or only daughters, 96 percent stated they would rather have sons. Simply put, boys are welcome and girls are not.

Rather than being a joyful moment, the arrival of a baby girl is liable to cast a pall over the family. Every person in Kathmandu knows of at least one tragicomic case in which the poor civil servant and his dejected wife continue to have child after child in an attempt to have a son and in the end are left with a brood of nine or ten daughters.

Nepal has the second highest index of son-preference in the world.[16] In many homes in Nepal, girls probably receive less food and fewer special foods (such as eggs, meat etc.) than their brothers. However, data on their nutritional or health status in comparison with boys is currently unavailable. According to the 1981 census, females tend to have a higher mortality rate in every age category after the first year of life.[17] Research from other countries with strong son preference also suggests that boys may be more likely to be taken for immunisations than girls, but in Nepal immunisation data relating to gender are not available.

Table 4. THREE-MONTH PERIOD MEASLES ATTACK RATES AMONG CHILDREN 6 TO 36 MONTHS OF AGE IN FIVE DISTRICTS* BY ECONOMIC STATUS, 1986.

Economic status	Number of children	Measles cases	
		Numb	Rate p 1000
Well-off	99	3	30.3
Middle	2 331	122	52.3
Poor	1 781	139	78.0

* - The 5 districts are: Sindhupalchok, Makwanpur, Gorkha, Syangja and Nawalparasi.

Source: A Baseline Survey for the Joint Nutrition Support Programme, December 1986.

Moderate undernutrition is culturally diagnosed as "runche" in and around Kathmandu valley. It is usually seen in children between 1-4 years of age. It is easily identified by all adults as runche and is traditionally intepreted to be a spell placed on the child after being touched by a pregnant woman. The traditional treatment includes a series of early morning baths.

CWN 74

According to the National Code, and in Husband and Wife Chapter, Section 3, a father is required to provide for the maintenance of his children up to the age of sixteen - that is, to provide them with clothing, food, shelter, medical care and education according to his means,

In the event of divorce . .

The mother may bring up a child under five years of age until the child attains five years if she wishes, otherwise the father has to bring up the child. . .

Variations in IMR are also related to socio-economic conditions. One survey in Rapti Zone correlated high infant mortality rates with low economic status. The highest percentage of child deaths had occurred in families classified as sub-marginal, marginal or having small land-holdings.[44] Other data from Dhaakuta and Jumla districts confirm this assertion, and show that infant mortality rates among the very poor were almost five times higher than those of the wealthy.[45]

As in the mountains, kitchens in the hills are usually closed, chimney-less and smokey in an effort to keep in the heat, and repel insects, while condensed tars preserve structural timbers and roofing thatch. For this reason, acceptance of fuel efficient smokeless stoves has been slow. Unfortunately, there is a correlation between exposure to smoke and the very high incidence of acute respiratory infections. In addition, the low open fires in many homes all over the country present a serious accident risk for many young children.

CWN 57

The low social status of women in many communities may also be a contributing factor to high infant and child mortality rates.

CWN



There is also discrimination in breastfeeding. Data show that the interval between births is shorter after the birth of a girl. In medical terms, this would indicate that the girl has been breast fed less. Among certain groups, the *annaprashan* ceremony arrives earlier for girls, which again means that they are weaned earlier from mother's milk.

HIMAL

TABLE 24 : THE PERCENTAGE POPULATION SERVED BY PIPED AND TUBEWELL WATER BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND DEVELOPMENT REGIONS (1985)

	DEVELOPMENT REGION					
	Far West	Mid West	West	Central	East	NEPAL
Mountains						
DWSS	3.6	6.4	25.9	3.2	4.1	4.4
MPLD	5.3	4.0	50.4	24.7	11.7	13.4
TOTAL	8.9	10.5	76.3	27.9	15.8	17.8
Hills						
DWSS	5.4	4.2	8.0	11.2	5.8	7.6
MPLD	4.0	9.0	15.1	16.5	10.4	12.7
TOTAL	9.4	13.1	23.1	27.7	16.2	20.3
Terai						
DWSS	28.8	32.4	3.6	21.6	1.4	14.3
MPLD	0.2	1.0	0.0	1.8	3.4	3.3
TOTAL	29.0	33.3	13.4	23.4	4.8	17.6

Source: Department of Water Supply and Sewerage. Water Supply Sector Study, 1986

Principle 1
The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2
The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3
The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4
The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5
The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6
The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of State and other assistance towards the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7
The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.
The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.
The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8
The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9
The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.
The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

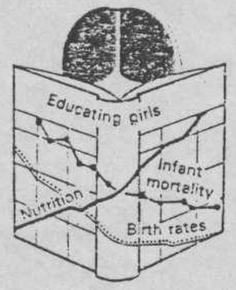
Principle 10
The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

from UNESCO
declaration
of the rights
of the child
20 november 1959

1. Is the information in this presentation in any aspect true of the Nepali situation which with you are familiar?

2. Discuss the inter-relationships between girls' health, education status and involvement in labour.

   How does one aspect affect all the others?



The education of girls is closely associated with a falling infant mortality and birth rate and improved nutrition.

3. Do you agree or disagree with this quotation?

   Why?

4. In the chart showing International primary education enrolment, Nepal's difference between boys and girls is greater then for any other country. How do you account for this?

'Train a man and you train an individual: train a woman and you build a nation.'
(Bishop Nzimbe, Machakos, Kenya, May 1985)

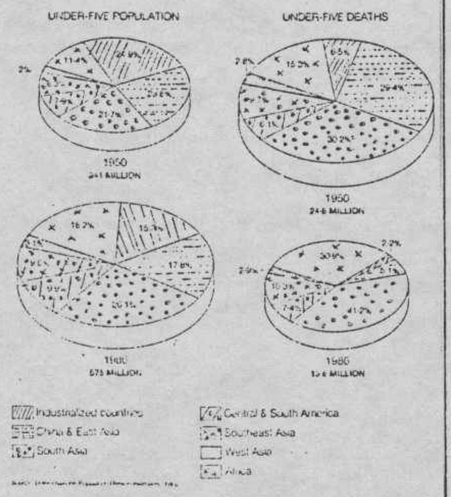
5. Do you agree or disagree with this quotation?

   Why?

6. What factors affect the health of the girlchild in this age group? How does her health in childhood affect the girl's future?

Child population and child deaths

Child population and deaths (under 5 years) by regions of the world, 1950 and 1980



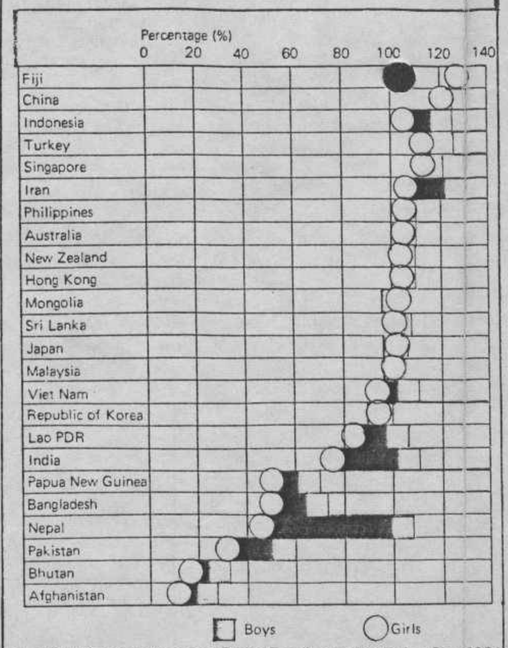


Chart 2. Primary Education Gross Enrolment Ratio by Sex 1986

Girls and Women in Nepal



THE GIRL CHILD 5 - 12 YEARS

She gets less to eat, owns no or little property, has less access to education, is sick more often..... yet receives less health care, does more chores at home.....

Quoted From Himal Magazine
January, February 1989

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989, for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990.

Gossner Mission

World Of The Girl Child



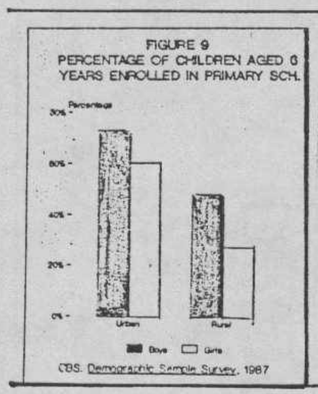
Proportion of Economically Active Children to Total Labour Force

The economically active child population constituted 13.5 percent of the total labour force in Nepal. The Central Bureau of Statistics, in its Analysis of the Population Statistics points out that a high proportion of children in the labour force is a characteristic of many developing countries. But this proportion is actually higher in Nepal than in neighbouring countries. In Bangladesh, India and Pakistan these proportions were 10.2 percent, 6.0 percent and 8.8 percent respectively.

(iv). In Newspaper Stalls

On the crowded pavement by Ratna Park, Kanchi sits beside her stacks of newspapers - Gorkhapatra, Rising Nepal, and the weekly Naya Sandesh. She has never been to school, but she has no trouble working out the right change for the customers who pause to buy a paper before boarding a bus or dodging across the street between honking taxi-cabs and throngs of bicycles.

She cannot read the papers she sells, but she has been adding and subtracting for five years, since she was seven. She started to help her brother sell papers, and now she works from about 10 or 11 a.m. till about 5 or 6 p.m. - it depends on when the papers are all sold out. She knows that every copy of the Rising Nepal sold means another 3 paisa to take home, and she says she makes five to ten rupees a day. The money goes to her mother for the family needs. It is really needed as Kanchi's father is dead. Her mother and two brothers work, and Kanchi makes her contribution too.



For many of the country's 2.5 million children aged between five and nine, the day begins at 5 o'clock in the morning. By the time they are five or six years old, many of these children may be contributing to the household economy. Labour force participation up to the age of ten is of the same level for both sexes, with boys prominent in animal husbandry and girls in agriculture.[76] Even in urban areas children may contribute to agricultural labour, working

A 1979 survey in Kathmandu found that working children were most often engaged in their family occupation. Others worked in hotels, as domestic servants or as labourers.[91] Children also work as brick makers, tourist guides, petty traders, and shoe shiners.

Royal Interest in the Education of Girls - In 1977, Her Majesty Queen Aiswarya declared that free textbooks should be provided to all the girl students of primary schools, in order to encourage poorer parents to send their daughters to school.

Table 2. LITERACY RATES BY AGE AND SEX, 1961, 1971 AND 1981

Ages Groups	Literacy Rates in Percent								
	Male			Female			Both Sexes		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
6-9	-	16.4	27.8	-	5.5	15.2	-	11.1	21.6
10-14	14.5	35.8	50.8	3.1	9.6	21.2	8.2	23.8	38.8
15-19	19.5	35.4	48.2	2.4	7.1	17.5	11.4	21.9	33.6
20-24	20.2	30.9	41.7	1.6	4.1	12.6	10.6	17.0	26.5
25-29	17.4	24.4	36.3	1.2	2.5	10.1	9.1	13.3	23.0
30-34	16.4	20.3	31.8	1.2	1.6	7.8	8.4	10.5	19.3
35-39	16.4	17.6	27.6	0.9	1.4	6.7	9.0	9.8	17.5
40-44	15.4	16.4	23.7	0.9	1.1	5.5	7.8	8.7	14.6
45-54	14.3	15.7	17.3	0.8	1.0	4.8	7.5	8.7	13.4
55 +	13.0	12.6	19.1	0.6	0.7	4.0	6.4	6.5	11.2
Not Stated	8.3	-	-	1.8	-	-	3.5	-	-

After the age of five, some of the diseases of childhood become more prevalent. Meningitis affects relatively more primary school age children and becomes most prevalent among young adults, although younger children are more likely to suffer permanent disability or death. Tuberculosis and malaria also become more prevalent among children of this age group. While there is no data relating nutrition to scholastic performance, children who are inadequately nourished, or who lack micronutrients, such as iron or iodine, will learn less efficiently.

Children in this age group continue to suffer from a variety of illnesses. Nationwide data on the extent of disability is unreliable, but one localised survey indicated fivefold increase in acquired disability between the ages of 5 and 12, most of which was accounted for by deafness.[86] A similar increase was reflected in 1981 census data.[87] While deafness and other disabilities emerge as a more serious problem at this stage, such conditions are based on the effects of disease and associated infections of the middle ear and deficiencies suffered in earlier years.

According to the DSS, 51 percent of boys and 29 percent of girls between the ages of 6 and 10 are enrolled in school. In absolute terms, perhaps as many as a million children of this age group are enrolled in school, but of the 1.5 million who are not even enrolled.

After they reach the age of 12 or 13 many children are considered to be fully-fledged members of the household workforce. This is reflected in 1981 census statistics which show that 57 percent of children in the 10-14 age group were workers

Grinding poverty, powerlessness and premature death mark the life of the millions of men, women, boys and girls in South Asia. However, life is invariably worst for the girl. She gets less to eat, owns little or no property, has less access to education, is sick more often -- yet receives less health care -- and does more chores at home. In general, she has the little or no control over the direction of her life --

Girls in both rural and urban areas devote much longer hours to domestic labour, particularly caring for younger children and, as they get older, collecting fuelwood and water. Many parents experience conflict between their desires to educate their children and the need for children to work at home and on the farm. They are, however, more likely to send their sons to school than their daughters.

Although little data are available on the nutrition of women or girls, there is some evidence that food distribution within families tends to favour boys more than girls

Bhai Tika

Last day of Tihar Festival in October every man, boy (even the king) must receive the blessing of his sister.

Gifts are exchanged and the sister paints a five color tika on the head of her brother. Bhai Tika is seen as one of the prettiest ceremonies of Tihar.

According to the 1981 census, the proportion of females dying is higher than that of males for every age category after the age of one.

Only 15 percent of girls between the ages of 6 and 10 in the Far-Western Region are enrolled in primary school.

Data on primary school age children is limited. While it is known that children of this age are required for work in the home, it is not known how essential this is or to what extent it could be shifted onto other family members. some information on parents' attitudes towards schooling, but little concerning parents' attitudes towards child labour, or what activities they feel are most appropriate for young children

The distance between home and school is important. For each kilometre, the child's chances of attending school decrease by 2.5 percent.

While accurate estimates of school attendance are unavailable, it is clear that this is significantly lower than enrolment suggests, particularly for girls. A major reason for non-attendance is the need for the child's labour at home. One study found that 75 percent of children were involved in household activities, while 6 percent were directly engaged in economic activities. Girls were less likely to attend school and more likely to stop their schooling earlier than boys.[81]

Study of statistics

taken from: The state of The World's Children 1989/Basic Information Indicators 1987.

- diversity among different parts of Nepal causes regional differences.

- demography of children

population of Nepal - 17.8 million
pop. below 14 years - 7.5 million

Where do these children live?
9% in urban areas
91% in rural areas
51% in the hills
37% in the terai
10% in the mountains

Life expectancy

agegroup	DEATH RATES PER 1000 POP	
	Male	female
under	109.9	97.6
1-4	28.4	22.1
5-14	4.7	5.2

the death rates in rural areas are nearly twice as high as in urban areas.

DEVELOPMENT AND STATUS OF THE EQUAL ACCESS OF WOMEN TO EDUCATION PROGRAMME (EAWEP)

2.1 In the Nepalese cultural context the availability of women teachers was considered to be an important determinant of enrolment of girls. The Equal Access Programme was introduced therefore to train rural girls as primary school teachers so that they would in turn teach in their village schools and assist in promoting a more positive attitude to the education of girls.

There is a Nepali proverb common especially among the Brahmins and Chhetris "To be born as a daughter is to have an ill fate".

A pilot survey conducted in a village in the Panuati Panchayat of Kavre district gave evidence of the fact that children, especially after the age of 6-7 years, become heavily engaged in household activities. Male children take the responsibility for work outside the home, such as collecting fire wood and fodder for animals and helping in the kitchen garden, while the female children are mainly engaged in household chores (looking after younger children, helping in the kitchen and feeding cattle).

In a verse written by Saint Tulsidas, the famous author of the Ramayana, women are placed in the category of drums, dolts, beasts and untouchables that need to be constantly beaten to get them to work. This prejudice has taken deep roots in the Terai of Nepal. Similarly, Bhanubhakta also writes, "women are not supposed to laugh"

... the girl who grows up to be the woman.

By the time girls reach the age of 9 or 10, they can process and cook food, having observed their mothers and older female relatives

Gossner Mission

QUESTIONS

Is it a fact (from your experience) that food distribution within the families favour boys more than girls?

How can we collect more data on the health and nutrition of teenage girls?

Why are so many girls married before the legal age of 16?

State the different reasons why so few girls get secondary education in Nepal.

How can we in U.M.N. encourage further education for girls?

Can anything be done to stop the illegal employment of children?

More than 200,000 Nepali women are prostitutes in India, as well as others in Nepal itself. Are there ways of stopping the traffic ?

INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE FIGURES

	Male	Female
Primary education 1986		
Hong Kong	106	104
India	107	76
Nepal	104	47
Secondary education 1986		
Hong Kong	66	72
India	7	1
Nepal	35	11

Gossner Mission



THE TEENAGE GIRL 13 - 19 YEARS

As girls grow older, their roles and activities begin to change in conformity with the norms of acceptable behaviour for women. The patterns of activity vary greatly among different ethnic groups.

The rituals marking the transition to adulthood also vary. For many girls moving towards adulthood, the menstruation is an important event.

Menstruation is considered polluting, and a girl's first period is marked by a time of seclusion called "gupta basne" or "sitting in the cave", which can last from 14 to 21 days.

During this time she must not enter a kitchen or touch food, and she must avoid all high caste males.

As many as 40% of girls may be marrying below the legal age of 16. Opportunities to attend school are, therefore, diminished.

With the birth of her first child, and especially her first son, a woman who may be no older than 14 or 15 becomes a full member of the adult community - although she may be under the authority of the mother-in-law.

About 40% of women give birth to at least one child between the ages of 15 and 19 (1986 estimates).

The workload of girls at this stage is much heavier than for boys.

Parents often regard their daughter's education to be unnecessary, particularly beyond the primary level. Since the girl will probably join another family, many parents are not willing to invest in her future.

According to recent estimates, only 3% of all females have completed secondary education (compared with 13% of all males).

Child prostitution is a growing problem. More than 200,000 Nepalese women are prostitutes, some are under 15.

Her social life is mainly within the family or with girl friends the same age.

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989, for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990.

Although little data are available on the nutrition of women or girls, there is some evidence that food distribution within families tends to favour boys more than girls, and women usually eat after everyone else. Poor nutrition in childhood, resulting in inadequate skeletal development, may affect their capacity to give birth to their own children, and add to the risk of premature, complicated, or prolonged deliveries. The heavy work burden and declining food availability in some parts of the country may also have a negative impact on the health and nutritional status of women, particularly those in poor families.

Many Nepali girls marry soon after puberty. Nearly 40 percent of currently married women were married before the legal marital age of sixteen,[3] and a small but significant number (7 percent) were married before the age of 10.[4] In the tarai, consistent with conservative Hindu tradition in which child marriage is highly valued, the incidence of marriage below this age is three-times higher than in the hills, and six times higher than in the mountains. In 1981, about a quarter of districts in the country had a mean female marital age that was below the legal age. Most of these were in the tarai.[5]

A focus for enriching the mother-child lifecycle is the mother-to-be, the adolescent girl. More attention to the adolescent girls' nutritional needs would result in fewer low-birth weight babies and more strong and healthy children. The mother and child must be seen as one for purposes of shaping policies, strategies and service delivery structures.

Almost 40 percent of Nepali women have their first child between the ages of 15 and 19,[14]

educated fathers seem more likely to make additional efforts to see that their daughters also attend.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION BY VILLAGE

(Total Respondents)

Question / Answers / Village	Is it important to send girls and boys to school ?					
	Boys			Girls		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Baragaonle	61 (100.0)	-	61 (100.0)	55 (90.2)	6 (9.8)	61 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	57 (98.3)	1 (1.7)	58 (100.0)	29 (50.0)	29 (50.0)	58 (100.0)
Kham Magar	45 (77.6)	13 (22.4)	58 (100.0)	37 (66.1)	19 (33.9)	56 (100.0)
Parbatiya	63 (98.4)	1 (1.6)	64 (100.0)	49 (76.6)	15 (23.4)	64 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	57 (96.6)	2 (3.4)	59 (100.0)	34 (57.6)	25 (42.4)	59 (100.0)
Tamang	58 (100.0)	-	58 (100.0)	56 (96.6)	2 (3.4)	58 (100.0)
Tharu	73 (100.0)	-	73 (100.0)	47 (65.3)	25 (34.7)	72 (100.0)
Maithili	63 (98.4)	1 (1.6)	64 (100.0)	41 (64.1)	23 (35.9)	64 (100.0)
All Villages	477 (96.4)	18 (3.6)	495 (100.0)	348 (70.7)	144 (29.3)	492 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

STATISTICS SUMMARY:

EDUCATION
3% completed secondary education. (13% of all males)

FEMALE LITERACY

	1971	1981
Mountains	2%	8%
Hills	4%	13%
Terai	4%	12%

LABOUR
Of carpet weavers in Kathmandu.
74.8% are female
25.2% are male

2/3 of carpet weavers are below age 15.
Workload 12-16 hrs/day
No days off.

60% of children age 10-14 are workers in Nepal.

About 1120 children age 12-16 are migrated to India from Nepal.
8080 are working in Delhi.

MARRIAGE
40% marry before 16
7% marry before 10

40% have their first child between ages 15-19

PROSTITUTION
More than 200,000 Nepalese women, prostitutes in India, some under 15 years.
On average 3 women a day trafficked to India from Nepal.

Carpet weaving industry is the field where most of the child workers especially female children are found involved. It is learned that about 2/3 of the carpet weavers are the children below the age of 15 years. The working children in this field are just like others, everybody has a similar backgroud of severe poverty, illiteracy and workload. If we talk about the source of these child workers, almost all the children are from rural areas brought here either by their relatives or by their neighbour villagers who play a middlemen role between employers and the children.

According to a study done by a student of P.K. Campus in 1986 entitled "Women Participation in Carpet Industries" there are 443 number of carpet industries in Kathmandu. Out of 3161 number workers [based on 23 industries sample taken] 74.8% that is 2365 are female and 25.2% or 796 are male.

Almost all of these teenaged children work 12 hrs. to 16 hrs a day and there is not any off-days in the work.

Girlhood (5-14 Years)

Parents that are aware of the need for education send their daughters to school, eventhough sending girls is not a priority compared with boys.
Girls do care for their younger brothers and sisters from early age.
They guide cattle to grazing area's.
They give help to their mother in the homeworks such as bring water, washing d[illegible]es, clean[illegible]uses, etc.
They do bring fodder, grass, fi[illegible]wood etc, but boys don't work like the girls, in this stage.
They are happy to be together, play together, having the same age girls. Being together they seem to be more active in acting, talking and making caricatures of situation and persons than boys.

Girls must do extra home and field work, care for brothers and sisters. Sometimes they are involved in construction works also.

They become happy to go in fair, they sing songs and love with boys very indirectly.

They express their sadness through singing songs during the fodder cutting and other activities.

In this stage, the girls seem more mature compared with boys. Because it is a training stage to become perfect after marriage. They do heavy works in this stage compared with boys.

In this stage, suicide among girls takes place the most.

19. Rape

According to Section 1 of the Rape Chapter, sexual intercourse with a female under sixteen years of age with or without her consent, is treated as rape.

Under Section 3 of the same chapter, whoever rapes a female under fourteen years of age shall be punished with imprisonment for a term from six years to ten years. If the female is above fourteen years of age, the offender shall be punished with imprisonemnt for a term from three years to five years.

To help in committing any illegal act is itself a crime. So, under Section 4, whoever helps in raping a female above fourteen years of age, shall be imprisoned for a year and if she is under fourteen years of age, shall be imprisoned for two years.

According to Section 11, a petition must be filed withing 35 days from the date of rape.

14. Employment

Before the enactment of the Nepal Factory and Factory Labour Act 2016 (1959), there was no restriction on the employment of children.

According to section 2 (m), whoever is fourteen years of age but not eighteen years of age is a minor. And according to section 2 (m), whoever is not fourteen years of age is a child.

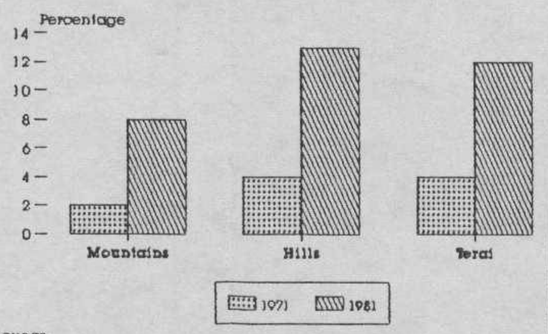
According to section 27A (1), no child shall be employed in any factory, (2) no minor shall be employed in any factory except between the hours of 6 am and 6 pm., (3) without a health certificate and token relating to the minor's health from the factory management, no minor should be employed in any factory and (4) for the effectiveness of this section HMG may make rules to decide the fee of the doctor, to decide the minimum necessary health standard of the minor and to manage other necessary requirements.

Yesterday at 'Bimarsh' ofice Kathmandu, a young woman about 13-14 years old come sobbing in a very miserable condition and told her story - "I slaved on that house for 4 years, one of my relative lady brought me here promissing me to send School but she kept me as servant in this house instead. I began my work with the conditions that they pay monthly wage of Rs.150 and send me to School. But even after 4 whole years they have neither given me my wage nor have arranged a single thing for my study.

18. Enticement

Under Section 2 of the Human Traffic Chapter, no person should entice a child under sixteen years of age for the purpose of separating him from his lawful guardian without the latter's consent. Whoever attempts to separate or separates a child from his lawful guardian, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with a fine up to Rs.500/- or with both.

Fem[illegible]le Lit[illegible]racy Trends
by Geographic Region



SOURCE:
Children and Women of Nepal
UNICEF, 1987

Under the Basic Needs policy, emphasis is placed on the need to expand all opportunities for girls' education, including scholarships, "cheli beti", free textbooks for all girls, girls' schools, and incentives and awards to schools for recruiting more girl students.

What Will You Do?

Himal *asked Bachelors level first year girl students at Kathmandu's Padma Kanya campus about their studies and their career plans. 18 out of 20 respondents wanted to work after completing study; 15 wanted to do their Masters first. 10 students looked forward to joining government, described variously as "government office", "service", "administration" or "HMG". Four wanted to go into teaching, three preferred "social service", and one wanted to be a businesswoman. Here is a sampling of answers to our questionnaire. The numbers in brackets indicate the age of the respondent.*

"I want to be a mathematician. My favorite subjects are math and economics. I want to teach math in a school." (19)

"I am taking English, but would like to have studied geography and, if possible, philosophy. I want to study beyond B.A. but sometimes i question myself why are we studying?" (18)

Bombay's red light district is notorious for being the endpoint of a flesh trade that has taken thousands of young Nepali girls from the poverty of hill villages to the raw decadence of a cosmopolitan city. The diversion, enticement and/or kidnapping of Nepali girls to Bombay has found expression in Mira Nair's internationally acclaimed film on street children, *Salaam Bombay!*

Back in those Nepali hills, the trafficking of girl children to India is especially acute in the districts around Kathmandu -- Sindhupalchowk, Kavre and Nuwakot. These are labelled "high risk" areas by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, but the crime occurs many times every day, all over the country.

When girls are sent to India they are lost, their families rarely if ever seeing or hearing from them again. On the few occasions they do return, girls today bring back, not gifts, but venereal disease, skin infections, drug addictions, mental disorders and unwanted pregnancies, and, almost certainly, the new disease, Acquired Immune Deficiency (AIDS).

The collaboration in trafficking usually involves village neighbors of the victim and sometimes her own family.

For the majority emotional costs did not vary between sons and daughters but those who distinguished between the two thought daughters to be emotionally more streneous than sons. This is most likely due to the strict moral behaviour expected of daughters.

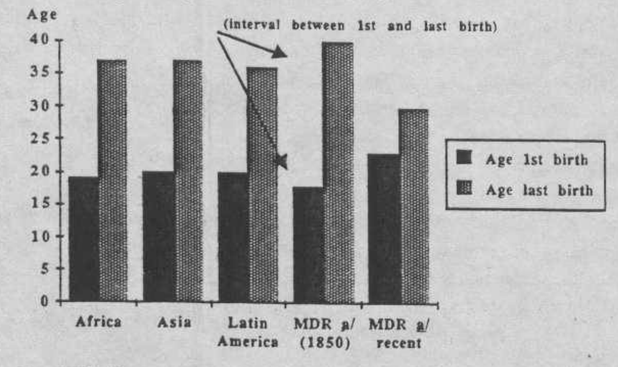
Gossner Mission

Comparison of life cycles

In comparing the past and present demographic models in the more developed regions, it can be seen that there is a sharp decline in the age of women at the birth of the last child (-10 years). This feature, in conjunction with a rise in the age at first birth (+5 years) and a decline in fertility represented by the smaller family size (-4 children), are responsible for the considerable reduction in the period of time dedicated to childbearing (-15 years).

In the less developed regions, the absence of data for the past makes comparison with the present impossible. The data presented are based on data for women aged 40-49 at the time of the World Fertility Survey, which was conducted in the second half of the 1970s. Younger generations could have changed their behaviour somewhat and evolved towards the recent model for more developed regions. There are, however, similarities between the present situation in less developed regions and the past model in the more developed regions (see figure I). On average, women have their first child at a young age (19-20 years), have a large family (6-7 children), spend many years bearing children (16-18 years) and have their last child late (36-37 years).

Figure I. Age at first and at last birth



Source: Table 1.
a/ More developed regions.

The impact of these changes in the more developed regions and of the present situation in the less developed regions, which has not been fully assessed, is nevertheless bringing about a major change in the situation of women.

In the more developed regions, the childbearing period is becoming a limited part of women's lives (7 years). This fact has two main implications: first, the rise in their age at first birth provides women with the opportunity to get a longer and higher-level education, which increases their possibilities for obtaining better jobs; and secondly, an important period of time remains after the birth of the last child (47 years) for women to channel their energies in various ways (see figure II). It would be of value to investigate to what extent this change affects the perception of and behaviour towards employment, both by women themselves and by potential employers. The implication for levels of activity and careers would certainly be important and show *de facto* equality from an interesting perspective. For example, table 1 shows that there is a 7-year interval between the first and last birth in a two-child family (the average family size).

What are the reasons behind bad nutrition of pregnant women and mothers?

Is employment outside the home a determining factor in family planning?
Look at the example of Small Farmers' Development Program as well!

Who is the person who determines the way the young mother is treated (nutrition, ante- and post natal care)?

Share traditional customs surrounding birth. Which ones are helpful and which harmful?

Are there good traditional habits that have been devalued or replaced by modern / western medicine (e.g. delivery position)?

What can be learnt from the experiences of other countries? (e.g. Family planning, attitudes towards women, working women, boy preference)?

How can health and social services be improved for mothers and pregnant women?

"Temporary family planning methods should be available for every woman and men!" Discuss.

Change the popular saying, "May your progeny....." into "Your progeny has already filled the hills and mountains". Discuss.

How can the self-esteem of women be improved so that they feel responsible for themselves and take their lives into their own hands?

Can we make men more aware of the problems of women and mothers?

Article 11

(b) The protection of the rights of the mother and child; concern for the upbringing and health of children; the provision of measures to safeguard the health and welfare of women and particularly of working mothers during pregnancy and the infancy of their children, as well as of mothers whose earnings are the sole source of livelihood for the family; the granting to women of pregnancy and maternity leave and allowances without loss of employment or wages;

(c) The protection of the rights and the assuring of the welfare of children, the aged and the disabled; the provision of protection for the physically or mentally disadvantaged;

Article 16

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

A woman in a least developed country is 200 to 500 times more likely to die for reasons related to her reproductive role than a woman in an industrialized country. In industrialized countries, 1 woman in 100 will die during her child-bearing years (from 15 to 45). In other countries, 1 woman in 5 will die; at least half the deaths are from conditions relating to child-bearing, including late abortions, a serious health problem. The average life expectancy in some of these countries is between 40 and 50 years. In Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland it is at least 80 years.[42]

In view of the priority given to children's needs as stated in the SAARC Declaration in Bangalore, the linkage between the policy framework for basic needs and the needs of children is vital.

Article 25

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Nor does a lack of equality in one aspect of a situation preclude equality in its other aspects. A women's reproductive function in no way abrogates her right to participate in the decision to become pregnant or to share control over household resources before, during and after the gestation period, for example. Nor should her unique capacity to nurture a child for nine months be the basis for life-long relegation to that particular role. Women have a biological prerogative, but they should not be penalized for this.

Studies indicate two points where the figures for female mortality are higher than for males. Firstly, while girls have a higher initial survival rate than boys, after the first year the position is reversed in some countries where they are less valued than boys and so get a lesser share of the resources - food, attention - they need to survive. Research into this could throw light on several of the issues germane to social support measures since infant mortality in the poorest nations is 20 to 50 times higher than in industrialized countries. Secondly, the figures for maternal deaths show that each year over half a million women, most of them in the developing world, die as a result of complications in pregnancy, abortion or childbirth, most of which are, in terms of medical knowledge, preventable. Ten to fifteen times that number survive, ill or damaged. Many times that number continue in virtually chronic states of malnutrition and anaemia due to too frequent pregnancies and too few health services.

Girls and Women in Nepal



PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

The life of a Nepali woman is centered around pregnancy and motherhood. The fertility rate of 5.9% shows that on average each Nepali woman has given birth to nearly 6 children. That means 6x9 months = 4½ years of pregnancy and at least 6x2 years = 12 years of breast feeding.

Many traditions linked to pregnancy and childbirth vary from tribe to tribe and caste to caste, but some are common to all. Having no children is seen as an inadequacy and the woman will get low status.

The prestige and status of a woman is determined by her children, especially by her sons. As the son is so important in the Hindu culture, the son preference is high, but a daughter is also welcomed as a helper and companion to her mother - as long as there are not too many.

In the urban centers, however, new models of trained or professional working women are emerging. Many of them delay marriage and motherhood.

Due to the natural environment of the country and to inadequate services, medical care for pregnant women is insufficient.

Many mothers can rely on traditional birth attendants, who are often very skilful, but there are also areas where such kind of help is not available. In these cases, the mother-in-law and other female members of the family, or the husband may help. Sometimes the mother in labour is left alone.

Poor hygiene, insufficient nutrition and heavy workloads contribute to a high rate of maternal death and stillbirths. Also the young age of the mother and close spacing between births often lead to illness and death. In this context, family planning does not mean simply to reduce the number of children, but to enable parents (women and men!) to take responsibility in planning the size of their family and the spacing of births.

The fertility rate is linked with many issues, such as tradition, economic situation, social security and women's status. If we want to have change for the better, all these factors need to be carefully looked at.

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989, for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990.

Gossner Mission

Traditionally Nepalese society favours high fertility. A large number of children is a symbol of well being both socially and economically. This is evident from the popular saying which goes "may your progeny fill the hills and mountains". Marriage is early and universal and it is a disgrace for a couple, particularly the wife not to have children (Bennett, 1976). High fertility is desired because by producing children, preferably sons, a woman raises her status in the family, avoids the chance of having a co-wife, makes herself socially eligible to inherit some property from the family and, above all, wins the support and affection from her husband and the other members of the family, particularly the ever dominating mother-in-law (Bennett, 1976; Stone, 1978).

FVC 124

It is interesting to note the belief that if the mother has conceived a boy the mother will be 'bright', and if she has conceived a girl she will be 'sluggish'. This belief is generally held among *Newars* of other areas as well.

Out of ten informants, two felt that it did not matter if the first child was a son or daughter because if it was a son, he would follow his father to the field and if it was a daughter, she would help her mother in household work. The rest said they would prefer a daughter for their first child, and would certainly prefer a son for their second child. They said they would want the first child to be a daughter, not because they prefer girls, but because they feel that a daughter would be more helpful in domestic work and in taking care of the second (preferably male) child. All informants agreed that the most desirable number of children is four-two daughters and two sons.

P. 37 CHILD REARING PRACT.

With the birth of her first child and especially her first son, a woman, who may be no older than 14 or 15, becomes a full member of the adult community, although she still may be subject to the authority of her mother-in-law.

Almost 40 percent of Nepali women have their first child between the ages of 15 and 19,[14] and a relatively high proportion experience at least one miscarriage during these years.[15] Most births take place at home, and an estimated 85 percent are attended by a traditional birth attendant (TBA), whose skills and qualities vary across different ethnic groups.[16]

CWN 169

According to a recent evaluation, women from low-income rural households who joined credit groups associated with the Small Farmer Development Programme were much more inclined to use contraception than were women living in similar economic conditions who had been unable to join the programme. Among group members, 41 percent were using some family planning method, compared with only 21 percent of the control group.

CWN. p. 12

The level of immunization with tetanus toxoid was also low, and only 10 percent of pregnant women surveyed had received the injections. The problem was further compounded by high defaulter rates after the first injection.[39]

CWN. 122

This, and other nutritional disorders and deficiencies, probably contribute to the relatively high rate of foetal loss. A recent study conducted during 1985/6 revealed a stillbirth rate of 3.2 percent for almost 20,000 deliveries.[25] The large number of girls who marry and become pregnant soon after puberty have a high risk of miscarriage. According to one survey, the highest rate of foetal loss occurs among 15 to 19 year olds, followed by women giving birth over the age of 45. The lowest loss rates were recorded for women aged from 25 to 29.[26] Additionally, the poor nutritional status of pregnant women may cause infants to be born with low birth weights, leaving them more vulnerable to infection and disability.

CWN P. 68

Women in rural areas seldom receive any antenatal and post-natal care. This should be the responsibility of Assistant Nurse Midwives (ANM) assigned to health posts. However, ANMs are frequently absent from their posts, on leave for training, on deputation to urban hospitals, or because they are unwilling to reside in remote areas. Their training is also more relevant to a hospital environment rather than to conditions in rural health posts.[19] Moreover, as they are often young and single, and rank low in the hierarchy of health personnel, they rarely command the respect and confidence of rural families. In some parts of the country, TBAs have been trained to give antenatal examinations, to identify women at risk and refer them to health posts, and to conduct safer home deliveries, with encouraging results.[20]

CWN 169



It is clear that in this village a barren women has a very low position in her family as well as in society. She is not allowed to even look upon a pregnant woman because it is believed that by doing so she might transfer her barreness to the pregnant woman Stone[1978:9] observes:

It becomes clear that a major cultural component of 'woman' is as 'child bearer' and the association of 'woman' with a lack of this capacity is something of an uncomfortable contradiction, an abberation. It is also significant that these negative terms for women point to the extremes of fertility failure. Although a woman who has daughters only or whose children all die in infancy, is considered most unfortunate, there is no negative terms for such woman nor a sense of being dangerous.

C.R.P. p. 15

Despite the many occasions when Limbu women leave their homes either for work or pleasure, having and raising children is a central part of their lives. Childbirth seems to be relatively painless (we heard stories of babies being born in the fields while the pregnant women squatted to defecate), and at the birth of a child the mother is treated like a queen. She is called by a special name, given presents of rice and oil, chickens and herbs, and friends come to visit. Often a woman will return to her natal home before the baby is due to spend the time after childbirth in privacy and leisure with no mother-in-law around.

p. 136

After the birth, the mother is rubbed all over her body with clarified butter, and oil and butter are combed through her hair. That night, liquor is brewed and she sits near the fire to sweat and prevent illness. She must be rubbed down with butter for at least two or three days thereafter. Moreover, for one month after the birth she will be fed hot butter, chicken, beer and liquor, but no yogurt or very hot foods.

P. 97

While there is obvious pride in many families over the prospect of a new infant, there is little or no awareness of the additional nutritional needs of pregnant women, and often limited means of meeting them. The poor nutrition, high anaemia and iodine deficiency widespread among women means that infants are exposed in the womb to high risks of disability. The same problems also cause a high rate of miscarriage and stillbirth, especially among girls becoming pregnant before they are 20 years old.

CWN P. 74

Total no. of births, 1986:
677,000

Maternal mortality rate estimates, 1986:

850/100,000 live births

1500/100,000 Jumla/ Dhankuta

Population annual growth rate:
2.4% (1980-85)

Total fertility rate, 1986:
6.0

Contraceptive prevalence:

15% of married women from 15-44 years

Tetanus immunisation to pregnant women, 1985/86:
13%

4. Motherhood

When one girl gets married many responsibilities come upon her.

- First priority is that, she must give birth to a son. If she cannot give birth to a son, it is her defect according to the traditional concept of society. If she is not able to give birth to a son, her husband will get another wife.

CDHP STAFF DISCUSSION, SEPTEMBER '89.

Kathmandu, Jan. 27:
Maternal mortality rate in the country is 8 per thousand while the infant mortality rate of 107 per one thousand live births continues to remain high.

THE RISING NEPAL

The only data on causes of death among women derive from limited studies of maternal mortality. The Family Planning and Maternal Child Health Project (FP/MCH) estimates maternal mortality at 8.5 per 1,000, but this includes data from the Kathmandu Valley, where better access to medical facilities may skew the results.[21] Two localized surveys in Jumla and Dhankuta estimated the maternal mortality rate to be almost twice as high as FP/MCH's calculation, at 15.4 per 1,000.[22]

P. 120

When pregannt, Rolwaling women do all their work as usual until labour begins. The act of childbirth is private and there is not ceremony attached to it. The concept of the 'midwife' is completely unknown among the *Sherpas* of Rolwaling. Women are unattended in birth. There is no one who can help the women in difficult deliveries and no medicines are used. The husband or anybody present at the time just waits until she successfully gives birth.

The mother ties the base of the umbilical cord with a thread and cuts it with scissors, knife or blade. (They do not consider that the implement needs to be clean). The women also bury the placenta in the field by themselves. They say they bury the placenta for hygienic reasons. Sometimes they also put it into a running stream 'to make the child's skin fair'. Women who have given birth are helped by other women to heat water to clean the child and to prepare a separate place in one corner of the house for her and the child.

CHILD REARING PRACTICES p. 64

As noted earlier, it is only one's son who can perform death and post-death rituals in order that the gate of heaven for parents be opened In addition, sons continue the family name and provide economic and non-economic support in old age. For all these reasons it is not surprising to hear people saying 'Let it be late, but let it be a son'.

FVC 129

Role of the Sudeni (TBA) (Traditional Birth Attendant)

Sudenis play significant roles while caring for delivery cases in Jumla, especially among Brahmins, non-Matawali Chhetris, "lower castes," and others. While sudenis do not attend antenatal cases, they attend a case as soon as labor pains start. Care is essentially by oil massaging, feeding mothers, helping mothers with different positions, support and consoling words, telling her when to bear down, and giving a bath to the mother and child. If the mother herself is too weak to cut the umbilical cord of her baby, the sudeni cuts the cord using sickles or knives without cleaning, but after cleaning her hands with cow dung. In the case of a retained placenta, they evacuate the placenta by abdominal pressure or manually. She sometimes manipulates difficult and prolonged deliveries by hand. She may also give some herbs or spicy soups to help delivery. A sudeni becomes impure with the mother after delivery.

JUMLA REPORT

A pregnant woman is never allowed to cross a river by herself in order to protect her from the river's spirit. Her husband also cannot cross the river. The Thakuris think that this would have a bad effect on the baby.

CHILD REARING PRACTICES 14

The social status of a pregnant woman is high. Household members feel proud that she is bringing a new member into the family, especially if it turns out to be a son. With a child her position becomes more secure in the family as well as in the larger society. If a daughter is born she prays for a son next time.

P. 15 CHILD REARING PRACT.

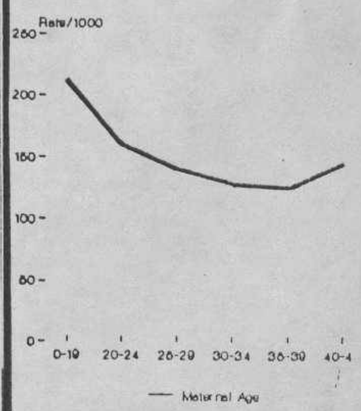
It is suspected that abortion may also account for a substantial number of maternal deaths and maternal morbidity. Abortion is illegal and accounts for most women currently detained in prison.[24] Most abortions take place in secret, performed by women themselves or by practitioners using ineffective or dangerous methods. The devastating implications of abortion for women's health calls for action to empower women with greater knowledge and control over their bodies in order to avoid unwanted pregnancies. In par-

Family Planning

The Government views sterilisation as a panacea for improving the prospects for development in the country as a whole, as well as a means of improving the health of women. For reasons mentioned earlier,[25] this seems to be far from the case. If the effort currently put into the promotion of sterilization were to be directed towards the promotion and explanation of temporary contraception, the health of mothers and infants would improve considerably, and pave the way for more significant reductions in the population growth rate. A recent evaluation of the women's component of SFDP revealed that female members were not only more inclined to adopt family planning methods, but were also more likely to use temporary methods.[26] This seems to be due to the opportunities created for the discussion of contraceptive alternatives, as well as the support provided by the women's groups when the decisions to adopt family planning were made.

Nepal. Concern has been raised in other countries about the possible side-effects of injectable contraception, IUDs, and pills. Currently about 1.6 percent of the population[27] are injection and pill users. Since women who smoke tend to experience more side effects from the pill, and in view of the high prevalence of smoking among Nepali women, there may be additional reason for concern.

INFANT MORTALITY RATES PER 1000 LIVEBIRTHS ACCORDING TO MATERNAL



Adapted from National Fertility Survey data, quoted in N. Wright, 1988.

Gossner Mission

Why are girls married so much earlier than boys? Is this a good practice?

The government has tried to restrict the size of the family; is this a good thing? Why or why not?

Most girls do not continue with their education after they are married. Why does this happen? Is this a good idea?

Is it better to have a marriage arranged by the girl's family or is it better for her to arrange it herself?

Why do girls from the "bottom or middle strata" of society and the caste system have greater freedom in choosing their own husbands?

How can we help women to understand their legal rights?

Is polygamy (having more than one wife) a good form of marriage? Why or why not?

If a girl becomes pregnant to a boy before marriage, are they then considered married?

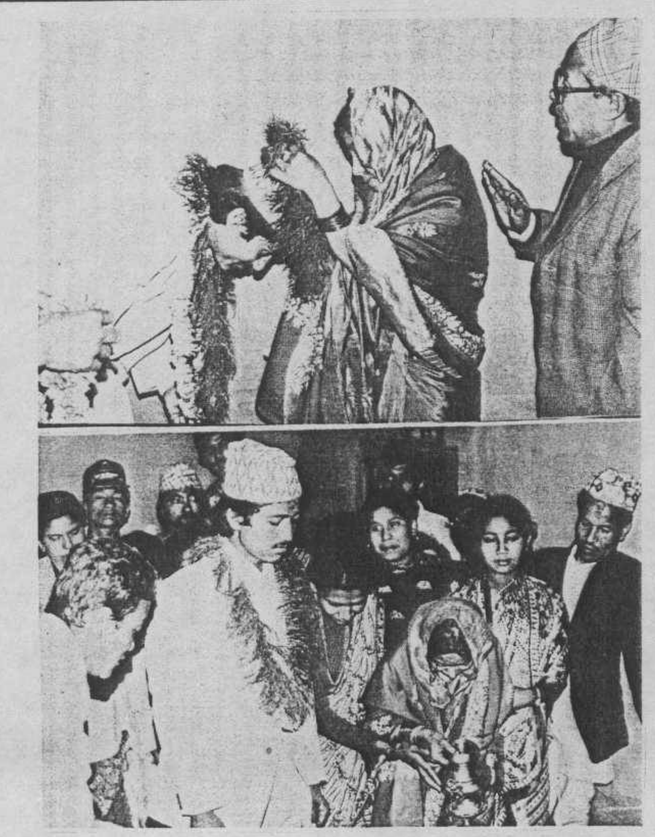
KEY TO SOURCE MATERIAL

SCN Status of Children in Nepal
UNICEF 79/80

CWN Children and Women of Nepal
UNICEF

RWN The Rural Women of Nepal
vol. 11,part 9
Acharya/Bennett

FVC "Fertility and the Value of Children: A Study of Rural and Urban Populations in Nepal"
Ph.D. Thesis,1982 (Univ. of London)
Yagya B. Karki



MARRIAGE

Marriage is not only one of the most important events in a woman's life; it is also important to the family. It is an institution that binds the two families, as well as the bride and groom.

In Nepal, marriage customs vary from one ethnic group to another. Each group practises its own rules in accordance with its own traditions.

Most marriages are arranged by the girl's parents, especially in the Brahmin/Chhetri communities. In tribal groups, women have a greater freedom of choice in choosing their partners.

Girls generally marry at an earlier age than boys. Most girls are married between the ages of 14 and 20, while boys are married between the 17 and 25. For most women, marriage means separation from their families and communities as they move to live in their husband's home.

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989, for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990

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TABLE 2.32

TYPE OF PRESENT MARRIAGE BY VILLAGE

(For Females of 15 Years & Above)

(In number)

Village \ Type of Marriage	Monogamous	Polygynous	Polyandrous	Total
Baragaonle	28 (84.8)	-	5 (15.2)	33 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	38 (100.0)	-	-	38 (100.0)
Kham Magar	31 (86.1)	5 (13.9)	-	36 (100.0)
Parbatiya	45 (95.7)	2 (4.3)	-	47 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	37 (100.0)	-	-	37 (100.0)
Tamang	32 (80.0)	8 (20.0)	-	40 (100.0)
Tharu	85 ([illegible]7)	2 (2.3)	-	87 (100.0)
Maithili	[illegible])	8 (13.1)	-	61 (100.0)
All Villages	349 (92.1)	25 (6.6)	5 (1.3)	379* (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* 171 cases of not applicable married females.

The National Code (Mulki Ain) of 1963 brought about significant changes in family and property law and the legal status of women, moving towards equal rights for both sexes. It raised the legal age of marriage for women to sixteen, made polygamy and child marriage illegal, established women's rights to request divorce and broadened women's capacity to control or inherit property. However, imbalances between rights of men and women persist both in the legal provisions, particularly for property, and in the interpretation and application of the law.[8] Even where legal provisions stand in favour of women, the latter often lack the resources, skills, and social support to ensure the enforcement and extension of their legal rights.[9]

The new bride generally arrives as a complete stranger in her new home. She is often assigned to the most arduous domestic tasks and her performance is likely to be closely scrutinized, particularly in the early months. The demands on her labour are only likely to be relieved when another new bride enters the house, through the marriage of a younger brother-in-law, or one of the sons or nephews of the joint family.

Once again contrary to general belief, ... arranged marriages are the most prevalent form of marriage only in the orthodox Hindu communities. Among the Tibeto-Burma speaking groups, freedom of choice is greatest ... social gatherings of young people of marriageable age are actually accepted, so both girls and boys have greater opportunity to meet and make their own choice of life partners.

Marriage and Family Life

Many Nepali girls marry soon after puberty. Nearly 40 percent of currently married women were married before the legal marital age of sixteen,[3] and a small but significant number (7 percent) were married before the age of 10.[4] In the tarai, consistent with conservative Hindu tradition in which child marriage is highly valued, the incidence of marriage below this age is three-times higher than in the hills, and six times higher than in the mountains. In 1981, about a quarter of districts in the country had a mean female marital age that was below the legal age. Most of these were in the tarai.[5]

STATISTICS SUMMARY:

Married before completing 14 years:

9.4% male
22.5% female

Married after reaching 25 years:

6.4% male
2.4% female

Married between ages 14 - 20 years:

63.1% female

Married between ages 17 - 25 years:

61.8% males

40% of currently married women were married before the legal age of 16 years.

Marriage Stage

Different Castes have different systems at the stage of marriage; Sherpas, Tamang, Magar, Gurungs & Rai have no restrictions like Brahmin and Chhetri girls. The tribal girls are forced to talk with other people and get love marriage too. Even if they don't like, they leave their husband and get another marriage.

In general they are not allowed as much freedom as the boys. Brahmin Chhetri girls have to accept marriage according to their parent's arrangement.

Under the Marriage Chapter, Section 2, there are provisions for severe fines and punishment for any adult related to and allowing, or marrying , a female under ten years, above ten years but under fourteen years or above fourteen years but under sixteen years. However, under the same section of the National Code, although there are statements about the marriageable age of males, there is no provision for fine and punishment for those involved in the marriage of male children.

The marriage of a male and a female under sixteen years of age will be void if they do not agree to that marriage after attaining marriageable age.

According to Section 11, the petition should be filed within three months from the date of performance of such marriage.

Marriages may be arranged by parents of the bride or groom, or they may occur by choice, elopement, or, in some rare instances, by capture. Both parties may refuse a union if they choose to, but most young men and women comply with the wishes of their parents. Marriage is usually a institution which binds the two families, as well as the bride and groom.

Weddings are festive occasions and may last for many days, with celebrations taking place at both the bride's and the groom's house. They are also expensive, and many families go into debt to give a celebration that befits their status. Government concern over the drain on resources caused by weddings led to the introduction of a law which limited the number of guests which could attend.

Depending on the wealth and traditions of her family, a bride may bring a dowry to her new home consisting of money, gold and silver ornaments, carpets, household goods or cattle. Often, the bridegroom also receives gifts of clothes, a watch or other valuables. In the negotiation of the marriage, much bartering may occur before the contents of the bride's dowry and the gifts to the groom are agreed upon. The government has also introduced restrictions on dowry size, but this has been hard to enforce.

For many women, marriage means a premature, painful, and often abrupt separation from their families and friends. If they marry outside their own communities, they may not return for a long time; they often do, however, visit their homes for the festivals of Teej and Bhai Tikka (the festival of brothers)



Tilahari, a sign of marriage

There seems to be an inverse relationship between the freedom of choice in marriage for females and the economic standing of their householders. Women from the bottom and middle strata had a greater percentage of "own-choice" marriages.

They are married by their parent's force. Boys are less (not) forced to be married. In this case there are many causes to marry off girls. Which are as following.

i. To save virgin is so good in the view of hindu religion. Therefore, parents would like to get marriage of their daughter under the 16 years.

ii. To please the moneylender: For this reason the parents give their daughter according to moneylenders order and will.

iii. Exchange Systems: In the village, there is a system, where families who have daughters and sons, exchange daughters for their sons.

iv. Some girls become pregnant when they are very young having disagreed marriage, with all the problems that creates.

v. They leave their study after completion the primary school. Often after marriage girls (have to) stop school completely while boys can continue.

vi. Mostly they use to wear sari and blouse in this stage, they are restricted to wear pants etc. from the start of the mensturation period.

Age at First Marriage

On the whole 9.4 percent of the male population and 22.5 percent of the female population were married before they completed 14 years (Table 2.27). Only 2.4 percent of the women had married after reaching age 25, while 6.4 percent of men had done so. The majority of the women (63.1 percent) were married between age 14 and 20 while the largest proportion of men (61.8 percent) were married between age 17 and 25. The proportion of child marriages (i.e. marriage below 14) was higher for both boys and girls of top and bottom economic strata than for those from middle economic stratum.

Cervical Cancer Linked To Early Marriage

New Delhi, June 17 (Xinhua):

Early marriage and high incidence of cervical cancer have a significant link and women married below the ages 15 to 17 are most susceptible to the disease.

Evidence shows a considerable fall in the risk factor after 18.

Gossner Mission

An old woman may accept her ailments without question, saying, "This is written for me, I have to accept it."

"When you are old and you become dependent you may just be tolerated." (Wife of a Pradhan Panch)

QUESTIONS

1. When is a woman old?
   When she reaches menopause?
   When she cannot chew her food?

2. What do you think life is like for the older woman?

3. What happens to the woman who doesn't marry?

4. What is the role of the older woman in child-rearing? How should this affect development planning?

5. How can we make use of the older woman in development work?

6. What are the advantages of aiming a training program at the older woman? The disadvantages?

7. Have you seen any programs designed to include the older woman, either to use her role to promote changes or to help her?

SOURCES

Mothers-in-law Health Education Project should be recorded thus: "The knowledge, attitude and practice of mothers in law regarding the intraconceptional care of their daughters-in-law before and after educational sessions." Names recorded:
Prof. Dr. Sanu Maiya Dali
Mrs. Munu Thapa, Lecturer
Mrs. Sarala Shreshtha, Lecturer

"Grandmother's Condition"
True story from Galyang

Front description of role of senior woman:
Nalini Shakya, Assistant Nutrition Consultant, UMN

Other nutrition pieces
Miriam Krantz, Nutrition Consultant, UMN

"Mother-in-Law" and "Old Stage":
CDHP, Lalitpur

"Migration"
Hospital Social Worker, Tansen

"Remarriage"
NEPALESE WOMEN, Indra Majupuria. rev. 1987 Craftsmen Press, Ltd., Bangkok, Thai.

"Aama"
Nepali Aama, Broughton Coburn, 1982 Ross-Erikson, Inc., Santa Barbara, California. US

"The father protects a woman,
The husband during youth bright,
The sons during the old age feeble,
So a woman deserves not
a freedom's right."
(Manu Smriti 93)

When the nutritionist was teaching about feeding children nutritious but easily digestible food, an old person spoke up, "What about us?"

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Girls and Women in Nepal



OLD AGE

To maintain a peaceful family life there needs to be some one who keeps things running smoothly. In most homes this duty is taken up by the senior woman in the family. Her role is very important for every day life. In a joint family system, married sons and their wives and children, and unmarried daughters stay with their parents and in-laws under one roof and work and eat together.

The senior woman is the one who teaches the others how to live, and how to behave in society. She does this through recounting her own experiences with work and family, and through telling religious stories. She performs daily worship, praying for the family and others in need. She teaches family members how to economise and handle household expenditures. She also educates them as to how to treat members of the family and outsiders. Her role in passing on information about the care of children and the sick is central.

The senior woman also acts as a resource person. She shares her ideas with the neighbors, too. If they consult with her, she will give them advice on what to do or not do.

The older woman thinks about death. In several communities she must perform certain rites when she reaches a particular age. Then she is quite relieved. She may go on a pilgrimage if she is able.

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989, for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990.

I used to know several Indian languages, but I think I've swallowed them with my rice.

When you get old, it is a strain to climb into the storage loft to get something you want; and then when you get there you can't remember what it was that you went to get. You have to climb back down before you can remember.

Sometimes now when people talk, they say one thing, but I hear something else altogether. It's funny how something will make sense when I hear it, and I'll continue talking, but then the person corrects me. Your ears hear things differently when you get old.

I can feel how much hair I am losing because I have trouble keeping my scarf on my head, and I'm getting so thin my waistband keeps slipping.

There's a woman who lives down the hill here who is over 100 years old. But people today don't live as long, and they don't work as hard as they used to. Years ago, people carried much larger loads...even some young people today can't believe we old people carry the loads we do.

I've been to Calcutta—Dacca's elder brother—twice, once with my daughter's father when he was a colonel in the Indian Army, and once again in 1959 after he died. I waited several months and wrote letters to the pension office asking where his pension was, the pension due to the surviving widow. No answer, so I went down there, but what could I do? I had no friends or contacts; everyone said that I was eligible for a pension, but the office people didn't have time to spend with women. They turned me away for some reason I couldn't understand.

Hare Ram, I come home at night and who can I say I'm tired to, who can I say I'm hungry to?

p. 99

Sun Maya's father died with debtors beholden to him. There's no chance that I'll ever be repaid those debts of borrowed land. That's the best way to earn land or money around here, just wait until your creditor dies and your debts are erased. But if you die in debt yourself, the path to the final resting place of human souls will be blocked with obstacles.

p. 60

Change always comes. We own land and we say that it is "our" land, but two and three generations later, who is it that owns our land? In a hundred years none of us will be here. Even the trails of my youth have changed or been moved, and I have seen streams and rivers change their courses.

p. 29

I can't figure out what today's kids are up to—on the way to school they smoke cigarettes bought with their parents' money and then make playing cards out of the cigarette packs, to throw away more money gambling. They have no scruples about lying to buy alcohol, or stealing fruits and vegetables. What use have we folks who are about to die for these new customs?

p. 66

Before there were watches, we used to tell time through an internal timepiece. We always knew exactly when to meet for work in the fields or forest. Now that there are watches to tell us the time, everyone's internal timepieces have fallen into disrepair.

p. 85

You'd never believe that that hillside was all jungle when I was a girl; now it's all buffalos and people.

p. 29

Tears come to my eyes every time I walk by my youngest sister's burial place.

p. 44

MOTHER-IN-LAW

In this stage a period of rest enters her life:

a. She handles the monetary authority;
b. She guides other family members;
c. Most of the time she stays in the home - does not do outdoor work;
d. She feels superior;
e. Sometimes cares for grandchildren

OLD AGE

a. She shares past experiences with other people;
b. She helps to care for the children;
c. Always she stays in the house;
d. She would like a good death and prays to god;
e. She is free to talk, and will give advice to all family members, if they ask for it.

OLD AGE RITUALS

1. Kathmandu Newars (Ganku) (Thanku)

At the auspicious time of 77 years 7 months, 7 days, 7 hours and 7 steps the Newar Brahmin Priest performs an elaborate ceremony followed by a Newari feast with meat. Three year later a Brahmin feast without meat will follow the religious ceremonies. 10 years later the another ceremony will be held if the person is still alive.

.....

OLD AGE RITUALS

2. **In the Hills (Churashi Puja)**

This is a very elaborate religious cermony performed by most castes when a person reaches auspicious age of 84 years. It involves the Brahmin priest who receives gifts such as a cow, a bed, cooking utensils from the family of the elderly parent. This gives great merit and is considered a good preparation.

There is generally a lack of understanding about menopause, which can cause anxiety. It is at this time that a husband may take a younger wife to do the work of the house. This may displace his first wife.

The Gurungs say, "You are old when you are 30".

When the experts were looking for a combination of beans and grains to grind up and cook as a perfect food for children suffering from malnutrition, they saw just this mixture being prepared in some homes for old people without teeth, and with poor digestion. In those homes it was also being given to children.

When a nutritionist advised the mother of an ailing baby that she must get it off the dirty bottle and watery milk, an old woman piped up "I told her it is an unnatural way to feed a baby!"

Migration of men out of Nepal has caused terrible problems within the family units. It has left young and old women alike alone on the farm or in the city. There are many single elderly women suffering from lack of care. In some cases their families have died, in others they had no children, and in others their husbands have gone abroad. The older woman may have to stay at the farm to watch over the livestock. If she has a daughter-in-law with her, the young girl may not know how to care for her if she becomes ill, or may not know when to take her to the hospital. There may be no money available for medical care. So medical ailments may become chronic, while women wait for their men to return.

GRANDMOTHER'S CONDITION

Last year there was a distantly related grandmother living in our family home. One day she had gone to the forest to cut fodder. While throwing down cut branches from the top of the tree, she herself fell, but a fork of the tree broke her fall and she was wedged there.

Seeing her plight, I screamed and yelled. My uncle heard and came. He brought her down from the tree and brought her back to the house.

In 1989 an educational project was undertaken near Kathmandu to teach mothers-in-law about prenatal, birth and postnatal care so that they can in turn teach and better supervise pregnancy and birth practices. Proceeding from the knowledge that the mother-in-law is the decision maker and has more leisure than the daughter-in-law, instruction was aimed at a group of over one hundred mothers-in-law. Each woman was given a poster set.

This became the "textbook" that was used to teach her, and she took it home with her at the end of the sessions. She was encouraged to teach others using her book when she went back home. Since they were taught in small groups, they remembered their own pregnancies and the problems that came from causes illustrated in their books: small babies from smoking, from using a tight cloth to hide the growing stomach, or from poor nutrition, the loss of a baby after carrying a heavy load, breast abcesses from lack of proper care, etc.

At first they doubted they could learn. "We can't read", they said. But once shown the illustrations, and being taught orally, they became happy and even proud about their ability to learn new ideas. They wished they had known these facts when they were young. They tried out the ideas in their own homes during the training and reported back on their successes. It was clear that they are in a key position to bring about changes in the family, and despite the fact that 90% of them are illiterate, they are capable of doing so.

Also, they were not ready to stop! "You must come back", they said, "and teach us more! We want to learn to take better care of our grandchildren, including getting them immunizations. We want to know more about our own bodies and how to care for them. We want you to teach our daughters in law how to take care of us when we are sick. And then we want to learn to read and write. We don't want to be left behind!"

The older woman may be treated as the greatly revered mother by her family. But she is totally dependent on having a family which cares for her. As she becomes less strong she may lose her position of authority. If her husband dies she may lose importance. If she has no family she is extremely vulnerable in the community and may even lack basic necessities like food.

There seem to have been virtually no significant efforts to gather information about medical problems of the aged, whether for men or women. In general, it is known that older people die of pneumonia, chronic lung disease, strokes and heart failure. Women in particular suffer from having cooked all their lives in a smoke-filled kitchen, and often have chronic lung problems. There is also a high incidence of blindness and deafness. Many lose their teeth, especially because of poor nutrition during pregnancies. A woman may say that she is old because she can no longer chew meat. Women may also suffer from prolapse of the uterus due to repeated pregnancies. Many women have arthritis and chronic back pain. It has been noted that there is not, however, as much osteoporosis as in the United States, and the much greater activity of the older woman is suspected to be a factor.

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Raising Women's Awareness

WITHOUT the effective involvement of women, who constitute half of the population of the country, no effort at development can be expected to bear fruit. To achieve such an involvement, it is vital that women fully enjoy their rights as equals in society. The active participation of women along with their male counterparts is a basic requirement for the country's development process to proceed in the right direction. However, a serious impediment to the enlistment of women in the development process is their inability to break away from the shackles of poverty, superstition and illiteracy, among other things. Mired in deep poverty, women are forced to exhaust their energies in making ends meet, leaving them no opportunity to participate in broader endeavours. The superstitions associated with being born as a woman make women passive acceptors of their situation as second-grade citizens in society, preventing them from excercising their efforts in productive endeavours. These superstitions are then exacerbated by the illiteracy surrounding women, leaving women deeper and deeper in the quagmire of helplessness. There is a pressing need to raise the awareness of women about their legal rights and then make them enjoy those rights, thereby creating a condition for their active involvement in productive pursuits.

The women's legal workshop-seminar and Nepal Women's Organisation (NWO) workers' training which was inaugurated by Her Majesty the Queen in Birendranagar Sunday and organised by the Women Legal Service Project and Women Training Centre are positive efforts aimed at heightening awareness among women about their legal rights and the role expected of them by society. NWO's arrangements for free legal services for women and the legal literacy classes for women which it is also conducting are indeed laudable and forward-looking efforts. Similarly, the activities of the Women Legal Service Project aimed at promoting the legal rights of women are commendable. The need is to expand these activities so as to include larger numbers of women to facilitate the task of enlisting their involvement in the all-round welfare of the country.

Complementing the steps aimed at arousing awareness among women about their constitutional rights should be efforts to monitor instances where these rights are being restricted deliberately or otherwise. Instances in society where such rights are purposefully suppressed for one reason or the other and where the helpless victims resign themselves to passive submission should be dealt with seriously so as to deter the repetition of similar instances.

Why do female professions like AMN \ Nurse get less prestige than male professions like DMA or HA? Can this be changed?

How do you account for the number of suicides (mostly female) reported in the daily press?

What outlets are there for activity and recreation in a woman's life?

What is the image of the female presented in Nepali and Indian films? As cinemas and videos become widespread, what effect is this image likely to have on males and females?

Can the work burden of girls and women be relieved without major changes in traditional male attitudes and activity?

At times of critical agricultural activity, (eg. rice planting) all women, including those in advanced stages of pregnancy, must work long hard hours. What effect does this have on mother and child? Can this be changed? If so, how?

'Income generation activities designed by development projects for rural women usually make women's lives harder, not easier'. Discuss.

We are in a transitional period of development. The economic basis of our society is still very poor. During the process of economic development, changes are inevitable. With the change of economic condition of the society, the social changes are also inevitable. In such a changing society we women are in the crossroad of development. We must choose a path in our way to emancipation whether to follow a society based on the traditional and religious values or the western type of society. In a society based on tradition and religious values, women are treated as slaves or servants. Women are never treated equally. If we accept the traditional values it is opposed to the path of developmentof women. It will bind the women within the confines of four walls. The western idea of women's emancipation stressed the absolute freedom from men, and not from the economic, social and political injustices. If we accept the western idea, a) it will hamper our nationalism and patriotism, b) the relationship between men and women will become unnecessarily antagonistic which will get nowhere, c) it leads us to decadent way of selfish culture rather than true development. So this idea will not uplift the real women's development.

Therefore, our path is neither to stick to traditional values and religious belief totally, nor to the western approach which preaches for absolute freedom from men. Our path should be towards nationalism, social and political freedom, economic equality and justice. Women standing on their own feet decioding their own destiny, economic independence, should be the means and ways of women's emancipation.

Nepal's Country Paper by members of all Nepali Women's organisations presented in South Asia Workshop, A Report of ACFOD's Women Program.

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Girls and Women in Nepal



WOMEN AT WORK

The everyday tasks of family life in rural areas throughout Nepal involve women in labour-intensive farm work and time-consuming domestic chores to provide fuel, water and food for their children and other household members. Little time is left for activities with potentially higher economic returns, or to contribute to the economic and social development of the country.

In addition to their contribution to the family farm and household maintenance, women engage in a range of activities to gain cash and supplement household income, such as marketing home produce and manufactured goods, brewing beer for sale, inn or shop keeping, wool carding, weaving, and basket or pottery making. They may also undertake wage labour as porters or agricultural workers, although wages are poor, and for women they are usually lower than for men. The dearth of cash-earning opportunities for women and the convenience of home-based work, may also lead women to accept poor remuneration for skilled but time-consuming and labour-intensive work; for example, carpet and textile weaving, particularly in Tamang and Newar communities in the hinterland of the Kathmandu valley.

Women's participation in the small industrial sector is also limited. Most women involved in manufacturing are employed in textile enterprises, are usually young, and leave after only a few years of service.

Low levels of educational attainment among women, and prejudice in favour of male recruitment may also negatively affect the formal employment of women.

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989, for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990.

- She must respect all senior members of the family and show this by daily rituals.
- She must maintain good relationship to all relative persons.
- She must cover her head by cloth if any senior person is infront of her.
- She must not speak frankly and face to face.
- She must take care of the children.
- Always she must speak politely.
- She must do a lot of home work, awake early in the morning, sweep the floor, bring water, bring grass, cooking food, washing dishes, clean the house, grinding maize and making rice, help in construction work, washing clothes, digging field.
- She presses the feet of mother in law and husband. She must eat after all have eaten, she goes to sleep after all are sleeping.
- She goes to parent's house when she become sick, when she returns, she must bring something as a present. Often during a festival she must go in her parent's house.
- Widow marriage is not allowed to the women but boys can marry 3 or 4 times.
- She is not wellknown about women's rights.

Most of the routine work inside the home is the responsibility of women, who cook, clean, and care for children and elderly family members. Women also have to keep the home constantly supplied with water for drinking and cooking, and with wood for the fire. They may spend as many as four hours a day foraging for fuel in forests which may be several kilometres walk from home. The introduction of a water supply system or an alternative source of energy often provides a woman with additional free time which she may use for her own benefit, or for that of her family, by learning to read, or obtaining skills which could bring more money into the household.

In the underdeveloped countries the male persons are using the women as a doll of entertainment and an equipment to get the work done. In Nepal the position of the women is also the same. May be this is a reason of being one of the poorest countries.

← COMPARATIVE TIME USE PATTERN FOR MALES AND FEMALES (SIX VILLAGES)

Rural Women of Nepal

		Age Group/Sex / Activities	15+ Male	15+ Female	15+ Both
Work Burden	Conventional Economic	Animal Husbandry	1.43	0.97	1.17
		Agriculture	2.73	2.74	2.73
		Manufacturing	0.42	0.45	0.44
		Outside Income Earning Activities (In-Village)	1.24	0.46	0.81
	1	Sub-Total for Conventional Economic Activities	5.81	4.62	5.15
	Expanded Economic	Hunting and Gathering	0.17	0.05	0.11
		Fuel Collection	0.24	0.38	0.32
		Fetching Water	0.07	0.67	0.40
		Household Construction	0.25	0.08	0.16
		Food Processing	0.18	0.97	0.62
	2.	Sub-Total for Expanded Economic Activities	0.91	2.16	1.60
	Domestic	Cooking/Serving	0.27	2.05	1.25
		Cleaning Dishes & Pots	0.03	0.39	0.23
		Cleaning House/Mud Plastering	0.04	0.46	0.27
		Laundry	0.02	0.15	0.09
		Shopping	0.24	0.17	0.20
		Other Domestic	0.04	0.13	0.09
		Child Care & Rearing	0.16	0.69	0.45
	3.	Sub-Total for Domestic	0.79	4.03	2.57
	1.	Sub-Total for Work Burden (1+2+3)	7.51	10.81	9.32
	4.	Education	0.43	0.10	0.25
	5.	Personal Maintenance	1.45	1.12	1.27
	6.	Social Activities	0.31	0.16	0.23
	7.	Leisure	6.30	3.81	4.93
	II.	Sub-Total for Social/Maintenance/Leisure (4+5+6+7)	8.49	5.19	6.68
	III.	Total In-Village Activities (I+II)	16.00	16.00	16.00

A woman marrying into a large extended family seems likely to spend less time on domestic work because it is shared among the women of the household.[6] Women living in nuclear families spend more time on domestic tasks, although there also seems to be a greater likelihood that these will be shared with her husband.[7]

"Instead of Culture I wanted to take Economics, but everyone at home advised me to take Culture. If I get a good job in HMG then it is okay, otherwise I will join some project." (22)

"I want to continue my studies after B.A. and then take a job in a government office because it will have more facilities and we can also get a chance to go to a foreign country." (20)

"I joined the campus to have minimum qualification for the civil service" (22)

"I would like to major in Home Science and then stop my study. I would prefer to develop my personality and be a good, gentle, educated girl, for the sake of my family and my country." (22)

'As children are very much prone to be misled, women are similarly prone to degradation. Therefore both women and children require protection from the elder members of the family.'

A.C. Bhaktivedanta swami Prabhupada.
Q.D.R.P. 27.

It is not too surprizing to find that women are responsible for 86 percent of the time put into domestic activities. Housework, after all, is traditionally viewed as a female sphere. Nor is it particularly stratling to find that women's input accounts for 74 percent of the time spent in expanded economic activities. What is significant, however, is the fact that women do all of this in addition to contributing 49 percent of the total time input to the conventional economic activities observed in the six village aggregate.

About 66.2 percent of the female respondents said work at home and child care responsibilities kept them away from seeking paid employment outside the home. Only 4.5 percent of the women gave study as cause for not working, while lack of suitable employment opportunities and qualifications for available work hindered 5.0 percent of the female respondents from seeking outside employment (Table 2.15). Inter-strata differences in responses are slight except as regards education and child care responsibilities. Inter-strata analysis showed about 7 percent of the women in the middle and 4.2 percent in the bottom and only 1.6 percent in the top strata having given education as their reason for not working outside the household. For top stratum women child care was a much more common reason for not taking outside employment reported in 13.6 percent of the cases (Table 2.16).

These findings suggest that people in Nepal -- men and women — are overworked and poor rather than underemployed.

In most rural communities, women play a major role in agriculture. They are involved in planting and weeding, fertilizing the crops with manure, harvesting and threshing.

Women's Access to Rural Service

Broaden the range of agricultural training and extension programmes to support women's roles in activities of agricultural production, processing, preservation, and marketing.

.. earn small sums of money from wood-cutting, basketry, spinning wool, extracting mustard seed oil, polishing rice, husking grain and distilling liquor.

Kathmandu, Sept. 4 :

A twenty-year-old house wife allegedly tried to commit suicide by hanging herself from the ceiling's beam in her room.

[redacted] was seen hanging by her brother-in-law who rushed to the police to report the incident. The police are taking necessary action.

[redacted], thirty-year-old wife of [redacted], allegedly tried to commit suicide by pouring kerosene over herself.

A twenty-two-year old girl who was opposed to the idea of her marriage allegedly tried to commit suicide by consuming pesticide yesterday.

Kathmandu, Sept. 6:

A thirty-year-old housewife allegedly committed suicide by hanging herself from a tree in the premises of her house.

[redacted] living at [redacted] Gaun who left behind three children, is said to have committed suicide when her husband was away from home.

Housewife Attempts Suicide

By A Staff Reporter

Kathmandu, Sept 7: [redacted] a 22-year-old housewife living at Jawalakhel, allegedly tried to commit suicide by consuming pesticide Wednesday.

Another housewife, [redacted], wife of [redacted] of Baneswor, had allegedly attempted suicide by consuming rodenticide.

CITY BRIEFS

The court remanded Kesh Bahadur Giri alias Dhruva Ward No. 10 Bharatpur to panchayat on the charge beating his wife [redacted] to death. SEPT 7

'In the sixth month of pregnancy I had heavy bleeding after carrying a heavy load of firewood. This continued for 7 days and then a dead child was born.'

Sarada Devi

Kathmandu, Sept. 9 :

A thirty-year-old housewife allegedly committed suicide by consuming insecticide today.

[redacted], wife of [redacted] living at Gothatar consumed pesticide following a tiff with her husband in the morning and died later in the day at Bir Hospital.

CITY BRIEFS

In another case of suicide, a young woman, allegedly committed suicide by hanging herself from the beam of staircase in her house at Sheshnarayan village panchayat.

Kathmandu, Sept. 10:

A twenty-six-year old college girl committed suicide yesterday.

[redacted], allegedly burnt herself to death after dousing herself with kerosene in her bedroom which was found bolted from inside.

According to police, a suicide note was also found on a table in her bedroom.

A housewife allegedly tried to commit suicide at Imadol yesterday. [redacted] had consumed pesticide and is said to be undergoing treatment in Patan Hospital in serious condition.

Prostitution: Three persons have been arrested by the police on charge of prostitution.

The three were caught red handed at a lodge near Bishal Bazar.

Bharatpur, Sept. 7 (RSS):

The bench of district court judge Ram Prasad Rauniyar has remanded Bir Bahadur Bishwakarma on the charge of flesh trade.

The accused has sold [redacted] of Ward no. 9 of Naranipur village panchayat and [redacted] of Gorkha district for Rs. 12,000/- and Rs. 20,000/- in Bombay respectively.

Police had arrested the accused after the two women escaped and informed the police here. SEPT 7

Factory and Factory Workers Act:

45 days maternity leave twice in whole service period.
H.M.G. offices: 60 days maternity leave.

1983, women constituted
9% primary teachers
10% lower secondary teachers
-2% agricultural extension workers
17% doctors and dentists
9% health educators
5.5% health assistants
5% community health leaders
11% panchayat-based health workers.

According to comparative time-allocation studies, average daily farm-based work:

Men:	6.00 hours
Women:	10.00 hours

Economically active Women (i.e. income producing)

mountains	65%
hills	51%
terai	31%

[1981 Population Census]

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There is an imbalance between the rights of men and women, especially in the legal provisions of obtaining property. How can this imbalance be corrected?

Is childlessness or sonlessness a good enough reason to entitle a man to seek a divorce or take a second wife?

What are the difficulties facing a women who is divorced or widowed?

Is it a good thing that a women is not allowed to marry if her husband dies?

Should a women lose all her rights to her husband's property if she divorces him?

Is a bad relationship with the mother-in-law a major reason for a wife to leave her husband?

Why is a Hindu women forbidden to take her husband to court if he takes a second wife?

Girls and Women in Nepal



MARRIAGE DISRUPTION

In Andhikhola a family had a daughter. When she was young, she went to school. But while she was still very young, they gave her away in marriage.

For two to four years, the husband and wife lived together. Then the husband went abroad (to India?).

Then, for many years, no letter was sent. No news came. She was anguish of mind. Many people were going everywhere in search of him, but they could not find him, no matter what they did.

Suddenly, he came and stayed one night at the home of his sister. The, leaving his radio with his sister, he said, "I'll be back after four days," and he left again.

He did not come; he only sent a letter saying he would not return. Just having received that one letter made her feel as if her husband himself had come. She is carrying on her life on the hope of letter.

Produced by the United Mission to Nepal, November, 1989,
for the SAARC Year of the Girl Child, 1990.

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In most parts of the country, if a woman is unable to bear a child, or produces only girls, her life is likely to be marked by unhappiness and humiliation. Childless (or even sonless) women have low status in many communities, and may even be regarded with suspicion or fear. Childlessness is attributed to female barrenness, rather than male sterility, and entitles a man to seek divorce, or an additional wife.

CWN p.165

The National Code (Mulki Ain) of 1963 brought about significant changes in family and property law and the legal status of women, moving towards equal rights for both sexes. It raised the legal age of marriage for women to sixteen, made polygamy and child marriage illegal, established women's rights to request divorce and broadened women's capacity to control or inherit property. However, imbalances between rights of men and women persist both in the legal provisions, particularly for property, and in the interpretation and application of the law.[8] Even where legal provisions stand in favour of women, the latter often lack the resources, skills, and social support to ensure the enforcement and extension of their legal rights.[9]

CWN. p.165

TABLE 2.40

REASONS FOR TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE

(For All Marriages)

Current Status of Marriage/Reasons for Termination \ Sex	Male	Female
I. Not Terminated	380 (68.0)	381 (70.2)
II. Terminated	179 (32.0)	162 (29.8)
Terminated because of:	75 (13.4)	86 (15.8)
1. Death of Spouse		
2. Desertion or Elopement by Spouse	59 (10.6)	12 (2.2)
3. Desertion or Elopement by Self	14 (2.5)	32 (5.9)
4. Male Infertility	-	1 (0.2)
5. Female Infertility	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)
6. Mutual Consent	12 (2.1)	4 (.7)
7. Advent of Co-wife	5 (0.9)	13 (2.4)
8. Intra-Familial Disputes	7 (1.2)	3 (0.6)
9. Others	6 (1.1)	10 (1.8)
Total Marriages	559 (100.0)	543 (100.0)

The Status of Women in Nepal p.86.

A larger percentage of women than men were currently divorced. This is probably due to the fact that if men are not happy with their wives they may simply bring in another wife. If the first wife does not want to share her household with another woman she may leave and thus become 'divorce'. The proportion of unmarried males was highest in the bottom economic stratum while the highest percentage of unmarried females was in the middle economic stratum. Whether these variations are due to demographic factors such as age structure, etc., or other socioeconomic factors needs to be studied further. The proportion of widows who had not remarried was also higher for the females of middle and top economic strata as compared to females of the bottom stratum. The proportion of divorcees, both men and women, was highest in the top economic stratum.

RWN Page 65

REMARRIAGE

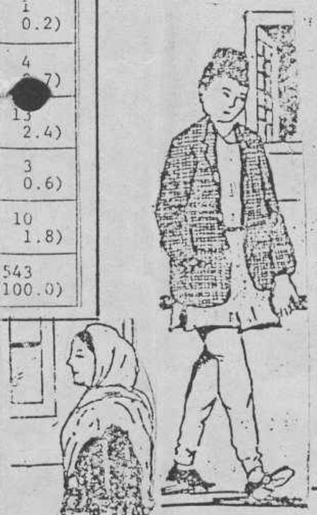
Remarriage among the Hindus of Nepal is difficult, especially in the high caste groups. About 1.11 percent of female population become widows before 24 years of age. By that time they attain the age of 44 about 12.10 percent of the total women in that age group become widows. Regarding the regional patterns a slightly higher rate of widowhood is found in Kathmandu Valley than in the Terai. Divorce rates are highest in the mountainous population and next comes the Kathmandu population. Among the women of Terai the rate of divorce is lowest which is only 0.14 percent. Statistical analysis shows that the highest percentage of widowed females in Terai and in Kathmandu among the upper age group is probably due to the higher rate of remarriage of widows in the mountains and hills.

Thus, common to all communities studied is the fact that women have no right to landed property and inheritance on their own. They must gain access to land and property by marriage and through male progeny. Divorced or childless women have no recognized rights of inheritance in either their affinal or in their natal households. While widows have usufruct rights to land during their lifetime, a divorced woman does not even have this. The only sources of property for a woman are daijo, from her natal household at marriage and pewa. Therefore, in communities where divorce is an accepted fact of life (Kagbeni, Katarche, Thabang and Sukhrwar) a careful account is maintained on these items of women's property however minimal it may be and women are supposed to get back this property if divorced. In Hindu communities like Bakundol and Sirsia where ideally a woman can be married only once in her life, no one keeps track of such property and a divorced woman often becomes a destitute.

The Status of Women in Nepal p.50

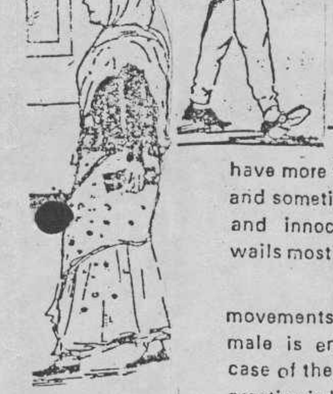
Q. No: 22. Under what conditions the wife can divorce her husband ?

Ans:—



a. If the husband takes up another wife (or keeps co-wife); or
b. If he drives out the wife from the house; or
c. If she is denied from maintenance; or
d. If the husband deserts her and lives separately without taking any information or care of her continuously for a period of three years or more; or
e. If he commits any act or, indulges in any intrigue or conspiracy designed to kill her or to inflict her grievous hurt or any severe physical torture; or
f. If the husband becomes impotent; or
g. In the event of mutual consent.

(Chapter on Husband & Wife Sec. 1, Sub-sec. 2 & 3).



Law of monogamy is a case in point. Law forbids a man to have more than one wife. But many men do manage to get married with a second, and sometimes even a third wife without ever having to go to jail because the modesty and innocence of a pious Hindu wife forbids her to take her husband to court. She wails mostly inside her soiled shawl.

Chastity after marriage is also a one way condition. The movements of women are restricted and a small suspicion of illicit relation with another male is enough ground for the marriage to crumble. This would hardly happen in the case of the male being involved in proven illicit relation with another female. The practice is bad in itself, but still worse is that the women accept it as a divine ordination. This leads to fatalism which is very hard to overcome.

Quarterly Development Review pp.12,20.

Divorce is legal, and women may request it on several grounds. However, on divorce, a women loses all her rights to her husband's home and property, and if her own family does not provide support and shelter, she may be left destitute. She would rarely be able to enforce the legal provision that entitles her to five years alimony after the separation. Moreover, according to law, she is only entitled to custody of her children until they are five years old. Since children are the only source of security for old age, their loss is both emotionally and economically devastating.

CWN Page 165

While according to female reporting slightly less than six percent of the broken marriages in our sample were due to desertion or elopement by the female partners, men reported female desertion or elopement in nearly 11 percent of the cases.

The Status of Women in Nepal. 82.

However, third or second marriages are considered ritually inferior both for men and women in all the communities -- more so for women than for men. About 60 percent of the first marriage for males and 57.9 percent of the same for females involved maximum ritual. No third marriage for females involved maximum ritual. The degree of ritualization declines with the sequence of marriage both for males and females but this decline is much sharper in the case of females than for males.

The Status of Women in Nepal. 92.

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Herr Puchta 783 8479 wichtig!
783 83 73

Karl-Heinz Niedermeyer, Bamberger Str. 58 1000 Berlin 30

Eingegangen
05. Juli 1990
Erledigt.

Berlin, den 4. 7. 1990

Lieber Herr Schwedler,

anbei mein Entwurf für eine Neuformulierung der Entwicklungspolitik des Berliner Senats und ein nicht mehr ganz aktuelles Zwischenergebnis der Beratungen zwischen SPD und AL zu diesem Komplex. Die Regierungskoalition will bis Jahresende eine "Zentralstelle für Entwicklungspolitik" als Stabsstelle beim Senator für Wirtschaft einrichten. Bis dahin dürfte die endgültige Form der Umsetzung der zwischenzeitlich im Abgeordnetenhaus eingebrachten Entschließung in Gestalt neuer "Entwicklungspolitischer Leitlinien" des Senats vorliegen. Übrigens sollten Sie einmal prüfen, ob nicht Teile Ihrer Arbeit, z.B. entwicklungspolitische Bildungsarbeit in Berlin, aus dem Titel "Entwicklungspolitische Kleinprojekte" beim Senator für Wirtschaft gefördert werden könnten, der in diesem Jahr erheblich aufgestockt wurde. Zuständig ist Herr Schallock, Leiter des Referats Entwicklungspolitik beim Senator für Wirtschaft.

Mit freundlichem Gruß

Ihr Karl-Heinz Niedermeyer

insbes. Neue Initiativgruppen
Tel. 783-1
wg. Projekte anfragen

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Frau Drawert. [redacted]368 ernent Projekt-
antrag stellen.

2 Seiten Fiel
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II. BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG VON FRAUEN DER BEURTEILUNG EINES VORHABENS:
ÜBUNGSBEISPIEL II : PRÜFBERICHT

TZ - Vorhaben:	**Ländliche Entwicklung der Provinz Adventique**
Entwicklungsland:	**Quanin**

1. Kurzbeschreibung des Vorhabens und des deutschen Beitrages

Das Projekt hat zum Ziel, die Lebensverhältnisse der länd lichen Bevölkerung in der Provinz Adventique zu verbes sern. Es wird angestrebt, das Einkommen und die Einkom mensstabilität der Zielgruppe merklich zu verbessern, in dem die landwirtschaftliche Produktivität durch Einsatz angepaßter Innovationen erhöht, die Produktpalette diver sifiziert und die Vermarktungsfähigkeiten der Zielgruppe gefördert werden.

Um das Ziel der Einkommenserhöhung für die Kleinbauern zu erreichen und damit die Abwanderung einzudämmen, ist es notwendig

a) die Bodenqualität zur Steigerung landwirtschaftlicher Produktion zu verbessern und zu sichern,

b) die Produktpalette zu erweitern,

c) die Absatz- und Gewinnchancen zu verbessern,

d) Einkommensmöglichkeiten außerhalb des Pflanzenbaus zu schaffen,

e) die soziale und technische Infrastruktur auszubauen.

Dies wird nur möglich sein, wenn die Effektivität der staatlichen Landwirtschaftsförderung gesteigert, die Par tizipation der Zielgruppe durch die Stärkung kooperativer Strukturen gewährleistet werden können und die Frauen in die Maßnahmen einbezogen werden.

Die wesentlichen Leistungen der deutschen Seite bestehen darin, den Projektträger bei der konzeptionellen und ope rativen Planung und Durchführung seiner vielfältigen Auf gaben zu beraten und sein Personal in Managementfähigkei ten zu schulen, Maßnahmen zur Stärkung lokaler Selbsthil feorganisationen zu entwickeln und den Bau sozialer und technischer Infrastruktur logistisch und finanziell zu un terstützen.

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2. Ziel und Begründung des Vorhabens

2.1 Ausgangssituation (Problemanalyse)

Das Kernproblem der Bevölkerung dieser Region sind die zu geringen Einkommensmöglichkeiten im landwirtschaftlichen und außerlandwirtschaftlichen Bereich.

Das quaninische Bruttoinlandsprodukt pro Kopf wird auf nur 270 US $ geschätzt. Etwa 48 % des BIP entfallen auf die Landwirtschaft. Die ländliche Bevölkerung umfaßt ca.50 % der Haushalte und damit etwa 350000 Personen, von denen über 80 % ihren Lebensunterhalt aus landwirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit erwirtschaften. Überwiegend wird nach traditio nellem System angebaut, wobei das hohe Bevölkerungswachs tum von ca. 3,4 % zu einer Verkleinerung der Betriebsgrö ßen, zur Verkürzung der Brachezeiten und damit zu einer sinkenden Bodenproduktivität geführt hat. Dies gilt insbe sondere für die Projektregion.

Dennoch kommt es bei bestimmten Produkten zu saisonaler Überproduktion mit der Folge instabiler Erzeugerpreise, die mzu stark schwankenden und meist insgesamt zu geringen Einkommen führen.

Aktivitäten außerhalb des Pflanzenbaus haben bisher in der Einkommenerwirtschaftung der männlichen Bevölkerung der Region zu geringe Bedeutung.

Dies verstärkt die Abwanderung von vorallem männlichen Ar beitskräften in die Stadt einerseits und führt zur tenden ziellen Verarmung der zurückbleibenden Bevölkerung mit den üblichen Begleiterscheinungen wie Fehlernährung, schlech tem Gesundheitszustand sowie zu erhöhter Arbeitsbelastung von Frauen. Ihr schlechter Gesundheits und Bildungsstand wird durch den Mangel an technischer und sozialer Infrastruktur verschärft.

2.2 Projektziel, Zielgruppen und entwicklungspolitische Einordnung

2.2.1 Projektziel:

Das **Oberziel** des Projektes ist die Eindämmung der Abwanderung aus dem ländlichen Raum.

Das **Projektziel** ist die Verbesserung der Einkommen der ländlichen Bevölkerung durch die Verbesserung der Produktivität, der Produktpalette im Pflanzenbau und deren Absatzchancen sowie durch die Verbesserung der sozialen und technischen Infrastruktur.

Es kann einen Beitrag zum Oberziel leisten.

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2.2.2 Indikatoren der Zielerreichung

Indikator für das Erreichen des Oberziels "Eindämmung der Migration jungen männlichen Bevölkerung":

- die Zahl der aktiven Jugendclubs verdoppelt sich;

Indikatoren für das Erreichen des Projektziels "Steigerung der Einkommen der ländlichen Bevölkerung"

- die Flächenerträge der Pflanzenproduktion haben sich bei den erreichten Betrieben um mindestens 30 % erhöht;

- nach 4 Jahren werden 30 % mehr landwirtschaftliche Produkte vermarktet als zu Projektbeginn;

- mindestens 20 % der erreichten Bauern sind in Erwerbsmöglichkeiten außerhalb des Pflanzenbaus tätig;

- die Trinkwasserversorgung und die Ernährung wurden so verbessert, daß die durch schmutziges Wasser bedingten Krankheiten und die Kindersterblichkeit von Kindern unter fünf Jahren bis 1990 um 5 % verringert wurden (Gesundeit); die Einschulungsquote ist um 15 % gestiegen; die Wohnverhältnisse sind verbessert.

- die Frauen haben von den erreichten Verbesserungen zu gleichen Teilen wie die Männer profitiert.

2.2.3 Zielgruppen:

Bäuerliche Betriebe: in denen überwiegend eigene Arbeitskraft eingesetzt wird und die Erträge in erster Linie zu Subsistenzzwecken genutzt, nur etwaige Überschüsse vermarktet werden. Dies ist in kleinbäuerlichen und Betrieben mittlerer Größe der Fall. Hierbei ist zu berücksichtigen, daß der größte Teil der Nahrungsproduktion und Weiterverarbeitung von der Arbeitskraft von Frauen abhängt.

Frauen: alle Frauen arbeiten ca 1/3 ihrer gesamten Arbeitszeit in der Landwirtschaft, in der Regel auf den Feldern des Mannes, da sie selbst über keine Felder verfügen. Davon macht die Erntehilfe etwa die Hälfte dieser Tätigkeit aus und beansprucht ca 37 Arbeitstage im Jahr. Darüberhinaus sind Frauen auch an der Aussaat maßgeblich beteiligt. Die Feldpflege und der Transport des Erntegutes obliegt beinahe ausschließlich den Frauen.

Die Erntearbeit der Frauen wird meist mit einem "cadeau de recolte" abgegolten. Die Bezahlung geschieht auf der Grundlage des ökonomischen Austausches innerhalb der Familie, da diese keine Wirtschaftseinheit im europäischen Sinne ist: es gibt kein gemeinsames Einkommen und Einkommensniveau (reiche Männer können arme Frauen haben u. v.v.), wobei die Frauen meistens ärmer sind als ihre Ehemänner (Stichprobenuntersuchungen errechneten für Frauen ein um 37-45 % niedrigeres Einkommen). Der Austausch von Arbeitsleistung und Produkten zwischen den Geschlechtern innerhalb der Familie wird je nach Ethnie unterschiedlich geregelt.

Ebenso sind Frauen für die Aufzucht des Kleinviehs des bäuerlichen Betriebs/Haushaltes zuständig (Schafe und Ziegen) und behalten einen Teil der Nachkommen als eigenen Anteil, über den sie frei verfügen können.

Mit Ausnahme der Arbeit im Pflanzenbau auf dem Familienfeld, arbeiten Frauen und Männer lieber getrennt und gehen ihren eigenen Aktivitäten nach: dabei ist die Produktion der Frauen stärker marktorientiert (Weiterverarbeitung und Handel), ihre Einkommen sind daher stärkeren Schwankungen unterworfen. Dennoch entspricht der finanzielle Beitrag der Frauen zur Erhaltung Familie quantitativ dem des Mannes.

Die Weiterverarbeitung von landwirtschaftlichen Produkten ist praktisch vollständig Frauensache und umfaßt durchschnittlich 1/6 ihrer Arbeitstage im Jahr. Die Frauen kaufen die Grundprodukte entweder oder erhalten sie als "Erntegeschenk" von ihren Männern, verarbeiten sie und verkaufen sie an Einzelhändlerinnen.

Im Handwerk flechten sie Seile und Matten, färben und töpfern. Der Kleinhandel und der Fischhandel sind völlig in der Hand von Frauen, die ihm etwa ein Viertel ihrer aktiven Zeit widmen.

Durch Migration vorallem der Männer in die Städte ist der Frauenüberschuß in ländlichen Gebieten mit einem Verhältnis von 145:100 oder 60 Frauen auf 40 Männer mit besonders hoch. Die ökonomische und arbeitsmäßige Belastung dieser "de facto weiblichen Haushaltsvorstände" übersteigt meist das sonst für Frauen übliche Ausmaß.

Angesichts der Zuständigkeit von Frauen für viele Aufgaben des ländlichen Haushaltes, die auch Pflanzenproduktion und Kleintierzucht einschließen, ist deren erhöhte Arbeitsbelastung bei der Ausweitung produktionsorientierter Maßnahmen zu berücksichtigen. Diese kann ihre Einkommensgewinnung aus nicht landwirtschaftlich produktiven Tätigkeiten, die immerhin 50 % des "Haushaltseinkommens" ausmacht, gefährden

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2.2.4 Entwicklungspolitische Einordnung

Der produktionsorienierte Ansatz, der die Erweiterung der Produktpalette und die Verbesserung der Vermarktungsmöglichkeiten einschließt, ist geeignet, die landwirtschaftliche Einkommenserzielung in kleinbäuerlichen Betrieben zu fördern und die Grundernährung zu sichern.

Die Verbesserung des sozialen Infrastruktur wirkt sich positiv auf die unmittelbare Grundbedürfnisbefriedigung in den Bereichen Gesundheit und Bildung aus.

Die Trägerförderung einerseits und die Förderung der Selbsthilfefähigkeiten der Zielgruppe andererseits tragen zur Nachhaltigkeit der Projektmaßnahmen bei.

Die Erreichung der genannten Ergebnisse ist daher geeignet, einen Beitrag zur ländlichen Entwicklung zu leisten, wobei primär Männer und Frauen der ärmeren Bevölkerungsschichten, die die wesentliche Zielgruppe entwicklungspolitischer Bemühungen der Bundesregierung darstellen, angesprochen werden. Die Unterstützung der lokalen Bevölkerung in Selbstverwaltung und organisation entspricht dem entwicklungspolitischen Prinzip der Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe.

Die Regierung der Volksrepublik Quanin gibt der Förderung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und Produktivität eine hohe Priorität. Dabei wird besonderer Wert auf die Steigerung und Diversifikation der Nahrungsmittelproduktion sowie ihrer bedarfsgerechten Distribution innerhalb des Landes gelegt.

3. Gestaltung des Vorhabens

3.1 Bisherige Maßnahmen und Zusammenhang mit anderen Vorhaben

Mit folgenden anderen Geberorganisationen findet enge Zusammenarbeit statt: DED, KfW, Holländischer Freiwilligen Dienst, EG.

3.2 Projektmaßnahmen / Aktivitäten und deren Ergebnisse

Das Vorhaben in der Provinz Adventique ist als ländliches Regionalentwicklungsprojekt konzipiert und verfolgt einen multisektoralen und zielgruppenorientierten Ansatz. Das Schwergewicht liegt auf der Förderung des Agrarsektors mit besonderem Augenmerk auf die ärmeren Bevölkerungsschichten bzw. die kleinbäuerlichen Betriebe. Ebenso ist die Unterstützung des Projektträgers für ländliche Entwicklung in dieser Region (AGROCONS Adventique) vorgesehen (vergl.Abschn. 4).

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Die Einzelaktivitäten des Projektes lassen sich unterscheiden in unterstützende Maßnahmen, um AGROCONS die Aufgabenerfüllung zu ermöglichen (Trägerförderung), und zielgruppenorientierte Maßnahmen. Erstere umfassen die Unterstützung bei Management und Finanzierung der infrastrukturellen Aktivitäten. Letztere beinhalten Schritte zur nachhaltigen Steigerung der Bodenerträge und zur Verbesserung der Selbsthilfefähigkeit von Männern und Frauen.

Ergebnisse:

1) 1990 sind 25 % der Zielbevölkerung in regelmäßigem Kontakt mit der Beratungsorganisation.

2) Ab 1987 verfügt der AGROCONS über ein funktionierendes System, um Beratungsinhalte für Bauern zu entwickeln.

3) Ab 1990 verfügt der AGROCONS über ein erprobtes Paket von Innovationen hinsichtlich der Diversifizierung und Erhöhung der Produktion, der Erhaltung der Bodenproduktivität und der Verminderung des Ertragsrisikos für die Bauern.

4) Der AGROCONS produziert regelmäßig, kostengünstig und rechtzeitig Saatgut (z.B. Mais, Niebe) und Setzlinge (Obstbäume), in den Mengen und Qualitäten, die die Zielgruppe nachfragt.

5) Die Programme zur Befriedigung der Grundbedürfnisse sind vom AGROCONS durchgeführt; dies betrifft Gesundheit, Trinkwasser, Ernährung, Bildung und Wohnung.

6) Die Arbeitsbelastung von Frauen ist gesunken, die Produktivität in ihren Arbeitsbereichen und ihre Einkommen haben sich entsprechend den allgemeinen Steigerungen (s.o.) erhöht.

7) Die Beratungsorganisation verbreitet Beratungsinhalte, unterstützt Selbsthilfeorganisationen, liefert Produktionsmittel und erleichtert den Zugang zu Krediten. Die Vermarktung der durch die Beratung geförderten landwirtschaftlichen Kulturen ist erhöht.

Aktivitäten:

zu 1: Aus- und Fortbildung landwirtschaftlicher Berater und des Personals des Projektträger;

zu 2: Fachliche und organisatorische Unterstützung der administrativen Einheiten "Beratungswesen" beim Projektträger;

zu 3. Entwicklung, Feldtests und Verbreitung ökologisch und technisch angepaßter Innovationen;

zu 4: Beratung von AGROCONS in bedarfsgerechter Produktion landwirtschaftlicher inputs, in Management und Logistik;

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zu 5: Unterstützung beim Aufbau von Gesundheits- und Bildungseinrichtungen;
Bau von physischer Infrastruktur;

zu 6: Stärkung von kooperativen Strukturen und Selbsthilfefähigkeiten durch regelmäßige Betreuung der Gruppen;
Einrichten eines Kreditsystems;
Unterstützung von Vermarktungsmöglichkeiten;

3.3 Durchführung / Zeitplanung

Das Projekt setzt dort, wo es möglich ist, lokal erzeugte Ausrüstungsgüter ein. Die erforderlichen Baumaßnahmen werden mit landeseigenen Materialien erstellt.

Zur Beratung von Frauen stehen drei Mitarbeiterinnen der Sektion "Promotion Feminine" des Landwirtschaftsministeriums zur Verfügung.

4. Projektträger

Als Träger des Projektes kommt nur der AGROCONS-Adventique in Frage, eine regionale staatliche Entwicklungsorganisation, die juristisch als GmbH konstituiert ist. Sie untersteht dem Ministerium für ländliche Entwicklung und Genossenschaftswesen. Bei der Durchführung seiner Aufgaben ist der AGROCONS relativ unabhängig.

Die Zusammenarbeit des Trägers mit der Zielgruppe ist über das Beratungspersonal gewährleistet.

5. Gesamtkosten, Finanzierung, Leistungen

Die Projektkosten des TZ Beitrages belaufen sich bei einer zu veranschlagenden Gesamtlaufzeit von ca. 12 Jahren auf ca. 55 Mio. DM.

(.....)

6. Projektwirkungen, Annahmen und Risiken für die Zielerreichung

6.1 Wirkungsanalyse

6.1.1 Wirtschaftliche Beurteilung

Aus den Berechnungen der Betriebsmodelle ergibt sich eine Steigerung der Arbeitsproduktivität von 25 % und, je nach Betriebsgröße, des Betriebseinkommens bis zu 49 %. Diese Effekte werden verstärkt durch Maßnahmen in den Bereichen Vermarktung und Verarbeitung, die die Angebotsbedingungen der Erzeuger verbessern.

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Durch die Förderung von Selbsthilfeaktivitäten werden die Möglichkeiten der Frauen und Jugendlichen gestärkt, ein eigenständiges Einkommen zu erzielen und damit am Wirtschaftskreislauf teilzuhaben.

6.1.2 Sozioökonomische und soziokulturelle Beurteilung

Die Maßnahmen des Projekts sind darauf gerichtet, die kleineren Betriebsflächen intensiver zu nutzen und somit die Arbeitsproduktivität und die Einkommen zu erhöhen. Die Aktivitäten knüpfen an die traditionellen Anbausysteme und Verhaltensweisen an.

Der besonders gefährdeten Stellung der Frauen durch strukturelle Veränderungen in den Bereichen Verarbeitung und Vermarktung werden Aktivitäten entgegengesetzt, die die Möglichkeit weiterer Teilnahme am Wirtschaftsleben und eine Reduzierung der Arbeitsbelastung eröffnen.

6.2 Annahmen und Risiken

Dem Projektvorschlag liegen die Annahmen zugrunde, daß die bäuerliche Bevölkerung Interesse an der Produktionssteigerung und Verbesserung ihrer Lebenssituation hat, die Maßnahmen akzeptiert werden, eine kaufkräftige Nachfrage für die anvisierten Produktionssteigerungen vorhanden ist und deren Verteilungsbedingungen im Zuge des Projektes gesichert werden.

Die Bauern tragen drei Risiken: das Investitions-, das Produktions- und Lagerungs- sowie das Vermarktungsrisiko. Da die Zielgruppen an der Erprobung von Neuerungen zur Intensivierung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion beteiligt sind, können sich nur solche durchsetzen, die an deren ökonomische und soziale Lebensbedingungen angepaßt sind.

Das Vermarktungsrisiko durch saisonales Überangebot der Hauptprodukte ist auch mittelfristig nicht zu beheben und gilt ebenso für den AGROCONS.

Das Bodenrecht in der Projektregion (traditionell und formal) ist nicht an die soziale, ökonomische und technische Entwicklung der vergangenen 30 Jahre angepaßt. Solange es den Selbsthilfegruppen verwehrt bleibt, langfristige Nutzungsrechte zu erwerben, besteht die Gefahr, daß sich die Gruppen wieder auflösen.

6.3 Gesamtbeurteilung

Die Förderungsansätze des Projektes sowie die dargestellten Projektwirkungen (6.1), Maßnahmen und Risiken lassen eine positive Gesamtbeurteilung des Projektes zu.

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GENDER ORIENTATION ON DEVELOPMENT
(GOOD)

PREPARATORY SURVEY ON SOUTHERN PARTNERS
JANUARY 1991

GOOD-WORKING GROUP (ICCO, Christian Aid, AG KED)

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RESULTS OF THE PREPARATORY SURVEY PER CONTINENT

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

W-YWCA International organization

1. Overview

The World-Young Women's Christian Association (W-YWCA) is formally established in 1894. The W-YWCA could be called a federation of national associations in 88 countries. To be affiliated to the W-YWCA, associations must give evidence of being national in scope, led by women, animated by christian purpose and 'committed to the advancement of women and girls from different occupational, economic, racial, confessional and cultural groups in their country'.

A small international staff is responsible to the Executive Committee - elected every five years- for the implementation of the Four-year Programme (1988-1991).

The objectives of this Four-year Programme are:

The W-YWCA is committed to addressing the challenge of empowering women to fill their role in development through programmatic action in areas and around issues that impact greatly on their lives. The movement is also committed to enabling women to gain the experience and skills to be self-reliant.

The activities of the W-YWCA in the four-year period are clustered in three groups of activities.

I. The movement in transition
   This includes:
   1. Constitutional Assessment
   2. Development with Justice
      a. Co-operation for Development
      b. Selfreliance
      c. Women and Development Fund
      d. Major Projects
      e. Development Education
   3. Priority Issues
      a. Energy and Environment
      b. Human Rights
      c. Refugees and Migrants
      d. Health
      e. Peace
   4. Communications
   5. World Council (1991)

II. Leadership Development
   This includes:
   1. Development Skills Training
   2. Advocacy for Change
   3. Training of Young Women
   4. World Staff Training

III. Finance and administration
   This includes:
   1. Fundraising and new relations with donors
   2. Internal accounting systems and audit

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2. Conceptual level

a. The aim of the W-YWCA is stated in the constitution as: "To unite, co-ordinate and act on behalf of national associations on matters for which it has received authority".
This general aim is translated into a number of functions and these have already guided the movement for decades:
- To bring women and girls of different christian traditions into worldwide fellowship through which they may grow as christians, participating in the life and worship of their church and expressing their faith by word and deed. It includes within its fellowship all women and girls who desire to participate in its programme.
- To provide a channel for the sharing of resources and the exchange of experience among its affiliated associations.
- To help its affiliated associations with the development of their leadership and programme.
- To survey new fields and promote work to meet the needs theirin.
- To work for international understanding, for improved social and economic conditions and for basic human rights for all people.
- To act in co-operation with world voluntary movements and with intergovernmental organizations in matters of common concern.
- In times of emergency to undertake and to sponsor international humanitarian, welfare, and relief work, in accordance with christian principles, irrespective of religious, social, political, national or racial differences.

c. Theoretically W-YWCA's vision follows the empowerment strategy, but quite a number of national YWCA's are on the welfare and equity line. The W-YWCA's programme tries to correct this: "... The W-YWCA programme areas addresses this double reality of women victims and women-agents of change by developing programmes in areas where women's needs are pressing and by empowering women to assume their roles in effecting the changes necessary to promote equality, development, peace and justice."

3. Implementation level

a. National self-reliance is a priority area in financial and human terms for many associations, and a first concern for the W-YWCA is:
- to upgrade and enhance financial management and administrative skills of YWCA's at all levels where this need exists;
- to organize components in YWCA training events:
  * to determine innovative ways of raising income and removing bias towards the tradition of service programmes;
  * to identify ways and means to ensure continuity of leadership, both staff and volunteers who very often are lost to the YWCA due to the insecurity, economic hard-ships or personal frustations

The work load of the world office has been too demanding to isolate and permit the time required by the staff to examine together the philosophy, practices and planning.

f. The present programme of the W-YWCA explicitly aims at enabling the national YWCA's to change from traditional 'welfare' modus operandi to a strategy geared to mobilising and organizing women from a perspective of solidarity instead of aid.
W-YWCA's objectives are very much process-oriented. This is quite clear by the emphasis on an integrated approach and intensive leadership training as well as other professional skill training and education.

h. The W-YWCA defines itself as part of the ecumenical family and does not only relate but also co-operates on concrete issues (for example the International Women Refugee Conference with the WCC). The W-YWCA plays

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an important role in grooming and providing capable women for leadership positions. As a world office it is mainly facilitating, catalysing and supportive for the national YWCA's, which have developed mainly in Africa, the Middle East and Asia (because of the anglo-protestant origin). Many of the national YWCA's tend to isolate the women's issue from the community. W-YWCA tries to change this.

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AFRICA

PCC Women's Work Department Cameroun

1. Overview
Initiated by committed women in the PCC (= Presbyterian Church of Cameroun), the Women's Work Department was set up in 1977. Its main task is to provide education and training for women and girls from different congregations.
Under the auspices of the Women's Work Department the Home Making Center (HMC) in Bafut is run, which provides training courses for women in nutrition, child care, child health, alphabetization and Christian religion since 1958. In 1989 the HMC has started to build up a technical college for women and girls which offers a qualified education in tailoring and nutritution.
The second important project of the Women's Work Department which is to be highlighted here are annual bible courses for female parish workers. Since the inception in 1977 more than 130 women have been trained in two-months courses.
The subjects of the course comprise: bible studies, psychology, teaching methods, leadership and methods, communication, counselling, home economics, self examination questionnaires, cookery, variety handwork including tie and dye. Besides classroom lectures, course participants make about five excursions to visit educative projects (pottery project, soya bean farming, basket weaving, monastry visit, tie and dye demonstration, health center, evangelistic crusade).

2. Conceptual level
The Women's Work Department has not referred any document on women or any conceptual paper to the funding organization so that it is very difficult to make statements regarding policy and approach. Only the correspondence gives some hints to the ideas behind the project.
In 1987 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the bible courses the general secretary of the Women's Work Department conducted a refresher seminar for all hitherto course participants combined with an evaluation of the project. From 116 women invited 30 attended the evaluation seminar. The answer of the women who filled the evaluation questionnaires give some indications of the benefit of the bible courses from their point of view.
Most frequently mentioned is the benefit of strengthened Christian faith and enhanced knowledge about the bible. For many women the bible course has improved their understanding and their relationship to husband, children and others. A number of women is committed to lay preaching and informal counselling and teaching. For these tasks the bible course has improved their skills. From the information available the conclusion can be drawn that the project address women in their traditional triple role:
- reproductive (nutritution, child health, home economics, cookery);
- productive (tie and dye);
- community managing (counselling, psychology, teaching, bible studies).

Women are addressed as housewives, home makers and in their function as lay activists in the church. Traditional gender concepts, the subordination in the family and within the church are not questioned. The statements of the women taking part in the evaluation rather show that the

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courses enhanced accepting their role as mothers, housewives and pastor's wives.
Nevertheless, the bible courses impart biblical knowledge and some leadership skills to the women which enables them to take up their role as lay activists in the church with a broadened self-confidence and a more solid understanding of the bible. This should not be underestimated in a traditional church structure whre the women's voice is seldom heard and listened to.
It is difficult to state a development approach underlying the project. Neither you find an equity approach nor an anti-poverty approach. Women are not addressed as income earners, the training in practical skills refers to threir role as home makers. A welfare approach of the project can be assessed as it addresses women's practical gender needs (reproductive role). In a very limited way the project aims at empowering women within the patriarchal structures equipping them with skills useful for their role as lay activists and preachers but without reflecting their situation as women in the church.

3. Implementation level
The general secretary of the Women's Work Department of the PCC is a woman while the teachers and the resource persons conducting the bible courses are a mixed group of men and women. As the project is not based on a gender-aware concept the status of the Women's Work Department within the PCC is not reflected. The character of the bible courses is neither product or process oriented. In the evaluation of the project in 1987 information from only 30 of a total number of 116 participants over the years could be gathered. One does not know which impact the courses had for the commitment of the majority of women who did attend the evaluation seminar. The demand for refresher courses was articulated by the participants but has not yet been put into practice. As the project works through single training courses with individual women from different congregations without any grassroot organization concept its local perception and impact cannot be estimated.

CPK-Eldoret Kenya

1. Overview
The Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK), diocese of Eldoret, has since 1983 several development activities in six districts. The Development Department of the CPK, the Christian Community Services (CCS) defines development as a process of continuous change by which any organization, community, or group of people seeks to advance itself materially, spiritually and intellectually. The CCS has activities in the areas of small scale business, training, water, agriculture and livestock improvement and health. In these activities the CCS tries to develop an integrated approach.

2. Conceptual level
a. Apart from the objectives mentioned in the overall programme CCS does not have a document on women.
b. The overall policy is focused on the church and its membership and the community members of the six districts in which CCS works.

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c. The CCS wants to enable individual people in the project areas to have an increased control over their destiny. It is not clear if this is reached in the day to day project work. I think the organization is welfare oriented.

3. Implementation level

a. Many of the groups the CCS works with are women groups. Some of these groups are elite group for their husbands, a wifes participation enhances his status. In other groups the women seem to be the real participants and benefiting from the project. Another problem mentioned is the participation of women in male dominated local organizations.
In the women's groups there is a difference in mentality especially in the readiness to change between the younger and the older women.

b. The women's desk has a strong position but it seems to be the result of the persons in charge. In CCS women are more policy capable than men.

c. The organization was male dominated in staff, but the newly appointed persons in important positions are women. The administrative secretary is a woman, the head of the training department is a woman, and the head of the evaluation programme is a woman.

d. In most project areas women groups are supported or women are trained. It is not possible to discern which part of the budget goes to women's activities.. In the budget subsidy to women's groups is mentioned as a budgetarea and gets 0,8 % of the total budget. But women get money from other budgetareas too.

e. Attempts are made to support women in all areas of the programme, in all programmes women's groups are supported, but as mentioned in the obstacles it is not always the women who benefit, so it is not integrated yet.

f. Conscious raising is an explicitly mentioned aim on which CCS is working with the women's groups.

g. The gender process depends mainly on women, but this is also a result of the better qualificatons of women. In discussions with men in CCS it was made clear that the men were more emancipated in their work than in their relationships with their own wives. The men recognized this.

AED Mali

1. Overview

Association pour l'Education et le Developpement (=AED) was the first rural women organization in Mali next to the National Union of Mali Women (UNFM). It started in 1987.
It is a federation of autonomous rural and semi-urban women groups. Every women's group has a committee -all women- which in a number of cases is assisted by one or two men who speak for them 'outside'. Once every year the general assemblee brings together two representatives of each group. Four times a year the monitrices of the groups and the managers of the two small-scale enterprises together with the accountant meet.
AED has organized around 30 women groups of each 40-100 women and assisted them in socio-economic activities on a cooperative basis (cooperative vegetable gardening, batik, soap, kasilé butter production etcetera).
AED acts as support and resource centre in:
- provinding finance and credit;

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- logistics, transport;
- marketing;
- technological advice and training;
- awareness building, education, skill and leadership training.

2. Conceptual level

a. For its overall evaluation of 1990 AED has produced a detailed description of its philosophy and objectives for the socio-economic emancipation of rural women.

b. It has started as a seperate autonomous women organization, yet AED is careful to link the group effectively to the local community and administration.

c. AEDs first step is the anti-poverty option with a view to eventually reach the empowerment line. The transition is slow and difficult.

3. Implementation level

a. Obstacles met are:
   - poor access to means of production (loan, credit, and information/education);
   - patriarchal family structure: status of a minor;
   - cash crop revenue in husbands hands;
   - with ecological degration workload of women is higher, male exodus to town, female headed households;
   - monopoly of UNFM which emphasizes efficiency strategy in government framework;
   - at government and ngo-level openness to women's issues and leadership is just starting;
   - lack of theoretical framework and lack of exchange/pooling of still small, but growing number of professional women.

c. Except for the agricultural technician, all the staff is female. On the board there is 40 % men.

f. The long term objective of creating self-respect, self-reliance and encouraging solidarity of empowering women to change their inferior status is the key to the success of the programmes. Sensitization, literacy training, skill training and other education and exchange (visits are therefore considered to be the most important part of the programme), work organization and management skills are particularly emphasized in the small scale production cooperatives. The problem that economic feasibility of the production activites is hard to reach tends to deviate from the long term process approach and develop an AED-dependancy or continuing product oriented approach. A broader professional training and involvement of the animatrices and committee members seems very necessary.

h. AED is very respected in the NGO and at government level, yet it is not interacting profitably with them. Locally, the groups are much better integrated.

SACC Women Ministries South Africa

1. Overview

The South African Council of Churches Women Ministries was established in 1987 as a division within SACC to enable, animate, facilitate, co-ordinate and service all women's organizations, targetting mainly church women. It runs programmes in theological exploration, leadership trai-

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ning, development (awareness raising, making resources available, skills training, agriculture and food production training, literacy, child care), social analysis, legal rights and health work.

2. Conceptual level
a. SACC Women's Minitries produces lots of written documents on women.
b. Policy is integrated into the overall policy of the organization.
c. Difficult to identify main development approach since thepartner is involved in a very wide range of activites and there are elements of all five approaches.

3. Implementation level
a. Yes, for example SACC Women's Ministries has identified traditional stereotypes and predominantly male-dominated structures as gender specific obstacles and in response aims to change this by empowering women to do theology. These obstacles have not yet been overcome, though some progress has been made.
b. It is fairly well integrated I think. It is not in a position to work autonomously.
c. 25 % of staff are in administrative/coordinating roles and 75 % are field workers.
d. 1 % of SACC total budget is allocated to the Women's Ministries.
e. Not sure how widely gender policy is implemented, suspect mainly within the women's programme.
f. Mainly process-oriented, but also product-oriented.
g. Progress on gender depends mainly on one or two women but approach comes from a wider consultation.
h. The programme relates mainly to women in the churches nationwide and links in/overlaps with Ecumenical Decade activities. Thought of very positively by existing women's groups.

EMAU Tanzania

1. Overview
The Responsible Parenthood Education for Youth Project (EMAU) was started in 1976 by the Christian Council of Tanzania in collaboration with the Family Planning Association of Tanzania (Umati). Hitherto the programme focuses on family life education and counselling for youth. The prevailing instruments are periodical training seminars for youth leaders and counsellors and the production and dissemination of literature concerning youth problems. As a result of the last evaluation of the project an extension of activities was proposed seeking to include parents as target group. It also proposed the production of literature on parenting, family planning and on income generating activities.

2. Conceptual level
The long term objectives of the project are:
* to contribute to the emotional, social, economic and cultural growth of youth so as to enable them to take on responsibility as family members and as parents and citizens;
* to produce desirable changes in attitude, knowledge and behaviour related to sexual and family matters which are compatible with aspirations of Tanzanians and their cultural values.

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Though the issues raised in seminars and publications -pregnacy, relationship between men and women, friendship, extended family, marriage and polygamy, work and economic independence, alcohol and drug abuse, smoking, AIDS, use of time and money- concern men and women in a different way, there is no special document on these issues as women's issues. The underlying concept of the project considers women and men undifferentiatedly as family members and parents. Thus the project mainly meets practical gender needs of women addressing their reproductive role as wives and mothers. Accordingly, the prevailing approach with regard to women is welfare, though one can find aspects of empowerment as well, as the educational programmes and publications aim at the enlightment of young people, as they shall inform them about pregnancy and the legal aspects of marriage and may thus help women to extend the knowledge about their body, their rights, etcetera. From the information available one cannot judge to which extent the project approach challenges traditional gender roles and the sexual division of labour. This is not documented in policy papers. Project visitors tell, that wife and husband are encouraged to share household tasks.
To summarize one can say that the overall approach is to give advice to youth in finding and accepting their social role as wives and husbands in the Tanzanian context without raising the question of subordination of women.

3. Implementation level
Due to poor attendance of women in recent years (around 30 % of the total number) one demand resulting from the last evaluation of the project was to increase the number of female participants in seminars and workshops. EMAU states that this is the result of gender bias in the Boards and Committees that deal with the selection of participants. Though people are aware of the problem and have the will for improvement no strategies for a greater involvement of women are developed. Correspondingly, there is no special budget for women's activities. The general secretary of EMAU is a woman whereas the rest of the administrative staff consists of men. Some of the experts in seminars are women. The brochures on the different issues are written by a man.
EMAU is no project with a specific gender approach. Therefore it is not possible to make statements on gender specific strategies. The family approach leads to gender unspecific strategies, though certain measures, e.g. family planning, mainly address women.

UWFCT Uganda

1. Overview
The Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust Limited (UWFCT) was founded in 1984 by the professional women in the fields of Banking, Law and Business with the main objective of helping women who have not generally had full access to the services of established financial institutions especially access to credit and technical facilities.
UWFCT is affiliated to Women's World Banking (WWB), an independent international financial institution created in 1979 to advance and promote entrepreneurship among women within their local economies. The UWFCT therefore, interpretes the objectives of WWB in the Ugandan context by providing Credit, Training and Technical Assistance to low income and

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generally disadvantaged women who have no access to existing financial institutions.
During the initial years from August 1984 to June 1987 the founders of UWFCT devoted their time and other resources on institutional building such as setting regulations and procedures; identifying and sensitizing target groups; fundraising. Full programme activities effectively started in the second half of 1987 and it is now operational at national level.
Objectives:

- to help women improve their small enterprises as a means of employment for themselves and the people around them. To help women gradually get acces to property traditonally owned by men;
- to encourage upgrading of traditional technologies, applications of appropiate technology and applying modern management techniques. This sometimes involves UWFCT in training women in new and modernized skills;
- to encourage the development and provide facilities for operational credit, savings and planning investment;
- to assist women in understanding and applying modern skills to improve on their leadership skills and constantly be aware of rights especially on financial issues;
- to provide technical assistance for women in productive activities;
- to train women in exercising co-operation among themselves as one way of pooling resources together for bringing about improvement in their social economic status.

2. Conceptual level

a. All of UWFCT documents are on women. Its objective can be said to form its policy on women.
b. The policy of the UWFCT is to focus on women, as a women's organization. UWFCT fits in with present government policy by involving women in all the social, economic and political programmes of the country.
c. The main development approach is anti-poverty.

3. Implementation level

a. One example of a gender specific obstacle being met, analysed and overcome is the inability of women to own property (due to the cultural bias), which prevents Ugandan women from getting bank loans. UWFCT do not put security as a prerequisite for getting a loan, but requires two people of reasonable social standing to act as guarantors.
b. The women's programme is the whole programme of the organization. It works autonomously, by choice.
c. 55,5 % of staff are women. The Board of Directors are all women, as are the fullmembers of the UWFCT. Men are employed only where there is no woman available with the necessary qualification and interest. The men must be gender sensitized, and UWFCT policy ensures that women are trained to takeover in the long run. 75 % of business so far financed are fully owned and managed by women. Men come in as family members, minor share holders, or employees.
d. The total budget is allocated to women's activities.
e. The gender policy is implemented in all activities of the organization.
f. The gender objectives are both product-oriented (helping women to be economically strong) and process-oriented (improving women's leadership abilities, analytical skills, and co-operation among themselves). The long term objective is the improvement of women's social and economic status.

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g. The gender approach and progress made on it is broadly backed by the members, staff and structure of UWFCT.
h. UWFCT works throughout Uganda, by a network of loans officers. After two years of full operation, UWFCT estimate that 10,000 women had benefited from employment, income generation and improved livelihood. Information is not available on how UWFCT is perceived locally by men or women.

APRODEC Zaïre

1. Overview
a. APRODEC (= Association pour la Promotion du Développement Endogène des Communautés de basse) was founded in 1983. The organization wants to support grassroot organizations in the rural areas in their development initiatives. Starting-point is the ability of the target group to solve their own problems and APRODEC considers as its task to facilitate and support what the people started themselves. The activities of APRODEC are information/action, appropiate technology and documentation/publication. The organization uses participatory research, education and concrete assistance. It supports 36 farmer organizations, assists about ten intermediate organizations and started a network of NGO's.

2. Conceptual level
a. In 1988 APRODEC did a participatory research to find out the obstacles for women's participation in the development process and to recommend ways and means for the total integration of women in the proces of self initiated development. The report of this research identifies obstacles and proposes solutions. In their work APRODEC saw that women did not participate actively in the decison making process. Women worked hard in the fields and the men made the decisions.
In 1989 this reserach was followed with a conference about women, technology and development. Many organizations in contact with APRODEC were invited to exchange the problems they encountered in the participation of women in appropiate technology projects.
b. In the overall policy APRODEC wants to ameriolate the position of women. The awakening of men about the importance and the role of women in the development proces is part of the policy. The other element of the policy is to relief women of their workload and to encourage men's participation in the work in the fields. Integration of women in all the activities of APRODEC is the objective, because community development without women is in APRODECs view impossible.
c. It is difficult to discern the development approach underlying the policy. In the introduction of the research of 1988 APRODEC states that it is necessary for efficiency reasons to ameriolate the participation of women. In other statements one can hear an empowerment orientation because APRODEC wants to educate women in order to increase their participation in the decision making of groups and in the overall development process. So the orientation is some-where in between efficiency and empowerment.

3. Implementation level
a. In the above mentioned research and conference several obstacles are identified and proposals for solutions are mentioned. It is not clear however if the proposed solutions are put into practice.

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b. In the most recent project proposal a programme for women is described: Programme de Promotion et d'Intégration des Activités Feminins (PIAF). Objective of this programme is to integrate women in the development work of APRODEC. In the objectives of the overall programme is inserted the relief of the workload of women and the increase of revenues for women and young farmers.
c. ?
d. It is not possible to extract the budget for women's activities, because the overal policy is integration, so it is integrated in the total budget.
e. APRODEC just started with a gender policy and it is not clear yet how it will be implemented.
f. In the research of 1988 mentioned above short term action and long term objectives are identified.
g. The gender policy is broadly backed.
h. APRODEC is important in the community, they have many contacts with other organizations and in the conference of 1989 on women, appropiate technology and development these organization were present and actively participated in the discussions.

ZWB Zimbabwe

1. Overview
The Zimbabwe Women's Bureau (ZWB) is a national non-governmental voluntary organization which was formed in 1978 to further socio-economic advancement of poor women both in rural and in urban areas. An initial needs assessment survey doen in 1980 enttitled 'We carry a heavy load: rural women in Zimbabwe speak out' revealed that the need to earn money was expressed strongly by the interviewed women though only very few of them were in waged employment. Lack of transport, finance, markets and training were identified as obstacles to successful production. Among the main recommendatons of the report were greater access information for rural women, easier access to means of production, improved provision of education and health care, the participation of women in decision making, changes to ties for women.
In the following years till 1984 about 140 women's groups were engaged in income generating activities outside the formal wage sector. These groups (the membership ranged between 10 to 30) were employed in bakery, poultry, small scale farming, gardening, uniform making, sewing, pottery, piggery, tie and dye, marketing, crocheting, gum plantation and sisal work. The ZWB provided supportive material, financial and technical resources and training. Locally recruited field workers engaged by the bureau provided consultancy in each of the areas where groups had been formed. Their task was to support the local groups drawing up programmes, to facilitate access to government resources and to impart organizational skills to the groups.
In 1984 an evaluation of the hitherto realized programme was conducted. Most apparent was that the economic viability of all projects was not achieved. None of the projects had gained any economic benefit for its members. It became obvious that the projects once supported need ongoing support to build up long term viable venture. As a result of the evaluation the establishment of co-ordinating committees in each of the areas was decided to link the projects, facilitate communication and enable colletive saving and credit schemes, bulk buying, etcetera.

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Furthermore, the assessed need for more training for field workers as well as project participants lead to the introduction of a pre-co-operative training programme (PCTP). The six months trainings for groups are conducted by the field workers supported by the ZWB staff. The topics comprise:

- organizational skills (writing constitutions, feasibility studies and marketing research, awareness of a choice in options, simple record keeping, utilization of human resources);
- conscientaisation (legal rights, land ownership, credit loan facilities, awareness of community resources and networking, government five-year plan, politics and development);
- technical skills in different fields.

A third evaluation undertaken in 1987 revealed that due to various problems (lack of equipment, water, money, materials, fencing or security, transport, adequate worksites, markets) none of the project groups did produce or sell enough to earn a proper income. As a consequence, the ZWB decided to put more emphasis on the solution of these problems than to expect the projects to earn a proper income. It was further more decided to strengthen the position of the area co-oridinating committees within the structure of the ZWB and to provide more training to them to make them more active and self-confident. Since than several activities have been added to the ongoing co-operative projects. Regular conscien-sation workshops are held which reflect development from a woman's perspective. Technical training courses for women as well as adult literacy classes for group members and a legal awareness program have been introduced.

In 1989/1990 1696 women and 122 men were organized in 121 project groups in 13 areas. The activities in each area are accompanied by one field worker. The area co-ordinating committee is elected out of all members in one area. The staff of ZWB has grown from one member in the beginning to 21 members (most of them are women).

The ZWB works under the umbrella of VOICE (a NGO-network supported by the government), the Zimbabwe Christian council and in close co-operation with the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs and other governmental bodies. The work of ZWB is appreciated by the government and in turn, the organization's activities are fit into the national five-year development plan.

2. Conceptual level

Most impressing about the ZWB is the ongoing effort over the past years to constantly evaluate and reassess its programmes. While in the initial stages of the project main emphasis was put on the economic emancipation of Zimbabwan women aiming at their economic self-reliance through income-generating projects, the objectives have multiplied over ht eyears and more emphasis is put on training activities. As current objectives are identified:

- to participate in the world-wide movement for the emancipation of women and the transformation of socie'ty;
- to assist the efforts of women at the grassroot level to improve their economic status, particularly by supporting income generating groups;
- ot encourage women to identify and solve their own problems and to fosfor in women a sense of solidarity and self-reliance;
- to include women in policy making and empower them with skills and betterunderstanding of the principles of community development through leadership courses and management skills;

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- to conscientize women on the legislation passed in their favour and assisting them on how to utilize these laws.

Today the focus of the programme lies not only on the improvement of women's economic but also of their social and legal status in society. The colonial past and the present socio-economic and political circumstances are analyzed from a woman's perspective. In the colonial and traditional Zimbabwean male-dominated society women have been 'invisible' and deprived of power and knowledge. As the post-colonial government has put itself under the obligation to realize equality between men and women in all spheres od society the ZWB views its activities in this transformation process of society.

As the programme of the ZWB aims at economic security and self-reliance of women on the one hand and at the emancipation, equality and participation of women on the other hand they are meeting both, practical and strategic gender needs of women. The development of the programmes of the organization shows that the approach has shifted from a mainly anti-poverty approach in the initial stages to a more empowerment-oriented approach inthe recent years. The problem of the sexual division of labour and the fact that the income-generating activities the women's groups have employed in perpetuate traditional gender roles for women are not reflected in the documents. Theoccupation like gardening, poultry, sewing, etcetera either represent an extension of women's day to day activities or fit into the traditional role pattern.

3. Implementation level

The ZWB and its affiliates on grassroot level are not all women groups. Though the mumber of male participants on village level is rather small, the 1984 report pointed out that in mixed groups men tend to bring resources under their control. Therefore, careful monitoring of mixed groups was recommended, In general, the husbands seem to appreciate the involvement of their wives in income generating activities. In the decision making bodies, the National Executive Committee and other area committees men are not represented. In the staff only the agricultural officer is a man.

Obstacles being met mainly refer to the economic ventures. Access to resources is still not secured, exploitation by middlemen is experienced, government programmes for the advancement of women often are lip services. The goal of economic self-reliance of women has not been achieved what is mainly due to the limitations and conditions imposed on earning a living within the informal sector. The income generating activities give a surplus income to the familyat the best. The work load on the women is extended rather than reduced. Nevertheless, the programmes of the ZWB are backed and rooted in the women's groups on grassroot level. This is documented by the constant number of members over the years. Not only but also because of the problems being met by developping viable income generating small scale enterprises, the objectives have changed form being product-oriented to being more process-oriented. This is underlined by the fact that the women attach high imporance to the socila effects of their co-operative group.

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MIDDLE EAST

COC Egypt

1. Overview
The Coptic Orthodox Church (COC) is one of the three Coptic Churches in Egypt. This church started a development programme, which is implemented under the resposibility of the Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BPESS). The programme has nine main activities, namely leadership training, employment generation, primary health care, youth programme, women development programme, rural development programme, education programme, service activities programme, development loan programme and small projects. The BPESS works in 41 dioceses and its emphasis is on local leadership training.

2. Conceptual level
a. COC has not a specific document on women. The objectives for women are identified in the women's programme. The main objective is to change the society's idea about woman, as she is dignified and God's daughter and to resist negative values which contradict this idea and to change the woman's idea of herself and her ability to effective production and contribution and make her morally ready to shoulder the responsibility and the burdens of work inside and outside the home. These objectives are reached through the development of women's centres and nurseries, in which girls receive an education in Arabic language, arithmetic, scripture, needle work, sewing and home-economics. The women's contribution to development is indicated in this programme in the women's contribution in economic production and this is seen as the essential condition for the release of development. The COC sees women as an influencing factor in society, due to the importance of their role in the community, as the woman is a wife, responsible for the stability of the family life, and a mother responsible for uprearing of offsprings.
b. The women's programme is focused mainly on women, but attempts are made to integrate it in all other programmes.
c. The development approach is somewhere between a welfare orientation and an empowerment orientation. A welfare orientation, because of the importance of needle work, sewing, nurseries and the emphasis on moral education.
A empowerment orientation, because of the importance of leadership training. Because of the emphasis on women's role in economic production one can also say it is a equity approach.

3. Implementation level
a. In Egypt it is not accepted that a woman educates a man, so it is impossible for women to educate men. Another problem is the fact that many women are not allowed to leave the house, so they cannot come to the courses in the women's centres.
b. The women's programme is until now isolated, but integration is stimulated in recent times. There is a possibility for this integration in the formation of the local development committees.
c. Most of the staff consits of men, but there are possibilities for change in the diocesan development committees because women and men are explicitly named as members of these committees.
d. The women's programme has about 19 % of the total budget, only the leadership training programme has a bigger budget. In the plans for 1991 and 1992 the women's programme has the biggest budget.

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e. Attempts are being made to implement the gender policy in all the programmes. In the rural development programme and the loan programme integration of women meets some success.
f. The training of women and the support of women in the economic independance of their families now and in the future is the main objective of the women's programme. Other long term objectives are not identified.
g. The upper echelons and the fathers of the church are fully aware of the importance of women, because the voluntary contribution of the church grows. Being a volunteer of the church enhances the status of women.

SCC Sudan

1. Overview
The Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) founded in 1964, is an umbrella organization for about 3 million Sudanese Christians, among others the Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church. Since 1974 SCC does refugee aid and since 1979 development activites. The development programme of SCC includes 13 programmes varying form agricultural to the training and support of development workers. It also entails a women's programme. SCC's programmes are discussed with donor agencies at a so-called Round Table.

2. Conceptual level
a. The overall purpose of the women's programme is to promote the self-fullfilment of women in church and society, economically, socially and culturally. Objectives are:
- to encourage development and growth of organizational and leadership structure among women in church and society;
- to enable women to critically analyse their situation in church and society;
- to make them aware of their potentialities and equip them with skills that they can utilize to help themselves, their families, the church and the community;
- to educate men by including them in these training activities so that they can better understand and support women in their endeavour to improve the quality of their lives.

Except for these purposes the SCC has no special document on women.
b. A Women Programme Specialist was appointed and based with PRAD (= Planning, Research and Documentation Unit) to make women's perspectives integrated in all programmes. But with the winding up of PRAD the women's programme specialist has been appointed as desk coordinator of the women's programme. In the programme for the displaced much attention is paid to women, because most of them are women and children.
c. The programme is empowerment oriented in the formulation, because of the emphasis on leadership training, but in the implementation there is a welfare and income generating orientation because of the emphasis on sewing, embrodery, handicrafts, cooking, home management and health education. It meets only the reproductive role of women, but it provides women with skills to earn an income.

3. Implementation level
a. To go outdoors is difficult for many of the women, SCC wants to give women an education, but in supporting the rights of women it doesn't take a stand.

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The women's programm also complaints of being the last programme which needs are met, for example using the car. All other programmes have priority in using the car.
The women's programme has one problem in common with the youth programme, because these programmes are target oriented. The other programmes are more relation oriented.

b. The women's desk has an isolated position as far as I know. Attempts are being made to integrate the women's programme in the overall programme but due tot the lack of skilled personnel this is very difficult. If integration takes place it depends on the persons who hold office and because they have good relationships with each other.
c. Most of the staff in the upper echelons are men. The advisor of the general secretary is a woman and one of the doctors in the health programme for the displaced is a woman. She has a fairly important status. In the counselling services there are many women, but in decision making positions there are no women. The general secretary supports the women's programme.
d. In the total budget of 1990 the women's programme has about 11 % of it. Three other programmes have bigger budgets.
e. The integration of women's activities depends on personal relationships rather than on policy.
f. As far as I know no long term objectives are identified, but the women's programme is working on the Ecumenical Decade of Churches in Solidarity with Women, and with regards to this Decade it wants to develop a position paper and discuss the practical responses to the paper with the member churches.
g. The general secretary is supportive of the women's programme, but the progress mainly depends on women.

UPMRC West Bank

1. Overview
"The Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC) is a broad-based health organization co-ordinationg the activities of 850 Volunteer Palestionian health care professionals. Since its foundation in 1979 the Union has established a network of mobile clinics and permanent Community Health Centres, which operate through eight regional committees in the villages and refugee camps throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The UPMRC activities provide a wide spectrum of primary health care services, the major points of emphasis being maternal and child health.

More than half of the UPMRC members are women. In the Union the presence of female doctors is five times the rate among maternity doctors in the country. The school for village health workers trains rural women for nine months to be Village Health Workers (VHW). 77 women have already graduated and all of them are working in primary health care settings.

Great changes have resulted from improved education and modernization processes, and the presence of women's organizations and increased women's participation in political, economic and social life. These factors have touched the city dwellers and rural women as well. Not only have women advanced in status and social position, but they have also become agents of change and have something to say on their future. On

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the basis of these changes, UPMRC aims at empowering women, involving them at all levels of planning, implementing, and evaluation of programmes. This is explained by their work involvement and not by policy papers.

The Union believes that the role of Palestinian women is more than essential for the struggle of Palestinians for independence. The important thing is to maintain this status of women after victory by representing them at thelevels of powertaking decisions. This is why women are at executive positions in the UPMRC." (Statement by a male UPMRC member, studying in Britain)

2. Conceptual level

a. The organization does not seem to have a written document on women, but see the attached extract from a recent project proposal.

b. All village/community health workers are women, as a clear policy of the Union. The overall objectives of the UPMRC members are:
   1. to create a health infrastructure which meets the needs of Palestinians in the occupied territories;
   2. to provide primary health care services for those who need them ost, with special emphasis on mother and child care;
   3. to emphasize preventative medical services;
   4. to aid in consciousnes raising and health education;
   5. to assist in research and identification of health problems;
   6. to emphasize co-ordination and co-operation between different health institutions;
   7. to help people to help themselves rather than treating only medical symptoms.

c. UPMRC development approach to women essentially meets the practical gender need of women to obtain better health care for their children: it recognizes their reproductive and community managing roles. The provision of smear tests fulfills a strategic gender need of tackling women's own health issues. In it's linking of health work, the raising of women's status, and the self-determination of the Palestinian people the UPMRC is advocating the empowerment approach.

3. Implementation level

a. An example of gender specific obstacles being met, analysed and overcome is the provision of smear tests for women within Palestine.

b. There is no distinct women's desk/programme/project as such; women are integrated within the whole of the organization.

c. 32 % of the doctors in the Union are women, while the national average is 8 %. 100 % of the village health workers are women.

d. The total budget is not differentiated to show specifically women's activities.

e. The gender policy (to the extent that it is defined as such) is found in all activities of the organization.

f. The gender objectives (as far as they have been stated) are product-oriented in that they train women to be effective health workers. More process-oriented and long-term objectives are those focussing on women's role in the future of Palestine.

g. It would appear that the gender approach, and progress made on it, has broad backing among the Union.

h. The UPMRC works through local Medical Relief Committees.

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Extract from a recent project proposal:
"... Focus on women

The Union has been a major vehicle in the promotion of the role of women in the development of a Palestinian health care system. Thirty two percent of our physicians are women when women represent hardly 8 % of the total physician population in the country. Of all the health care professionals participating in Union activities, 52 % are women. In general terms, women in the Union assume important positions, including at the decision making levels, creating of our institution a place where women are allowed equal opportunity -with the added gentle push- to become full and active members of their society as health care professionals. Within Palestinian society women -especially mothers- assume the responsibility for the health care of the family. Because of this, the Union is focused on the well-being and participation of women in all of its activities, in order to reach women needing primary health care especially in the rural areas and refugee camps. We have especially centred our activities on health care services in the support of women's health. As mentioned preciously, maternal and child health is on top of our priority listing. Special women and health services (gynecological and obstetric) are provided along with the availability of pap smear testing at a very low cost to rural women. This particular programme is the first of its kind in the country at large. Previous to the pap smear programme of the Union, the service was simply inaccesible to the majority of the women of the country, for no Palestinian health institution could provide it. One had to travel to Israel to obtain this test and pay exorbitant amount of money. So even wel to do women had difficulty in obtaining this service because of the complicated nature of relations between Palestinians and Israeli health..."

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ASIA

USHA (= Unity for Social and Human Action) Bangladesh

1. Overview
   USHA was set up in 1985 by a group of experienced development activists. All effort of USHA are channelised through the 'Gender Relation and Development Institute'. The institute is an integration of field operation, training, research and publication.
   * Field operation: At present, women and men in 19 villages from landless and marginalised classes are organized in so-called 'jotes' with special emphasis on women as they are considered victims of dual exploitation, by class and by gender. The activities focus on creating a process of conscientisation with regard to the root causes of poverty, exploitation, gender discrimination, unequal legal rights, etcetera.
   * Training: Training programm on 'Gender Relation and Development' for different local, national and international organizations involved in development. It aims at creating the basis for challenging inequalities between classes and sexes. For top and mid level staff the training is institute based, for grassroot level workers the training is field based.
   * Research and evaluation
   * Publication

2. Conceptual level
   The approach of USHA is explicitly based on a gender concept which examines wider development issues from a gender perspective. The following objectives are identified:
   - to make women and men equally conscious about the prevailing social, economic and political conditions and the condition of women in the male dominated society;
   - to bring back self-confidence in women;
   - to develop a sense of gender equality both in men and in women and encourage them to tale a unified move against class and gender discrimination;
   - to change traditional attitudes towards sexual divison of labour;
   - to facilitate the change agents to develop skills and redesign their programme to gender and development.

   According to these objectives USHA runs an integrated programme for women and men. But they are organized seperately on the assumption that on the one hand a neutral development concept does not take into account the gender dimension and on the other hand a western style feminist concept, which believes in men as creators of all kind of discrimination and exploitation, is detrimental to conjugal lives and a peaceful co-existence of men and women.
   Consequently, USHA opts for an equity approach aiming at political and economic autonomy of women as well as for an empowerment approach which challenges the subordination of women on the socio-economic and cultural level, both meeting strategic needs of women. USHA produces written material on the gender issue.

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3. Implementation level
As the entire programme focuses on gender and development the question of implementation does not arise. USHAs activities are facilitated and supported by eight workers, the majority of them are women. The voluntary consultant of the organization (also its founder) is an experienced activist working for OXFAM and acts as one of the few resource persons of 'Action for gender relations in Asia'. The present executive director of USHA is also a woman.
The organization does not put emphasis on working theoretically and on working with people from the middle class only, but also working grass-root-oriented with poor men and women. As an indicator for the acceptance the project receives, it may be asserted that from 1985 on 19 villages with a total membership of 1500 persons organized in 60 jotes have been covered. The commitment of the jote members is documented by the fact that till now they have collected 90,000 tala for income generating activities of the communities.

AMWC (Asian Migrant Workers Center) Hong Kong

1. Overview
In Hong Kong, there are more than 60,000 migrant workers registered; 98% of them are women from the Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Almost all of them work as domestic helpers. The AMWC was set up in 1989 first to respond to the immediate needs of these migrants and secondly to raise the broader issue of labour migration. Common problems of migrant workers are violation of their legal rights as workers, underpayment, physical assaults, recruitment by scrupulous agencies, lack of organizational structures, isolation. The AMWC reacts to these problems by organizing the following activities:
* Counselling and crisis intervention:
  - assistance in filing complaints at the labour department or filing cases at the labour court;
  - paralegal support through explaining human and labour rights;
  - moral support, role playing, temporary shelter;
* Training and education:
  - communication skills training (learning English along with awareness building);
  - training programme on counselling, paralegal skills and methods handling grievance cases, peer counselling;
* Research, data bank and publication:
  - baseline study on migrant workers in Hong Kong;
  - production of handbooks for research and communication skills, edition of a regular newsletter;
* Fellowship and solidarity:
  - support of migrants in their effort to build community and solidarity structures;
  - linking with and support of the Asian Domestic Workers Union, Hong Kong;
  - linking with other migrant organizations in Hong Kong and on international level;

2. Conceptual level
The policy of the organization is outspokenly not focused on women only. However, since the target group are women this question is obsolete. The

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AMWC addresses the migrant women in their productive role as income earners and workers. Nevertheless, their situation as working women is reflected. E.g. research is planned analysing the impact of labour migration on women's role in the Asian society. The following objectives are identified:

* to provide immediate assistance to Asian migrant workers in crisis;
* to educate them in their legal and human rights;
* to train organizers of Asian migrant workers;
* to facilitate sharing of experiences made in organizing of issues, of specific problems and common actions they undertake;
* to develop fellowship and solidarity among the migrant workers and encourage solidarity action among migrant workers in Asia.

Obviously, the approach of the AMWC is empowerment of migrant workers through the conscientisation and organizing. The organization links its activities closely up with the Asian Domestic Workers Union, both playing a supplememtary role for each other.
The AMWC encourages women to become members of the union. To the AMWC, empowerment means to enable the migrants to build structures of solidarity themselves and to fight for their rights as women and as workers.

3. Implementation level
One important activity of the AMWC is to support women taking up a complaint against their employer (in cases of underpayment, arbitrary termination). One obstacle being met by the organization is that male judges and officers give little trust in women's statements and that women often lack self-confidence. To overcome this problem the AMWC introduced role play as a training instrument to enable women to act more convincingly. All members of the staff including the co-ordinator are women. The approach is backed by the staff as well as by the target group and other organizations working with Asian migrant workers. As a long term approach the practice of migrant labour itself is to be challenged. The AMWC asks: Is labour migration and women's migration which is a physical and concrete reflection of the inequality and injustice between the North and the South economically and morally tenable?

SRED India

1. Overview
In 1980 the Society for Rural Education and Development (SRED) came into being. In the beginning a group of committed social workers started to mobilize and to organize marginalized rural landless labourers in a union. The experience showed, that the village committees were dominated by men and the interests and needs of women were neglected. As a consequence the secretary, a woman, took the initiative to organize women and men seperately in sangams. Today the main emphasis has shifted towards building up and streghtening the 'Rural Women's Liberation Movement'. On certain issues the rural workers movement and the women's movement cooperate.
After ten years of working the movements of the rural poor are independent. SRED now functions as a supportive group giving legal advice and training. The activities of the group comprise:

* women's center - on the one hand it is a shelter of beaten, raped and deserted girls and women as well as for widows; on the other hand it is a vocational training center where the named women and village

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women undergo training courses in gender unspecific occupations like brick-laying, carpentry and carving;
* health education - awareness building on women's sexuality and family planning; e.g. a picture series on a woman's body was produced and is displayed in villages; women health workers are trained in homeopathy and traditional medicine:
* edition of a regular newsletter in Tamil;
* SRED is one initiator of the recently formed 'Women's Forum for Human Rights', which has been set up to strengthen the legal positon of women and to take state-wide action against the violation of women's rights.

2. Conceptual level
SRED has a pronounced gender and development approach. Assuming that poor Indian women suffer from a triple discrimination by caste, class and gender, they must get the chance to organize themselves and develop a sense of solidarity with each other in forums which are not accessible to men. Nevertheless challenging the subordination of women does not mean to create hatred against men. New concepts of living together developed for men and women which overcome the traditional concept of sexual division of labour are tried out by the mixed staff of SRED as well as by members of the different sangams. The policy approach of SRED towards women obviously is empowerment and equity as it aims at enabling women taking control over every sphere of their life and encouraging them to develop a non-sexist gender identity.

3. Implementation level
The most important obstacle met and overcome was that organizing of the poor in mixed groups creates a situation where women are hindered to raise their voice. Another still acute obstacle is that the group faces difficulties to recruite and to keep women organizers committed due to the fact that girls are married at an early age and that as married women they are not allowed to work and to move independently to remote villages. SRED tries to solve this problem by encouraging some of the girls and women living in the women's center to become animators and by having married couples in their staff. Further the organization faces a lot of trouble by the local elite especially by government officials, landlords and lawyers. This summer they had to cope with a smear campaign after SRED had taken up the case of rape of a young girl.
Due to the above mentioned problems the staff of SRED consists of more men than women. But on grassroot level women dominate, especially elder women are very committed. The general secretary of the organization is a very experienced and dedicated woman activist. The gender approach is backed by the entire staff. Also the male staff has undergone an impressing process of awarenes building on the gender issue. The programme of SRED is strongly backed by the sangams on village level.

YASANTI (=Yayasan Annisa Swasti) Indonesia

1. Overview
YASANTI is one of the two Indonesian all-women NGO's. The organization works in rural areas as well as in urban centers of Central Java. The target groups comprise peasant women, shop assistants and factory workers (tobacco industry). The activities undertaken follow a detailed

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graduated plan for development (description under 2). Since the inception of YASANTI in 1982, the activities focus on the establishment of pre-co-operatives - Usaha Bersama (UB). As initial step of the formulation of UB a saving and credit scheme is introduced. On the one hand it serves the financial needs of women, on the other hand it is an instrument to instigate solidarity among them. In the course of organizing income generating activities and training in practical skills are undertaken. One rural UB e.g. is engaged in sewing and the production of clothing. Shop assistants are trained in typing, sewing and book-keeping. These economic and training activities are only one side of YASANTIs development strategy. The more important side of it is to organize women in UB, raise consciousness on their oppression as women and as workers and to develop solidarity structures. In the case of the factory workers, Yasanti tries to build up an alternative union independent from government control.

2. Conceptual level
The programme of YASANTI is based on an analysis of the social and economic status of women in Indonesian society. The present oppression of women is seen as the result of prevailing clas and gender relations. In this context government programmes for women are criticiZed because they only stress skills related to home making and home-based employment. They refer to women only as housewives earning an additional income and thus back the traditional gender concept of women as home makers. Confronting this concept YASANTI demands that patriarchal social relations and inequities inherent in capitalist modes of production have to be challenged. Hence the overall objective must be to enable women to define their own priorities for their social and economic development. Economic self-reliance will be achieved through the training of certain skills enabling women to open up new alternatives and prospects. Political self-reliance will emerge through realizing their consciousness both as exploited women and as workers. The following objectives are identified:

* to encourage women to form self-help and pre-co-operative groups based on democratic principles;
* to train group leaders using a participatory method in organizational, productive and marketing skills;
* to act as liaison between self-help groups and assist organizations to obtain and exchange resources;
* to improve women's income earning capacity in both urban and rural regions;
* to improve the level of women's education on a formal and informal basis;
* to ensure women's equality in social relations between men and women in family, society and at their working place.

According to the definition given by Caroline Moser YASANTIs programme represents the empowerment approach. It is important to mention that income generating activites and skills training which are one component of YASANTIs strategy are used as an 'entry point' to awareness building which is the other component of the strategy. Secondly, economic activites also function as a cover up for political education and organization. This is necessary because of the situation of political repression in Indonesia. Nevertheless, economic self-reliance is seen as one step towards the emancipation of women. The strategies used vary according to the different target groups. While the programme for peasant women puts more stress on creating alternative income for the women, the shop as-

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sistant programme focuses on unionising and on legal rights education combined with skills training. The main emphasis of the factory workers' project is unionising. Obviously, the strategy pursued by YASANTI is to address practical gender needs of women (through saving and credit scheme, skills training) in the initial stages of organizing, moving from there to addressing strategic gender needs of women (unionising, legal rights education, awareness building). Even in organizing factory workers training and sewing are used as an entry point, clearly described as a strategic instrument. I wonder why it is not regarded as useful and possible to organize workers with the intention to raise issues from the beginning when not leaving their job and creating newe income sources is the goal but to motivate them to fight for their rights by means of strike.

In organizing the different target groups YASANTI follows, as mentioned above, a detailed plan of 'steps of development'. These steps are:

a. research (on socio-economic conditions of target group; done by the staff);
b. approach (to the target group is decided by the staff, e.g. sewing, typing);
c. pre-co-operative motivation training;
d. Usuha Bersama: saving and loan activities;
e. book keeping training;
f. leadership training;
g. feasibility study: small scale industries;
h. skill training;
i. small scale financial management training;
j. entrepreneurship training;
k. self-help.

This step-by-step programme documents the process character of YASANTIs activities. Though democratic principles are stressed in the written materials it seems to me as if the organization itself as well as the programme are structured in a tight and hierarchical manner. Not only the approach (step 2) to the target group is chosen by the YASANTI staff, but also those women supposed to become leaders are selected by the organization and not by the women's groups. As well, only those target groups who agree to the pre-co-operative system are accompanied by YASANTI (the organization judges whether they do...). Women leaders are recruited and trained in the framework of a cadre system. Applying the 'steps of development' to the different target groups it is not very clear to me what the ultimate goal of self-help means for organizing factory workers. I doubt whether this kind of step system can be applied to all target groups. This question is not reflected in the documents.

3. Implementation level

As YASANTI is an organization 'from women with women' the question of implementation of W&D strategies does not arise. All staff employed by YASANTI (4 coordinators, secretary, director) are women.

Obstacles met by the organization originate mainly in the repressive political system. For this reason the organization is forced to use covert methods in organizing women (this may be part of an answer to my question above). Compared to the number of employed staff the number of women reached by YASANTIs programme sounds quite impressing. The level of organization (according to the steps of development) ranges from grade c to grade h. The information given on the participation of women is

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not very precise. It is therefore difficult to say whether the organization is backed by the communities it addresses to.

CIDSE Programme Laos

1. Overview
CIDSE (Coopération International pour le Développement et la Solidarité) is a Brussels-based consortium of Catholic development agencies. Their one operational programme is in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. The lead agency for their Indochina programme is Trocaire, the Irish Catholic agency. A CIDSE field office was opened in Vientiane in October 1988 with resident staff, although CIDSE had run a programme in Laos since 1980. The focus of the project support has gradually shifted to small scale projects at district level, with increasing village contact. A mixed team of nationals and expatriates from Asia and Europe provide technical and administrative support to the programme. In the absence of Lao NGO's the programme is delivered through government structures, with emphasis being placed on encouraging health, agriculture and education officails to learn form development methods in other parts of Asia.

2. Conceptual level
An internal policy paper on CIDSE's programme in Laos for 1990-1992 includes a section on women, based on a UNICEF analysis from 1987. CIDSE's stated policy on women in development is to continue to work with the Lao Women's Union at provincial, district and village level through the training courses. A special emphasis will be the promotion of appropiate technology for alleviating women's workload, and continued support for income generating projects. CIDSE also seeks to become more conscious of the role of women within its programme in general, and respond to the request of the Lao Women's Union to ensure that women are consulted during the designing of the projects.
The CIDSE policy on women is a significant part of the overall policy of the organization in Laos, and is gradually influencing other parts of the overall policy.
The main development approach of the projects supported by CIDSE is anti-poverty. The Lao Women's Union (LWU) tends to focus on the reproductive and productive roles of women: although part of their reason for existing is to encourage greater participation of women in the building of the nation, this has not succeeded in getting more than a few women into positions of leadership in government service.

3. Implementation level
a. When appointing a local field officer CIDSE went to great lenghts to find women candidates, and although the full-time person is likely to be a man CIDSE are exploring ways of involving two women part-time.
b. CIDSE are actively seeking to employ a staff member to specifically work on the promotion of women in development. Thai candidates are being looked for. Their role would be to look at the involvement of women throughout the CIDSE programme in two districts, and selected CIDSE projects in other parts of the country.
c. Two out of the four project staff are women. The Country Representative is a man, the administrator is a woman.
d. The percentage of the budget that goes to women's activities varies according to the type of project submitted.

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e. The gender policy is still being worked out, but eventually the likely attention would be to implement it in all activities of the organization.
f. The current gender objectives are largely product-oriented. Long term objectives are still te be formulated.
g. The gender approach, and progress made on it, has the backing of the CIDSE Indochina Coordinating Committee (made up of agency project officers) and the staff team, including the male Field Representative.
h. The Lao Women's Union is part of the local government structures. Every woman in Laos is potentially a member of the LWU. The strength of individual LWU groups often depends on the capability of one or two members, and the LWU often has to struggle for scarce resources with other government departments, usually headed by men.

HRCP Pakistan

1. Overview
The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) is started by several individuals who are dedicated to the maintenance of freedom of speech, press and human rights. Conscious raising activities and legal processes are organized by the HRCP. In 1986 the HCRP got its legal status. It's main aim is to work for the ratification and implementation by Pakistan of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the other charters, covenants and protocols of the UN on Human Rights. The overall indirect target group covers the Pakistani population, the women, minorities and poor in particular.
HRCP has a Standing Committee on Women's Rights and Crimes against Women and a Prison Committee. It is involved in the Movement of the Restoration of Democracy, a forum of ten opposition parties.

2. Conceptual level
a. HRCP has made a report of the one-day seminar on the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and in their Newsletter and other reports HRCP gives information about women and women's rights. HRCP considers women as an integral part of society, therefore the issue of women's rights is inseparably linked with the human rights that are available or observed in any society.
b. The overall policy is focused on the rights of all human beings with the acknowlegdement that women, minorities and the poor are especially victimized.
c.

3. Implementation level
a.
b. The Committee on Women's Rights and Crimes Against Women is one of the outstanding committees, it seems that it can work autonomously and integrated in the HRCP.
c.
d.
e. In all the reports on human rights attention was given to the victimization of women, the research on the rights of women are an integral part of the research on human rights.
f. The objective on gender is the accepted resolution that all discriminatory laws of the country should be brought in conformity with the CEDAW.

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g.
h.

GABRIELA Philippines

1. Overview
GABRIELA (= General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) was founded in 1984 as a coalition of women's groups in the Philippines. The organization started with 42 members and today is a center of more than a hundred women organizations, institutes, desks and programmes. It is the biggest all women NGO in the Philippines. The member organizations include women workers, peasants, urban poor, housewives, professionals and students. While in the initial stages being a coalition of middle class women GABRIELA now finds its base among grassroot women (about 45,000 members).

GABRIELA works with a democratic and differentiated structure: the highest policy making body is the National Assembly of all member organizations. The National Council composed of national and regional officers, national sectoral representatives and GABRIELA commission heads is the highest decision making body between the national Assemblies. It carries out the resolutions and programmes of the Assembly. GABRIELA has regional chapters in Metro Manila, Cordillera and Mindanao, sub-regional chapters in Bicol and Cebu. GABRIELA is active in organizing, education and training, campaign actions, advocacy and lobbying, socio-economic programmes and networking.
The activities undertaken under the umbrella of GABRIELA are implemented and co-ordinated by a National Center with its different departments and by different commissions. The National Center services member organizations with the following departments:
- Education and Training Department;
- Public Information Department;
- Women's Socio-Economic Projects Development Department;
- Women's Actions and Campaigns Department;
- Administrative Department.

The commissions provide direct services and launch education and advocacy campaigns regarding women's concerns:
- Commission on Violence Against Women;
- Commission on Women's Health and Reproductive Rights;
- Commission on Children and Family;
- Commission on Migrant Philippinas;
- Commission on International Relations.

In the two years 1988/89 GABRIELA ran a project 'Outreach Services and Programmes for Grassroot Women' in order to sustain the efforts of organized grassroot women to build a dynamic women's mass movement for collective articulation and organized action on issues which affect women. The activities are undertaken through the line departments and commissions of GABRIELA. The education programme comprised several national and regional consultations (e.g. peasant women and agricultural development or women and the US Bases) and trainings on different issues. Two primers have been produced and used as instruments of feminist consciousness education. The first primer serves as an introductory course on the women's situation while the second focused on the 'historical' develop-

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ment of women's status in the Philippines and their participation in the making of Philippine history.
The public information and media relations programme tried to raise awareness on women's conditions and issues in the public through newspaper articles, press conferences, etcetera. From 1990 on a radio programme has been installed in order to reach grassroot women in far-flung areas. The issues focused on are women and the US Bases, human rights violations against women, high prices of commodities related to IMF/WB-SAP, Philippine migrants plight and violence against women and children's rights.
The socio-economic projects development programme initiated several national consultations which formulated an integrated socio-economic development programme. The two focal points of the activities have been advocacy and education of the network members on the issues of women and development and continuous management resourcing and training support for concrete initiatives of women at the community level. Several income generating projects have been started in different places. Experiments are made with consumer's co-operatives, garments-sewing co-operatives, women's alternative trade and the establishment of day care centers.

2. Conceptual level
GABRIELA's political principles, objectives and strategies are on the one hand very much related to the specific political and economic situation in the Philippines and to a feminist consciousness on the other hand. Important factors which led to the establishment of the coalition were the anti-dictatorship campaign and the drive for economic and political change in the Marcos years. Another factor shaping the work of GABRIELA is the continued US-interference in the Philippines. The strong political character of GABRIELA distinctly distinguishes this women's movement from any kind of development NGO. Accordingly, GABRIELA formulates its overall goal: "We seek to transform women into an organized political force." GABRIELA characterizes itself as;
- a movement dealing distinctly with the problems of women as women, working to free women from all forms of economic and political oppression and discrimination, sexual violence and abuse, neglect and denial of their health and reproductive rights;
- a movement integral to the national liberation struggle for sovereignity, a democartic and representative government and equality between women and men in all aspects of life;
- a vital movement to harness the power of half the country's population towards liberation.

A wide range of political, social and economic issues like the effects of militarizations and women's landlessness, the IMF/WB policy and the debt crisis, the denial of women's reproductive and health rights, violence of children, wife abuse and family life, development aid, prostitution and trafficking of women are analysed from a woman's perspective and are taken up as women's issues. A special characteristic of GABRIELA as a coalition of women's groups in the Philippine context is the strive for genuine national sovereignty and a democratic government.
In order to strengthen and support a national women's movement uniting women from different classes GABRIELA commits itself to the following strategies: organization, mobilization, education/awareness building, feminist teaching, legal strategies, supplementary benefits, arts and media and international solidarity. Appropiate instruments for the implementation of these strategies are consultations, training courses, campaign actions, networking and lobbying with government officials. GA-

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BRIELA tries to influence state politics towards women's needs (e.g. through co-operation with the women's party KAIBA and participation in the National Commission on Women.
The backbone of GABRIELA are its member organizations on grassroot level. The coalition of women's groups on a state wide level aims at enhancing solidarity and co-operation among them. Outspokenly, the work of GABRIELA stands for the empowerment and equality approach of women. Nevertheless, to the wide range of activites corresponds a variety of approaches: welfare (health centers, day care centers), access to resources and knowledge (land, information, technical skills), consciensation, participation and women's control over their body and life.
The strive for liberaton of Philippina women is seen as integral part of the process of a socio-economic and political transformation of the whole society as well as of the process creating international structures of solidarity between committed people and movements in the North and the South.

3. Implementation level
As GABRIELA is an all women's movement the question of implementation does not arise. All staff and members are women. GABRIELA co-operates with mixed organizations on certain issues and fields of operation. From being a middle-class organization in the beginning, the coalition has grown to a movement strongly backed by grassroot organizations over the years. The major member organizations include Amihan, a peasant women's federation, the KMK, a mass organization of women workers and Samakana, a nationwide organization of women from urban poor communities. The impressing number of memberships and the variety of activities and campaigns undertaken which depend on the participation of many women document the success and backing of the coalition. Obstacles met by the women of the member organizations are sexual and other kinds of harassment by the army, paramilitary forces and Vigilantes groups. Sometimes the organization faces difficulties in employing qualified staff due to low payment for professionals.
In 1990 GABRIELA has run an organization development programme for its national office to strengthen its capability to manage current programmes and respond more effectively to the expanding needs of the women's movement.

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LATIN AMERICA

CIDEM Bolivia

1. Overview
Centro de Información y Desarollo de la Mujer (= CIDEM) started in 1983 with activities for women's groups who are donated food in a slum area of La Paz. The activities are education on health en legal aid, leadership training, support of productive activities and organization and research. The main sector the next three years is food aid and its effects on women.

2. Conceptual level
a. The organization has published various documents on food aid and its effects on women. CIDEM has as far as I know no document on the position of women in their own organization. Many of the activities are done spontaneously and pragmatically. There is not much attention for theoretical structuring of the activities. In general CIDEM main objective is the strengthening of women's groups through education and leadership training.
b. The overal policy is focused mainly on women, but the organization wants to change the structure of food aid, so they work together with other organizations to influence the donororganizations.
c. CIDEM is focused on strengthening the women's organizations so I would say it has an empowerment orientation but focused mainly on the practical gender needs of the women in the slums.

3. Implementation level
a. CIDEM started with a western orientation on feminism, but that did not work for the women of the slums. On both sides this has changed. CIDEM has integrated class and race aspects in its programme and started with an ad hoc committee in El Alto to have direct contact with the target group. The members of this ad hoc committee have gained more insight in their own situation.
Another problem is the difference between women educated by CIDEM in the women's groups and the women who are not educated in these groups. The women not educated expect that the educated women get a salary from CIDEM and they want to share this salary.
b. CIDEM is an all women's organization.
c. The staff consists mostly of women, there is only a male chauffeur and secretary.
d. All activities are focused on women, so the whole budget is for women's activities.
e. The gender policy is integrated in all activities.
f. The long term objective on the food donated women's groups are to diminish the dependance on food aid. For CIDEM as such the objective is to function as a information and documentation centre for women.
g. As CIDEM is an all women's organization, the progress made on gender is depended on women, but with regard to the food aid programme CIDEM works together with other organizations in Bolivia in order to change the policy of the food donating organizations.
h. The organization is part of a platform of Bolivian organizations on food aid. CIDEM has many contacts and is the moving force in the food platform. But as a whole it is a small organization with not too much impact on Bolivian society, only in its participation in various networks.

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CODIMCA Honduras

1. Overview
CODIMCA (= Consej para el Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Campesina) started in 1985. It is an organization of farmers women. Their objective is to organize women in the rural areas to discuss their problems together, to discuss the problems of the area and the country, with a special attention to health problems. CODIMCA works on education, alphabetisation and health and small production projects in 10 departments and it reaches about 300 groups.

2. Conceptual level
a. It is a women's organization and the support of women in their survival strategies is the main objective. So the organization has no specific document on women, because all the documents are about women.
b. The overall policy is focused originally on women, CODIMCA is a women's group, but they have also organized 26 men's groups. It is important to note that half of the promotores in the alphabetisation programme are men, and 75 percent of the supervisors of this programme are men.
c. CODIMCA is empowerment oriented, the objective is to promote the integration of farmers' women in the development of the country and in the agrarian reform more specificaly. CODIMCA wants to enable women to participate autonomously in implementation and decision making processes.

3. Implementation level
a. CODIMCA states that it is difficult to work together with farmer's organizations because these organizations want women to play only a marginal role in the development process. But in the villages it is impossible to work only with women and ignore men totally. If a man impedes the participation of wife, sometimes the women of CODIMCA go to his house and talk with him to change his mind. Sometimes he changes his mind. The main obstacles are not gender specific, because it is intimidation and lack of administrative knowledge.
b. It is a women's organization, but CODIMCA doesn't avoid men, it started to organize men's groups too.
c. Staff is mostly women, but in recent developments more men work for CODIMCA, for example in the alphabetisation programme.
d. The activities were originally only for women, but now CODIMCA started men's groups too.
e. The survival strategy is the most important part, the gender policy is not clearly stated. CODIMCA is not clear about their own long term strategy.
f. CODIMCA states to have long term goal to integrate in the farmer's unions, to integrate in the struggle of CNTC and OCH, but this is not very clear in the recent activities.
CODIMCA states that it has to reckon with men and that is why they enlarge their activities to men's groups too, but the danger is that it looses its women's base.
h. CODIMCA has relations with several other organizations like farmer's unions and human rights organizations. It is a strong organization with a reasonable impact in Honduras, it is a militant and survival oriented organization. They stopped for example to work with an organization which did make a clear stand in the difficult situation in Honduras.

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Conclusion:
CODIMCA started as a very promishing women's organization with a potential for empowerment. But in recent developments it has enlarged its activities to men's groups too. CODIMCA is not very clear in their gender approach. Survival is the most imported problem and in the enlargement of its work,- more target groups, more activities, more departments in the country,- there is the danger of loosing the quality. CODIMCA started as a women's organization because it was difficult to hear a women's voice and to take a women's stand in the farmer's organizations. But in the competitive struggle with other organizations CODIMCA's only goal seems to be to grow.

SEDEPAC Mexico

1. Overview
   SEDEPAC (= Servicio, Desarollo y Paz, AC) started in 1983 as an institute to support organizations in the solving of their daily problems. The objective is to help people to develop their own capacities and to give them instruments to change their own lives.
   SEDEPAC has a women's programme, a rural programme, a refugee -, an urban and a youth programme.

2. Conceptual level
a. Probably SEDEPAC has a document on women but ICCO doesn's have it, it has a women's programme with sectors: Area Juridica, Area de Orfanización de Mujeres, Area de Maquiladores and Area de Salud.
b. Attempts are made to integrate the gender approach in the whole programme, for example the women's programme works together with the rural and the urban programme.
c. SEDEPAC educates women in leadership and promotes the participation of women in social change.

3. Implementation level
a. Gender specific obstacles of SEDEPAC are not known at ICCO.
b. The women's programme is well situated in the whole programme, the most part of the budget is for women's activities.
c. The staff positions of women are not exactly known, but the newly appointed head of the refugee programme is a woman.
d. The most part of the budget is for the women's programme.
e. The gender policy is not implemented in all the activities, but SEDEPAC works on it. The rural programme works together with the women's programme.
f. The gender approach is more broadly backed, the new director works on linking the different programmes of SEDEPAC.
g. The organization is well known for its work with the maquiladoras (=assemblage women workers) and is part of several networks of women's organizations.

Conclusion:
SEDEPAC looks a promishing integrated organization with a strong women's programme and a great part of the budget. It is also promishing that the new head of the refugee programme is a woman. But at ICCO not much is clear about the obstacles and the successes of the gender approach. In 1987 when the emancipation officer of ICCO visited SEDEPAC she was im-

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pressed. But about the situation and the progress since 1987 not much is known.

ATC Nicaragua

1. Overview
The Rural Workers Association (ATC) was the first mass organization to establish a women's section and work to promote women's issues. The ALTC conducted a national study in 1984/5 to investigate the position of women within the Nicaraguan workforce. The study found that although major improvements had been achieved since the revolution women were still discriminated against in terms of the permanent and temporary workforce particularly within the private sector which still existed in Nicaragua. On the basis of this study, the ATC decide to work with women's development encouraging women's participation in decision making of the workfoce.
The first phase of the womens's involvement in the ATC was to demand social benefits such as communal kitchens and washing centres, health care centres, child care centres and maternity leave. More recent demands have been in relation to the role of the union itself. The women's section of the ATC is not a group established to deal with women's problems but to ensure that the whole ATC carries out policies for women. The women's section sees the establishment of a seperate organization for women as taking responsibility away from the ATC. It aims to ensure that the ATC guarantees women's involvement in the union at all levels and avoids the marginalization of women.
About 30% of the ATC staff are women.

CALANDRIA Peru

1. Overview
Calandria is an independent NGO employed in social and participatory communication. Special emphasis is put on giving women the chance to articulate their needs and interests. Calandria closely operates with grassroot organizations in the slums of Lima, e.g. the committees of the movement 'Vaso de Leche' (= a glass of milk), community kitchens, mother-clubs and other women's organizations. The activities comprise:
* production of daily radio programme 'Nuestra Vida' (= Our Life) together with grassroot organizations;
* production of a video programme 'Como Nosostros' (= The way we are) worked out and produced together with women from grassroots organizations. The video production started only one year ago. Up to now, four series composed of four parts have been finished.

The video programmes aim at supporting the exchange of ideas and information among different people's organizations and movements and at encouraging them to take joint action. The video programmes are distributed by more than 20 organizations. Issues focused on are day to day problems in the slums and experiences made by organizing the slum population. Activities undertaken by the people's movements striving for social justice are documented.
Themes of the video series are the folowing

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- networking between people's organizations (Programmes: peace education; 'Dona Panchita, the life of a slum woman", documentation of a cultural event in a slum of Lima, people's kitchens);
- dialogue on social matters (FOMA - supportive fund; demonstration - march of 'Vaso de Leche'; expectations for 1991; striving for recognition of people's kitchens by government; role plays of 'Vaso de Leche' on problems among the people's organizations);
- elections, pacification of social unrest and political education of the people.

2. Conceptual level
Calandria's programmes do not focus seperately on women. However, as women are the backbone of the people's organizations (many of them are entire women's organizations), grassroot women play a crucial role in the selection of issues and the production of radio and video programmes. And they are also the main target group reached by the media. Calandria's programme document living and working conditions of the marginalised slum population, the struggles of self-help initiatives and broader social and political issues from a women's perspective. As Calandria's programme want to facilitate communicaton between the different people's organizations, enhance dialogue and solidarity and build up awareness they aim at empowerment of women. Special emphasis is put on questioning traditional gender roles and the sexual division of labour. Nevertheless, not only the directly gender-related issues are taken up, but problems like the persisting economic crisis and the political unrest in the country are picked out as central themes and as women's issues.

3. Implementation level
The payed staff of Calandria consists entirely of women. They work in cooperation with women from grassroot organizations. This close linkage to the grassroot level and the wide spreading of media programme document the broad backing Calandria's activities receive by the slum population in Lima as well as in other cities. Due to the lack of further information we do not know anything about the obstacles met by Calandria. We do not know either how the male population perceives the programmes and how it reacts to them. From other organizations in Peru producing media, for example the 'Centro de la Mujer Perkana - Flora Tristan' we are informed that they are threatened with death by para-military groups andintimidated by terrorist groups of 'Sendero Luminosa'.
The programme of Calandria is a 'woman's programme' more by practice than by ideology. On the one hand, men are not excluded, on the other hand, special emphasis is given to the participation of women without allocating special funds or extra sections of the programme to them.

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ANNEX 1: Definite selection of 30 gender oriented partners

Country	Organization	Research done by	M/W	E/P	G/I/U	Act.
Intern.	W-YWCA	ICCO	W	E	U	A
Intern.	AACC	C.A.	M	P	U	A
Cameroun	PCC-Women's D.	AGKED	W	E	I	d
Kenya	CPK Eldoret	ICCO	M	P	I	A
Kenya	INADES	AGKED	M	P	I	c&d
Mali	AED	ICCO	W	E	G	d&e
South-Afr.	SACC-Women's D.	C.A.	W	P	I	A
Tanzania	EMAU	AGKED	M	P-E	I	a&d
Uganda	UWFCT	C.A.	W	E	I	e
Zaïre	APRODEC	ICCO	M	P-E	I	A
Zimbabwe	ZWB	AGKED	W	E	I	A
Egypt	COC	ICCO	M	P	I	A
West Bank	UPRMC	C.A.	M	P-E	I	a
Soedan	SCC-Women's D.	ICCO	W/M	P	I	A
Bangladesh	CCDB	C.A.	M	P-E	I	A
Bangladesh	USHA	AGKED	W	E	I	d
Hong Kong	AMWC	AGKED	W	E	G	b&d
India	SRED	AGKED	M	E	I	a&d
India	RCDRC	C.A.	M	E	I	b&e
Indonesia	Yasanti	AGKED	W	E	I	c
Pakistan	HRCP	ICCO	M	P-E	I	b
Philippines	GABRIELA	AGKED	W	E	U	A
Laos	CIDSE Programme	C.A.	M	P	I	a,c,e
Bolivia	CIDEM	ICCO	W	E	G	d
Chile	ISIS	C.A.	W	E	I	a
Dom. Rep.	PROMUS	C.A.	W	P		a
Honduras	Codimca	ICCO	W	P	G	c&d
Mexico	SEDEPAC	ICCO	M	P-E	I	A
Nicaragua	ATC	C.A.	M	P	G	b&c
Peru	Mov. Manuala R.	C.A.	W	E	G	A
Peru	Calandria	AGKED	W	E	I	d

List of used abbreviations:

M = Mixed
W = Women's Organization

P = Potential for empowerment
P-E = From potential to empowerment
E = Empowerment orientation

U = Umbrella organization
I = Intermediate organization
G = Grassroot organization

Act = Activities
A = All sorts of activities
a = health
b = human rights and unions
c = agriculture and rural development
d = training, education and awareness building
e = income generating activities

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ANNEX 2: TOTAL LIST OF GENDER-SENSITIVE PARTNERS AS RECEIVED FROM AG KED, CHRISTIAN AID AND ICCO

AG KED's partners

Africa

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Cameroun	PCC	training of female parish workers through bi-monthly training courses
	PCC Women's Work Department	vocational training for women: sewing and nutrition
Kenya	NCCK Women's Desk	workshops, seminars and exchange programmes with women
	CPK Eldoret	programmes with women's groups, awareness education on gender issues with women and men
	INADES	non-formal adult education with women and men; re-orienting its programme towards a greater consideration and equal partipation of women
Lesotho	CCL	programme with women, awareness building regarding legal rights, leadership training for women in the church, income generating activities
South-Africa	SADWU	emphasis on unionizing of the marginalized and isolated domestic workers
	Zululand Churches Health and Welfare Association HELWEL	programme mainly for women: employment generating activities, primary education, training in agricultural methods and marketing, special emphasis on the integration of women

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Tanzania	EMAU	family-life education for men and women, 30% of the participants are women, attempts are made to integrate women to a greater extent
Zimbabwe	ZWB	umbrella organization of 26 women's groups; training programme and income generating activities
	ZCC	integrated programme, women's department: awareness building, leadership training, agricultural training and training in crafts

Asia and the Pacific

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Bangladesh	USHA	implements gender training inits own organization
Fiji	Pacific Theological	integrated programme for women and men: theological and development education, awareness building - role of women in family, society and religion
Hong Kong	AMWC	counselling and organizing of immigrant workers, mainly domestic services, emphasis on creating solidarity structures
	HKAWW	programmes to strengthen women in unions, education, counselling, and information
India	SRED	building up a regional women's movement, staff reflects on gender issues, empowerment approach
	CISRS	integrated programme with men and women, activities meet practical and strategic gender needs, special women's programme
	Institute for the Advancement of Women	programme with women's groups, questions the oppression of women

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
	ANKUR Society for Alternatives in Education	programme against illiteracy with women and children, reflects on gender issues
	Karnataka Women's Training Committee	organizing women's groups around social issues, shelter for deserted and beaten women
	WIDT (Women in Development)	support of women's groups in the fields of social education, health and economic development, strengthen the role of women in the staff, main objective is to sensitize NGO-staff for gender issues
Indonesia	YASANTI	programmes with women, empowerment approach, process-character of activities
	KSPPM	integrated programme for men and women in rural areas, keen to broaden gender-awareness
Korea	PROK Women Welfare Mission	shelter for women released from detention, women get the chance to become economically independent and earn their living
Pacific Isl.	W-YWCA	programme with grassroot women's organizations, emphasis on creating awareness concerning social and gender issues
Philippines	GABRIELA	alliance of more than 100 women's organizations, networking and organization of these groups, involved in formulation of political and economical concepts and strategies from a woman's perspective
	CWERC	co-ordinating and networking of women's organizations, emphasis on identifying woman relevant development strategies and analysing the double burden of women

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Latin America

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Chile	ISIS	women's information and communication service, emphasis on collecting and disseminating information and networking, health education meeting strategic needs
Peru	Flora Tristan	programme with women, emphasis on empowerment through awareness building, organization and information
	CALANDRIA	video and radio programme and print media are developed together with women's groups, questions the traditional role of women
	CEPS	special services to women, emphasis on information and awareness building, counselling of women's groups

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CHRISTIAN AID's partners

Africa

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Burkina Faso	FONADES	very keen to implement a project women's animation but don't have required funds
Ghana	Konbomba Literacy and Development Programme	Priority given to women's development
Malawi	TIYENDE Women in Development Project	women's project
Mali	AED	an organization working above all with women's groups in rural regions
	ASIBA	women's extension work project Ke Macina
Namibia	Council of Churches	have a women's desk
Senegal	ENDA	have funded training and awareness seminar for women on the dangers of arising from use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers
	RADI	involved in work with local women's groups, income generation and literacy
	Bakel Farmers' Association	women run their own group within this federation, and benefit from literacy/management courses
Sierra Leone	Kamuyi Rural Women Income Generating Vocational Center	run by women for women
	Kassassi Women's Agricultural Proj.	run by women for women
South Africa	SPEAK	women's magazine committed to empowering women
	National Organization of Women	addressing women strategic needs
	Wilgespruit Fellowship Center	Women's Informal Training Institute, have set up special women programme

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
	SACC	have a women's desk
	ICT	work related to women
Uganda	UWFCT	established to make women financially independent by providing credit and training
	Rukararwe Partnership workshop for Rural Development	women's association one of their most important groups
	Uganda National Council of Women	provide training/seminars for women
Zimbabwe	Organization of Rural Association of Progress	have produced a document on women, keen on gender planning training

Middle East

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
West Bank and Gaza Strip	ECRC	provision of pre-school education facilities, helping women with child care, and enabling them to work outside the home, the high standard of training given to the staff also improves the status of women
	UPMRC	run mobile clinics and train women as village health workers, work with women's committees in the villages
	PARC	women agricultural committees and co-ops networks, small scale production
	PFWAC	movement of development and empowerment working with trade unions on improvement of women's status through literacy centers, nurseries, co-ops and vocational training

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Asia and the Pacific

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Bangladesh	Gonoshataya	especially women's vocational center
	GCDB	especially training courses to bring more women into senior management positions within the NGO-scene
	Nijera Kori	strong inclusion of and work with women in field projects
	Mauchak	strong inclusion of and work with women in field projects
Cambodja	CIDSE	have established WID unit recently and carried out research on women
India	DDS	work exclusively with women through women's village associations
	SEARCH	a training and documentation center that tackles women's issues and produces newsletter: one covering March 8th
	CHAD	video on women's empowerment
	CSI-Coimbatore	women's development programme headed by a woman
	Shreeniketan	programme with major emphasis on women
	SUNANDA	headed by a woman and major emphasis on women
	RCDRC	a special programme for women and headed by a woman
	SCMI	women's development programme
	CSI-Wadiaram	self-employment programme, exclusively for women and with women in charge
	AID	extensive work with women, including campaigning, workshops, etcetera on development and rights of women and 'girl child'

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
India	PIRA	research and publication on various issues relating women
	Shramajeeri Unnayan	strong organizational and other programmes among tribal women
Laos	Lao Women's Associaton	network of women's workers throughout the country
Sri Lanka	Satyodaya	annual celebration of March 8th, women's section, documented work with poor women
	Women's Center	tackle women's work problems in Free Trade Zone, as women as well as workers
Thailand	CCT/SDSD	keen to expand rural work to include women's development
	TSDC	have accumulated knowledge on women's situation in Thailand, and published through magazine
Vietnam	CWR Hanoi	policy formulation on women's development for private and public institutions

Latin America

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Bolivia	CDA	nutrition education, literacy, community organizing
	Bartolina Sisa	leadership training, organizing peasant women
	CIPCA	production groups with rural women, publications, agricultural training
	IRFA	literacy programmes, radio programmes, training
Brazil	Brejo Women	promote rights of women and self-respect and social participation, including rural unions
	Rural Women South	promotes rural women's organizations infive southern states of Brazil

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
	MMCC/CIPES	movement of rural and urban women work in Brazil
	ISER	prostitution, civil rights, health and gender
Chile	ISIS	information and co-ordination services; aids, rights, health, gender, etcetera
Colombia	Women Organization of Atlantico	grassroot women's groups, training in literacy and practical skill, stimulate reflection women's community issues
Dominican Rep.	PROMUS	health education, advocacy work, training
	FENAZUCAR	education and organizing Free Trade Zone women workers
El Salvador	National Co-ordination of Salvadorean Women	association of grassroot groups, general organizing, radio programme, health clinic, publishing materials
Guatemala	Indigenous Presbyteries of Guatemala	indigenous women's committees, leaders training, community organizing, coutiously tackling women's rights
Haiti	IDEA	rural animation and agricultural training, community organizing
Honduras	Christian Community for Development	started women's programme in 1988, women's groups organizing based on bible studies
Jamaica	ADA	training, research and action on women's development in NGO's and at community level; advocacy work with women workers in Free Trade Zones
	Sistren Theatre Collective	community animation and with women's groups, advocacy work with women workers, textile programme
	Social Action Center	video training and community organizing with rural women

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
	St Peter Claver Women's Housing	housing co-operative with Free Trade Zone women, skill and leadership training, advocacy
Mexico	SEDEPAC	has a fund for small scale women's projects, shanty towns and sweating labour in textile industries
Nicaragua	ATC (rural workers ass.)	have women representatives on all levels, very dynamic
Paraguay	CDE Women	women's section, promoting women's participation, providing support for legal rights, monthly magazine
Peru	Movimiento Manuela Ramos	women's organization in Lima, publications, health, education, productive groups, campaigning
	CEPS	leadership training and organizing withwomen in low-income communities
	Proceso	health education, nutrition, community organizing
Trinidad	Working Women	advocacy work on women's issues

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ICCO's partners

Africa

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Burkina Faso	ODE	women's desk
Ghana	PCG Agricultural Stations	is developing a W&D policy
Guinee Bissau	Servico Quaker	women's project, no document on women
Kenya	CPK Eldoret	Explicit WID-policy, integrated with a women's desk
	YWCA	
Liberia	CHAL	gender sensitive approach to health
Madagascar	FJKM	integrated programme with one sector on women, just started, potential for empowerment orientation
Mali	AED	women's programme
	AFSC	nomads project with special orientation on women
Senegal	USE	integrated and autonomous approach of women
	RADI	irrigation project for women
		juridical centre
Sierra Leone	Vrouwendesk CCSL	
South-Africa	SACC Womens desk & Women's Decade	Programme is emancipation-oriented, Womens Decade is a women's project, no WID-document
	SADWU	women's organization, activities oriented on women
Tanzania	Morogoro Women's Training Centre	
	EMAU	
Uganda	YWCA	all sorts of projects for women, especially income generating projects

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Zaïre	APRODEC	did research in aspects which affect women's participation in developing projects, changing their way of doing now
	ADI-Kivu	many projects for women
Zambia	HUZA	support local groups, among others women's groups, WID sensitive, but no document
Zimbabwe	ZCC Women Department	women's department

Middle East Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
	Al Haq	written W&D objectives, position of women in Palestina
Egypt	CEOSS	W&D written document, women's programme, many women in the staff
	COC	W&D written obejectives, women's activities, not yet integrated
	NEF	W&D objectives, just started to prepare a gender course for other organizations
Ethiopia	Gemini-trust	programme forfamilies with twins
Israël	Acre Arab Women's Ass.	empowerment oriented, becouse they learn women to choose selfdeterminate their own way of doing
	Al Hadaf	empowerment orientation
Sudan	SCC-Women's Desk	written W&D objectives, womens's desk
West Bank	YWCA	empowerment oriented

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Asia and the Pacific

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Bangladesh	CCDB	oriented on the strengthening of the social-economic position of women
	CHCP	
	FLVDB	
	Naji Projati Sangha	conscious raising of women, liberate women from their isolated position
India	CISRS	see list AGKED
	RCDRC	special programme for women headed by a woman
	SIRD	organization development, mobilisation against feminicide
	Institute for Social Work	income generating projects for women in slums of Calcutta
Indonesia	PGI-Women's Desk	women's meeting before the General Assemblee
	YIS	creditprogramme for women, potential for empowerment orientation
	YBKS	women's programme, no gender orientation
	Nurani	women's programme, don't have a WID-policy paper, but have a potential, women in the staff
Laos	AFSC	women's programme, training local women for WID-activities
Pacific	National Council of Women	
	W-YWCA Pacific Area Office	trying to start together with the Melanesian Women's Network a South Pacific Commission Bureau
Pakistan	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan	headed by a woman, oriented on the position of women

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Papua N.Guinea	JPND	activities for women in the villages, women in the staff, don't have a WID-document
	East Sepik Council of Women	federation of local women's groups, started with the Melanesian Women's Network
Vietnam	Women's Union of Quang-Nam-Da-Nong	developing from a mass organization to anorganizati-on oriented on the promotion of women's interests

Latin America

Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
Bolivia	CIDEM	
	FIE	
	CEJIS	
	Quana	
Brasilia	CUT	a written WID-document, women's document,really committed
	Movimento dos Trabaja-dores Rurais Sentterra	no women's document, but women's particiapationis high on all levels, see WID as integrated part of the pro-gramme, capable women on the board
	SOF	develop a strategic programme to make women's control over public health better
	Collectivo	written policy document on women, women consultant, develop courses to make officials en technicians women sensitive
Chile	AFSC	women's programme in integra-ted programme
Costa Rica	CEFPAS	women's programme
	Alfalit	women's programme, are very influential in the total programma
Dom. Republic	CENSEL	women's programme and organi-zation, WID-oriented actici-ties

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Country	Organization	Reason for inclusion
	CONAMUCA	women's programme and organization, WID-oriented activities
Haïti	AFSC	WID-commitment, WID-objectives
Honduras	CODIMCA	woman farmer's organization, survial oriented, do work together with men
Mexico	GEM	women's organization, empowerment orientation
Mexico	SEDEPAC	mixed organization, build up women's programme
Panama	CNM	women's organization, training of women's groups promotores
Peru	Manuelas Gruppo Mujer in Chiclayo Mujer y Familia IDEAS	
Puerto Rico	PRISA	women's project in integrated project
Uruguay	EMAUS	have in objectives written on women, position of women in the unions, women's activities
Venezuela	CESAP	started 'circulos femininos', which are working independent now

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ANNEX 3: FRAMEWORK FOR THE PREPARATORY SURVEY

Framework for the preparatory surveys of the Plan of Action for the GOOD workshop

1. Selection of the Southern Partners to be included in the survey.

The selection will take place on three levels:
a. the conceptual level;
b. the level of W & D oriented strategies;
c. the commitment level.

In other words, only those partners "qualify" for the survey on which relevant data can be provided on all three levels!

ad a. the partner should have an explicit W & D policy document/declaration
ad b. the partner should conduct explicit W & D activities(have a department programme, training courses etc.)
ad c. the partner should have shown to carry W & D beyond the lip service stage/state

2. The preparatory survey regarding our own organisations as well as the partners

This survey will be focused on the 3 levels. The objective of the North-South training workshop will be the empowerment on all three levels. The survey will give information on the available material on these levels in the North as well as the South. It is the output of the survey that counts. This output will yield (written) information on :
* what input on all levels can be expected from the side of the partners for the training workshop
* what needs and tips/innovations for genderstrategies and -training the partners have
* what partners to select in view of the training workshop

In short the output of the survey will be useful for two purposes:
1th : training input as well as needs be identified and
2nd : it will be possible to select partners for the training based on the input on all three levels that can be expected from them during the training.

As the training workshop will be a mutual learning exercise, where knowledge and experiences from North and South will be accumulated, the preparatory survey will be focused on collecting data of Northern and Southern views towards gender issues.

The questions on the three levels are not meant to give a complete picture of the concerned/selected partners. They are meant to give a global impression on the focal points, necessary for the training input and for the selection of the participants.

Explanation of the three levels and instructions:

a. The conceptual level;

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The information on this level will give an idea of the policies towards W & D issues, formulated by the concerned NGO. This type of information can be found in formulated policy-documents/declarations, in ideological statements, in visions or approaches towards W & D or in the project/programme/organisational objectives, depending of the terminology used by the organisation.

In order to discern whether the formulated policy or ideology is oriented towards changing the status quo, it will be helpful to identify if an empowerment oriented intention is present in the formulated policy/vision.

Instruction:
* Please collect written statements or declarations etc, of W & D policy or objectives or approaches of the partner.
* Please select the relevant ones or parts and give your critical comment on the empowerment orientation in these statements/declarations

b. The level of W & D oriented strategies;

The information on this level will be focused on what strategies are followed in the implementation of the project/programme, what concrete measures are taken and what data are available concerning W & D issues.
The information on this level will be identified along the following three 'lines':

1. Inventarisation of examples of gender-analysis and/or reflection partners have been putting forward f.e. in programme reports, special mission reports, evaluations, reports of seminars or consortium meetings. Give special attention to success and failure factors in these analyses and to gender specific obstacles.

2. Identification of the 'process-character' in the implementation of the programmes/projects concerning W & D issues. This can be realized by identifying short- and longterm planning objectives of projects/ programmes. This type of information is also found in programme and travel reports and evaluations.

3. Identify whether the W & D-programme has an isolated status in the partners total plan of operation or whether it is integrated in the total plan of operation. Information can be obtained by finding out f.e. what the % of women is on staff level, what the status of the women's desk is in the organisation and what the share of the women's programme is in the total budget, what the place is of the women's objectives in the programme implementation(of course this focal point concerns only 'integrated programmes/projects/organisations')

Instruction: Please collect and select the above information per partner.

c. The commitment level.

The main question here is to find out how serious the partner/NGO takes the W& D issues and to what extent the interests of the women of the target group are met. with the help of the question we can verify whether the partners, identified on the "a-level" as having explicit W & D policies are

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merely paying lip-service or not. This kind of information can probably be obtained through oral information from the project/desk officers.
Questions that can help you in getting the colleagues/projectofficers on the right track are:

1. Do you know any strong female personality and/or gender sensitive key person among the partners and their programmes? What status do they have in the programme and or structure of the partnerorganisation? Or,to put it differently, what is the powerbase -if any- on which they can operate within the context of the programme. How do they /does (s)he relates to or link up with the women at the level of the targetgroup, the programme or even the partner is focused on. They could be participants with a positive input in the training workshop.

2. What kind of events mark the real gender-aware intention of the partner. For ex. a special conference on W & D; special W & D measures taken in a dominating ideological cultural, religious or political context; special gender aware training programmes for and with women (and men), etc.

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BEGRIFFE EINER GESCHLECHTSSPEZIFISCHEN ENTWICKLUNGSARBEIT

Gender und Sex (im Deutschen nur ein Wort: Geschlecht)

Zum hier verwendeten Begriff 'gender': der aus dem Englischen übernommene Begriff wird hier gebraucht, um deutlich zu machen, daß die kulturelle/soziale Dimension der Geschlechterrolle im Mittelpunkt steht. Ein Mensch wird als Person männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts (sex=biologische Geschlechterzuordnung) geboren, aber durch den jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Einfluß geschlechtsspezifisch geprägt. Es werden Wesensmerkmale übernommen, die männlichen oder weiblichen Verhaltensmustern entsprechen.

Gender als Ansatzpunkt

Dieser Ansatz nimmt auf die verschiedenen Rollen, die Frauen und Männer in der Gesellschaft innehaben, Rücksicht. Die verschiedenen Rollen aber führen auch zu verschiedenen Bedürfnissen.

Gender-Rollen

In den meisten Gesellschaften haben Frauen in den niedrigen Einkommensgruppen eine dreifache Rolle zu erfüllen haben: Ihre Tätigkeiten erstrecken sich auf den reproduktiven, den produktiven Bereich und den Bereich 'Gemeinschaftsaufgaben' (community managing). Die Tätigkeiten der Männer erstrecken sich auf den Bereich der produktiven Aktivitäten und auf die politischen Aktivitäten des Gemeinwesens.

Reproduktive Rolle

Die Verantwortung der Frauen für das Gebären und Aufziehen von Kindern wie auch alle mit dem Haushalt verbundenen Aufgaben garantieren die Reproduktion der Arbeitskraft. Dies schließt nicht nur die biologische Reproduktion ein, sondern auch die Pflege und Erhaltung der Arbeitskraft von Ehemann und bereits arbeitenden Jugendlichen sowie der zukünftigen Arbeitskräfte (Klein- und Schulkinder).

Produktive Rolle

Produktiv ist alle Arbeit, die von Männern und Frauen gegen Bezahlung in Bargeld oder Naturalien/Waren ausgeführt wird. Das schließt Produktion für den Markt ein wie auch die Subsistenzlandwirtschaft, deren Produkte verkauft werden könnten, meistens jedoch für den eigenen Verbrauch benötigt werden.

Gemeinschaftsaufgaben (community managing role)

Dies sind Aufgaben, die Frauen neben ihren normalen Tätigkeiten zur Erhaltung der Gemeinschaft übernehmen. Diese Aufgaben sind oft Ausweitungen ihrer reproduktiven Rolle, z.B. tun Frauen sich zusammen, um die Versorgung mit und den Erhalt von knappen Ressourcen, die von allen gebraucht und genutzt werden (z.B. Wasser, Gesundheitsdienste, Bildung) sicherzustellen.

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Gemeindeführungsaufgaben (community leadership role)

Diese Aufgaben werden hauptsächlich von Männern übernommen. Sie organisieren sich, meistens im Rahmen der nationalen politischen Ziele. Im allgemeinen haben Männer in dieser Rolle einen Zuwachs an Ansehen und Macht.

Bedürfnisse

Die Bedürfnisse der Frauen unterscheiden sich von denen der Männer nicht nur aufgrund ihrer dreifachen Rolle, sondern auch aufgrund ihrer untergeordneten Stellung gegenüber Männern. Es empfiehlt sich, zwischen zwei Typen von Bedürfnissen zu unterscheiden:

1. Praktische geschlechtsspezifische Bedürfnisse (PGB) - Practical Gender Needs

Diese werden von den Frauen beschrieben als Bedarf an Fertigkeiten, Einrichtungen, Mitteln (resources), alles, was ihnen hilft, die Anforderungen ihrer drei Rollen zu erfüllen. Wenn diese Bedürfnisse befriedigt werden, heißt das nicht, daß dadurch die traditionelle Arbeitsteilung nach Geschlechtern oder die untergeordnete gesellschaftliche Stellung der Frauen infrage gestellt werden, obwohl die Bedürfnisse ja aus diesem Sachverhalt entstanden sind.

Die praktischen geschlechtsspezifischen Bedürfnisse sind die Antwort auf die direkt wahrgenommenen Notwendigkeiten in einer spezifischen Situation. Häufig drehen sich die Bedürfnisse um bestehende Mißstände im täglichen Leben, z.B. Mangel an Wasser, Gesundheitsvorsorge, Arbeit.

2. Strategische geschlechtsspezifische Bedürfnisse (SGB) - Strategic Gender Needs

Dieses sind Bedürfnisse, die Frauen aufgrund ihrer untergeordneten gesellschaftlichen Stellung erkannt haben. Diese Bedürfnisse wechseln gemäß dem gesellschaftlichen Umfeld und beziehen sich auf die Arbeitsteilung nach Geschlechtern, auf Macht und Kontrolle und können z.B. Rechte der Frauen, Gewalt in der Familie, gleiche Bezahlung für gleiche Arbeit und die Kontrolle der Frauen über ihren eigenen Körper einschließen.

Strategische geschlechtsspezifische Bedürfnisse zu erfüllen, heißt dann, größere Gleichheit herzustellen, die bestehenden Rollen zu verändern und damit die untergeordnete Stellung der Frauen infrage zu stellen.

Entwicklungspolitische Ansätze der Frauenförderung

Die Konzepte der Frauenförderung in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit haben sich in den vergangenene Dekaden mehrmals geändert und reflektieren dabei die Veränderungen der Entwicklungspolitik auf makro-ökonomischer Ebene.

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Es können fünf verschiedene Ansätze der Frauenförderung festgestellt werden. Sie unterscheiden sich durch die Rolle der Frau, auf die sie sich konzentrieren und dadurch, ob sie auf die Befriedigung der praktischen oder strategischen 'gender'-Bedürfnisse zielen.

1. Wohlfahrtsansatz (welfare)

Dies war der früheste Ansatz, etwa von 1950-1970. Ziel war, die Situation der Frauen als Mütter zu verbessern. Frauen waren die passiven Empfängerinnen von 'Entwicklung'. Dieser Ansatz konzentriert sich auf die reproduktive Rolle der Frauen und bemüht sich, die praktischen gender-Bedürfnisse durch direkte Hilfeleistung, z.B. Nahrungsmittel, Maßnahmen gegen Unterernährung und Maßnahmen zur Familienplanung zu befriedigen.

Dieser Ansatz provoziert nicht und wird daher bis heute weitgehend akzeptiert.

2. Gleichheit (equity)

Dieser Ansatz entstand während der UN-Frauendekade (1975-1985) und zielt auf die Verbesserung des Status der Frauen. Frauen sollen zu aktiven Partnerinnen im Entwicklungsprozeß werden. Die dreifache Rolle der Frauen steht im Mittelpunkt, ebenso die strategischen gender-Bedürfnisse. Es wird angestrebt, durch direkte staatliche Maßnahmen politische und ökonomische Unabhängigkeit der Frauen zu erhalten und damit die Ungleichheiten zwischen Männern und Frauen zu verkleinern.

Dieser Ansatz kritisiert die untergeordnete Stellung der Frauen, wurde deshalb als "westlicher Feminismus" abgestempelt und von Regierungen abgelehnt, da er als bedrohlich empfunden wurde.

3. Anti-Armuts-Ansatz (anti-poverty)

Dieser zeitlich etwas später kommende Ansatz 'milderte' den früheren Gleichheitsansatz wieder ab. Er zielt darauf, die Produktivität armer Frauen zu erhöhen. Die Armut der Frauen wurde als Problem der Unterentwicklung angesehen, nicht als Problem der untergeordneten Stellung. Hier kommen wieder die praktischen gender-Bedürfnisse der Frauen in den Mittelpunkt und zwar in ihrer produktiven Rolle. Maßnahmen der Entwicklung richten sich darauf, Einkommen zu erwirtschaften, vor allem durch die kleinen einkommenschaffenden Projekte.

Dieser Ansatz ist (war) in Entwicklungshilfeorganisationen sehr beliebt, weniger bei Regierungen.

4. Effizienz-Ansatz (efficiency=Fähigkeit/Tüchtigkeit)

Dies ist der bekannteste Ansatz, vor allem seit Beginn der 80iger Jahre als Antwort auf die Auswirkungen der Schuldenkrise. Der wirtschaftliche Beitrag der Frauen wird dort wichtig,

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wo durch die Folgen der Strukturanpassungsmaßnahmen soziale Dienste, Subventionen usw. wegfallen. Obwohl die dreifache Rolle der Frauen gesehen wird und auch die Notwendigkeit einer größeren Beteiligung der Frauen an Entscheidungsprozessen, orientiert sich der Ansatz mehr an den praktischen gender-Bedürfnissen. Je mehr die Frauen die Folgen der wirtschaftlichen Krise kompensieren müssen, desto länger wird ihr Arbeitstag.

5. 'Empowerment'-Ansatz

Dis ist der jüngste Ansatz, der hauptsächlich durch Dritte Welt-Frauen und Basisgruppen entstand. Seine Bekanntheit hat während der 80iger Jahre (allerdings nur begrenzt) zugenommen. Der Ansatz zielt auf die Stärkung des Selbstvertrauens (self-reliance) der Frauen. Die Unterordnung der Frauen wird nicht nur in Beziehung zum Mann gesehen, sondern auch als Teil der kolonialen und neokolonialen Unterdrückung.

Die dreifache Rolle der Frauen und die daraus resultierenden praktischen gender-Bedürfnisse werden beachtet. Die Mobilisierung/Organisation der Frauen setzt bei den praktischen gender-Bedürfnissen an, zielt aber auf die Wahrnehmung strategischer gender-Bedürfnisse und ihre Befriedigung.

Dieser Ansatz ist nicht populär, höchstens bei Dritte Welt-Frauen-NRO.

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Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs

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Summary. — Recognition of the important role that women play in Third World development has not necessarily been translated into planning practice. This paper describes the development of gender planning, which in identifying that women and men play different roles in Third World society and therefore often have different needs, provides both the conceptual framework and the methodological tools for incorporating gender into planning. These relate to the categorization of the triple role of women and the distinction between practical and strategic gender needs. The paper illustrates the capacity of different interventions to meet gender needs, and provides a critique of different policy approaches to "women in development" from a gender planning perspective.

1. INTRODUCTION

While the important role that women play in Third World development processes is now widely recognized, conceptual awareness of the issues of "gender and development" has not necessarily resulted in its translation into planning practice. Indeed for many practitioners involved in different aspects of socioeconomic development planning, the lack of adequate operational frameworks has been particularly problematical. The purpose of this article is to contribute toward the resolution of this problem. It describes the development of *gender planning*, a planning approach which, in taking account of the fact that women and men play different roles in Third World society and therefore often have different needs, provides both the conceptual framework and the methodological tools for incorporating gender into planning.[1]

The article mentions briefly the background to such an approach before describing the underlying conceptual rationale of gender planning, which relates to the identification of women's triple role and the distinction between practical and strategic gender needs. It illustrates the capacity of different planning interventions to meet gender needs, with examples from such sectors as employment, housing and basic services. Finally it provides a critique of a number of different policy approaches to "women and development" from the perspective of gender planning, and identifies the potential and limitations of each approach for meeting the needs of low-income Third World women.

2. BACKGROUND

The United Nations Decade for Women (1976–85) has played a crucial part in highlighting and publicizing the important, but often previously invisible, role of women in the economic and social development of their countries and communities, and the "plight" of low-income women in Third World economies. In fact during this decade there has been a considerable shift in approach on the part of both academic researchers and policy makers. Researchers have moved away from a preoccupation with the role of women within the family, toward an understanding of the complexities of women's employment. Research on both waged workers and those in the informal sector, in urban and rural areas, has assisted in identifying both the importance and the diversity of low-income women's productive activities to Third World economies.[2] Policy makers have begun to shift their focus from a universal concern with welfare-oriented, family-centered programs which assumed motherhood as the most important role for women in the development process, to a diversity of approaches emphasizing the productive role of women. The so-called Women in Development (WID) approach, adopted by the United States Agency for International Development

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(USAID), with its underlying rationale that women are an untapped resource that can provide an economic contribution to development, has had an important influence in popularizing income-generating projects for women.[3]

More recently a further shift in approach, principally in academic writing, has recognized the limitations of focusing on women in isolation and has drawn attention to the need instead to look at "gender and development." The focus on gender rather than women was originally developed by feminists concerned about the manner in which the problems of women were perceived in terms of their sex, i.e., their biological differences with men, rather than in terms of their gender, i.e., in terms of the social relationship between men and women, a relationship in which women have been systematically subordinated.[4] Gender-aware approaches are concerned with the manner in which such relationships are socially constructed; men and women play different roles in society, their gender differences being shaped by ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, economic and cultural determinants. These roles show similarities and differences between classes as well as societies, and since the way they are socially constructed is always temporarily and spatially specific, gender divisions cannot be read off on checklists.

As a result of these developments, lip service is now payed to "women and development" at international, governmental and nongovernmental levels. Despite the recognized limitations of focusing on women in isolation, Ministries of Women's Affairs and WID units with predominantly female staff have proliferated throughout the world, in countries as diverse as Japan, Zimbabwe and Belize (Gordon, 1984). This has not, however, necessarily meant that the issue of gender has been satisfactorily incorporated into the wide diversity of planning disciplines concerned with the lives of low-income communities in Third World countries.

There are a number of reasons for this problem. First, most authorities responsible for development planning have only very reluctantly recognized gender as an important planning issue; decision making powers continue to remain not only male dominated but also gender blind in orientation. Second, the primary concern of much recent feminist writing has been to highlight the complexities of gender divisions in specific socioeconomic contexts, rather than to show how such complexities can be simplified so that methodological tools may be developed enabling practitioners to translate gender awareness into practice. Last, for those involved in planning practice, it has proven remarkably difficult to "graft" gender onto existing planning disciplines. Personal experience of attempting to do so in a variety of development policy and planning training courses has led to the conviction that women will always be marginalized in planning theory and practice until theoretical feminist concerns are adequately incorporated into a gender planning framework, which is recognized in its own right as a specific planning approach.[5]

3. THE RATIONALE FOR GENDER PLANNING

Can we plan for the needs of low-income families generally or is it necessary to plan for the needs of women in their own right? Gender planning is based on the underlying conceptual rationale that because men and women play different roles in society, they often have different needs. Therefore when identifying and implementing planning needs it is important to disaggregate households and families within communities on the basis of gender. To identify these different needs requires an examination of two planning stereotypes relating first to *the structure of low-income households* and, second, to *the division of labor within the household*.

Despite an emphasis on planning for people, in current Western planning theory and practice concerned with low-income communities there is an almost universal tendency to make two assumptions, regardless of the empirical reality of the particular planning context. First, that the *household consists of a nuclear family of husband, wife and two or three children*. Second, that *within the household there is a clear sexual division of labor* in which the man of the family, as the "breadwinner," is primarily involved in productive work outside the home, while the woman as the housewife and "homemaker" takes overall responsibility for the reproductive and domestic work involved in the organization of the household. Implicit in this is also the assumption that within the household there is an equal control over resources and power of decision making between the man and the woman in matters affecting the household's livelihood. In most Third World societies, this sexual division of labor is seen to reflect the "natural" order, and is ideologically reinforced through such means as the legal and educational system, the media, and family planning programs, without recognition that within it the woman's position is subordinate to that of the man's.[6] However, this abstract stereotype model of society and the divisions of labor within it has severe limitations when

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applied to most Third World contexts, particularly in relation to the triple role of women and women-headed households.

(a) *The triple role of women*[7]

In most low-income households, "women's work" includes not only *reproductive* work (the childbearing and rearing responsibilities) required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force but also *productive* work, often as secondary income earners. In rural areas this usually takes the form of agricultural work, while in urban areas women frequently work in informal sector enterprises located either in the home (in subcontracting or piece-rate work) or at the neighborhood level.[8] In addition, women are involved in *community managing* work undertaken at a local community settlement level in both urban and rural contexts. With the increasingly inadequate state provision of housing and basic services such as water and health, it is women who not only suffer most, but also who are forced to take responsibility for the allocation of limited resources to ensure the survival of their households. Where there is open confrontation between community-level organizations and local authorities in attempts to put direct pressure on the state or nongovernmental organizations for infrastructural provision, again it is women who, as an extension of their domestic role, frequently take primary responsibility for the formation, organization and success of local-level protest groups.[9] Women, within their gender-ascribed role of wives and mothers, struggle to manage their neighborhoods. In performing this third role they implicitly accept the sexual division of labor and the nature of their gender subordination.

In most Third World societies the stereotype of the male breadwinner, i.e., the male as *productive* worker, predominates, even when it is not borne out in reality. Invariably when men perceive themselves to have a role within the household it is as the primary income earner. This occurs even in those contexts where male "unemployment" is high and women's productive work actually provides the primary income. In addition, generally men do not have a clearly defined *reproductive* role, although this does not mean empirically that they do not play with their children or assist their women partners with domestic activities.

Men are also involved in community activities but in markedly different ways from women, reflecting a further sexual division of labor. The spatial division between the public world of men, and the private world of women (where the neighborhood is an extension of the domestic arena) means that men and women undertake different community work. While women have a community managing role based on the provision of items of collective consumption, men have a *community leadership* role, in which they organize at the formal *political* level generally within the framework of national politics.[10] In organizations in which these two activities overlap, especially in societies where men and women can work alongside each other, women most frequently make up the rank and file voluntary membership while men are only involved in positions of direct authority and work in a paid capacity.[11]

That women and men have different roles has important implications for policy makers. Because the triple role of women is not recognized, the fact that women, unlike men, are severely constrained by the burden of simultaneously balancing these roles of *reproductive, productive, and community managing work* is ignored. In addition, by virtue of its exchange value, only productive work is recognized as work. Reproductive and community managing work, because they are both seen as "natural" and nonproductive, are not valued. This has serious consequences for women. It means that the majority, if not all the work that they do is made invisible and fails to be recognized as work either by men in the community or by those planners whose job it is to assess different needs *within* low-income communities. In contrast, the majority of men's work is valued, either directly through paid remuneration, or indirectly through status and political power. While the tendency is to see women's and men's needs as similar, the reality of their lives shows a very different situation.

(b) *Women-headed households*

The second problem with this abstract stereotype model of Third World society is that it fails to recognize that low-income households are not homogeneous in terms of family structure. Although nuclear families may be the dominant type, a diversity of other structures also occurs. It is now widely recognized, for instance, that the extended family does not necessarily disappear with "modernization" or "urbanization," where it remains vital for low-income surival strategies in both rural and urban areas. However, the most important non-nuclear family household structure is the woman-headed household, of which there are two main types. First, there are *de jure* women-headed households, in which the male

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partner is permanently absent due to separation or death, and the woman is legally single, divorced or widowed; second, *de facto* women-headed households in which the male partner is temporarily absent, due for instance to long-term work migration, or refugee status. Here the woman is not legally the head of household, and is often perceived as a dependent despite the fact that she may, for the majority of her adult life, have primary if not total responsibility for the financial as well as the organizational aspects of the household.

It is estimated that today one-third of the world's households are headed by women. In urban areas, especially in Latin America and parts of Africa, the figure reaches 50% or more. In rural areas where men traditionally migrate it has always been high, while in refugee camps in areas of Africa and Central America it is nearer 80–90%.[12] While there are considerable regional variations, globally the number of *de facto* women-headed households is increasing rather than declining. In many parts of the world this is not a new phenomenon, simply one that is now more openly acknowledged. The reasons for this recognition are twofold. First, attitudes within communities about the stigma of women living on their own have been changing. This is particularly evident in communities under conflict, where women forced to live on their own have themselves become more confident in confronting criticisms about their status (Weeda, 1987). Second, there has been a growing recognition by planners implementing projects, if not formulating policy, that they cannot ignore women heads of households if they are concerned with the successful completion of their work.

The economic conditions of women-headed households vary considerably, depending on such factors as the woman's marital status, the social context of female leadership, her access to productive resources and income, and the composition of the household. Frequently, women-headed households have a high dependency ratio and limited access to employment and basic services. Consequently, all too often these households fall below the poverty line, and are disproportionately represented amongst the poorest of the poor (White *et al.*, 1986). Although women who head households do not constitute a separate category, nevertheless their problem of the triple burden is exacerbated, which may have specific policy implications.

4. IDENTIFYING PRACTICAL AND STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS

When planners are blind to the triple role of women, and to the fact that women's needs are not always the same as men's, they fail to recognize the necessity of relating planning policy to women's specific requirements. In particular, development planning based on a sectoral approach does not provide the integrative strategies women require. Employment planning, for instance, is concerned primarily with individuals as paid workers and assumes a household support system, while women's participation in the labor force is constrained by their triple commitment. Social welfare planning which concentrates on the child-rearing roles of women does not adequately take account of their income-earning activities. For example, health facilities in low-income areas are frequently undersubscribed because their opening hours are inappropriate for working mothers. The failure to make the necessary accommodation does not merely jeopardize the implementation of policy, with programs frustrating rather than meeting basic needs, but may perversely worsen the position of women.

If planning is to succeed it has to be gender aware. It has to develop the capacity to differentiate not only on the basis of *income*, now commonly accepted, but also on the basis of *gender*. This requires modifications, particularly in local-level planning, to achieve a more integrative approach which takes account of women's particular requirements. It is important to emphasize that the rationale for gender planning does not ignore other important issues such as race, ethnicity and class, but focuses specifically on gender precisely because this tends to be subsumed within class in so much of policy and planning.[13] Having addressed the argument for gender planning it remains to clarify and expand upon the various elements of this approach.

(a) *Gender needs*

Planning for low-income women in the Third World must be based on their *interests*, in other words their *prioritized concerns*. By identifying the different interests women have it is possible then to translate them into *planning needs*, in other words the *means by which their concerns may be satisfied*. From this the requirements for gender policy and planning can be formulated, and the tools and techniques for implementing them clarified. In the process of identification of interests it is useful to differentiate between "women's interests," strategic gender interests, and practical gender interests, following the threefold conceptualization made by Maxine Molyneux (1985). Translated into planning terms these then are identified as *women's needs*,

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strategic gender needs, and *practical gender needs*.[14]

At the outset, an important distinction must be made between women's interests and gender interests. The concept of women's interests, assumes compatibility of interest based on biological similarities. In fact the position of women in society depends on a variety of different criteria, such as class and ethnicity as well as gender, and consequently the interests they have in common may be determined as much by their class position or their ethnic identity as by their biological similarity as women. Within the planning context, women's needs also vary widely, determined not only by the specific socio-economic context, but also by the particular class, ethnic and religious structures of individual societies. Consequently, although the category of women's needs is frequently referred to by planners in general policy terms, it is of limited utility when translated into specific planning interventions.

Women may have general interests in common but these should be called gender interests, to differentiate them from the false homogeneity imposed by the notion of women's interests. As Molyneux has argued:

> Gender interests are those that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. Gender interests can be either strategic or practical each being derived in a different way and each involving differing implications for women's subjectivity (1985, p. 232).

The distinction between *strategic* and *practical* gender interests is of critical importance, as is the distinction between *strategic* and *practical gender needs*. Frequently, different needs are confused, and clarification is essential if realistic parameters are to be identified as to what can be accomplished in the planning process, as well as the *limitations* of different policy interventions.

(b) *Strategic gender needs*

Strategic gender needs are those needs which are formulated from the *analysis of women's subordination to men*, and deriving out of this the strategic gender interest identified for an alternative, more equal and satisfactory organization of society than that which exists at present, in terms of both the structure and nature of relationships between men and women.[15] The strategic gender needs identified to overcome women's subordination will vary depending on the particular cultural and sociopolitical context within which they are formulated. Strategic gender needs, as Molyneux has identified, may include all or some of the following: "the abolition of the sexual division of labor; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare; the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land or property, or access to credit; the establishment of political equality; freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women" (1985, p. 233).

Strategic gender needs such as these are often identified as "feminist," as is the level of consciousness required to struggle effectively for them. Historically it has been shown that the capacity to confront the nature of gender inequality and women's emancipation can only be fulfilled by the bottom-up struggle of women's organizations. Despite a few optimistic examples, state intervention alone has not removed any of the persistent causes of gender inequality within society as a whole, and thus has failed to fulfill the strategic gender needs which for feminists are women's "real" interests. (See Molyneux, 1985, pp. 232–233.)

(c) *Practical gender needs*

In contrast, practical gender needs are those needs which are formulated from the concrete conditions women experience, in their *engendered* position within the sexual division of labor, and deriving out of this their practical gender interests for human survival. Unlike strategic gender needs they are formulated directly by women in these positions, rather than through external interventions. Practical needs therefore are usually a response to an immediate perceived necessity which is identified by women within a specific context. As Molyneux has written, "they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality . . . nor do they challenge the prevailing forms of subordination even though they arise directly out of them" (Molyneux, 1985, p. 233).

The sexual division of labor within the household gives women primary responsibility not only for domestic work involving childcare, family health and food provision, but also, for the community managing of housing and basic services, along with the capacity to earn an income through productive work. Therefore in planning terms, policies for meeting practical gender needs have to focus on the domestic arena, on income-earning activities, and also on community-level requirements of housing and basic services. In reality, basic needs such as food, shelter and water are required by all the family, particularly children, yet they are identi-

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fied specifically as the practical gender needs of women, not only by policy makers concerned to achieve developmental objectives, but also by women themselves. Both are therefore often responsible for preserving and reinforcing (even if unconsciously) the sexual division of labor. Since there is often a unity of purpose between the socioeconomic development priorities of intervening agencies and practical gender needs identified at the local level, the two frequently and easily become conflated. This serves the purposes of planners who are then identified as meeting women's needs. At the same time, it can make it even more difficult for women themselves to recognize and formulate their strategic gender needs.

5. MEETING PRACTICAL AND STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS IN POLICY AND PRACTICE

It has become very popular for policy makers and the media alike to label any policy or program associated with women as "feminist" or "women's lib," terms used by many in such a derisory manner that they provoke a hostile and negative reaction from both female and male planners. Identification of the triple role of women and the differences between practical and strategic gender needs can assist practitioners to understand that planning for the needs of low-income women is not necessarily "feminist" in content. Indeed the vast majority of policies, programs and projects directed at women worldwide are concerned with women within their engendered position in the sexual division of labor, as wives and mothers, and are intended to meet their practical gender needs. Without denying the importance of such interventions, it is critical to recognize that practical gender needs only become "feminist" in content if and when they are transformed into strategic gender needs.

While the room for maneuver for addressing gender needs varies within each specific sociopolitical context, the distinction between practical and strategic gender needs and the identification of the triple role of women may provide useful methodological tools for planning. They may assist in diffusing the criticisms of those who find "feminism" unacceptable by showing them that working with women is most often not "feminist." Alternatively, they may be helpful for policy makers responsible for meeting the practical gender needs of women, in assisting their adoption of more challenging solutions. The following examples of a number of interventions, in such sectors as employment, housing, and basic urban services, illustrate the potential and limitations of different planning practices to reach practical or strategic gender needs within specific planning contexts. These examples are graphically illustrated in Table 1.

(a) *Gender needs in employment*

With the lives of the majority of low-income women dominated by the necessity to generate an income, one of the most fundamental problems faced is a lack of adequate skills. The provision of skill training, therefore, often meets an important practical gender need by allowing access to employment. How far it also reaches more strategic gender needs depends not only on whether it increases women's economic independence, but also on the *type* of training. In many ex-British colonies, for instance, community development centres have, for decades, provided women's training courses in home economics, introducing a diversity of skills intended to assist women to become better provisioners within the household. Such training recognizes the reproductive role of women, and can meet practical gender needs relating to basic health and nutrition, but does not recognize women's productive role and the important practical gender need to earn an income.[16]

In contrast to this, skill training in such areas as primary school teaching, nursing and dressmaking often meets income-generating needs. Probably the most common type of training is dressmaking, taught throughout the world, at a diversity of levels ranging from government programs, located in purpose-built premises, through medium-sized nongovernmental projects, to small self-help groups. In diverse cultures and contexts the underlying rationale for the provision of dressmaking skills is similar: this is a skill women already know, or should know, and one they can use not only in the home but also to earn an income. Such training can meet a practical gender need, but because dressmaking is an area in which women traditionally work, this does not challenge the gender division of labor.[17]

The training of women in areas traditionally identified as "men's work" may not only widen employment opportunities for women, but may also break down existing occupational segregation, thereby fulfilling the strategic gender need to abolish the sexual division of labor. Women's training in house-building skills such as masonry and carpentry provides one such example. Although in most societies women traditionally are involved in rural house building, the urban-

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Table 1. *Examples of sectoral interventions in terms of women's triple role and practical and strategic gender needs*

Type of Intervention	Women's Role Recognized R	P	CM	Gender Need Met PGN	SGN*
(1) Skill Training for Employment					
Cooking angel cakes	X			X?	
Dressmaking		X		X	
Masonry/carpentry		X		X	X†
(2) Housing and Human Settlement Policy					
(a) Zoning legislation					
Separates residence & work	X				
Does not separate residence and work	X	X		X	
(b) House ownership					
In man's name	X			X	
In woman's name	X			X	X‡
(3) Basic Services					
(a) Location of nursery					
Located in community	X	X		X	
In mother's workplace	X	X		X	
In father's workplace	X	X		X	X§
(b) Transport services					
Only peak hours bus service		X			
Adequate off-peak service	X	X		X	
(4) Project with community participation					
With women's time unpaid	X		X	X	
With women's time paid	X	X	X	X	

*R = Reproductive; P = Productive; CM = Community Managing; PGN = Practical Gender Need; SGN = Strategic Gender Need.
†Overcoming the sexual division of labor.
‡Overcoming discrimination against women owning land, whether by law or cultural tradition.
§Alleviation of the burden of domestic labor.

based development of a formal skilled house construction sector has been accompanied by an occupational sex-segregation, with construction now designated as "men's work," other than in those contexts, such as India, where women still provide unskilled labor (NIUA, 1982). Skill training for women in the construction sector often meets with hostility and resistance, precisely because it challenges the existing sexual division of labor. However, as case studies from Sri Lanka (Fernando, 1987), Jamaica (Schmink, 1984), and Nicaragua (Vance, 1987) show, once trained and having gained the tacit acceptance of male colleagues, women construction workers tend to find work either in existing projects or in the construction sector more generally.[18]

(b) *Gender needs in human settlements and housing*

In the planning of human settlements and housing the necessity to introduce a gender perspective is still not widely recognized, despite the fact that women, as wives and mothers, are primary users of space both in their houses and in the local community.[19] Although consultation with women about housing design would ensure that their spatial needs are recognized, this rarely occurs. Examples of the detrimental effects of insensitive house design are widespread, particularly where "modernization" or "developmentalism" have resulted in radical design changes. This often affects Muslim women who, because their social life is almost entirely confined to the home, have special needs for internal space.[20] Zoning legislation that separates residential and business activities assumes the separation of productive and reproductive roles, and is particularly problematic for women with children. Because of the necessity to "balance" roles, women are often involved in informal sector activities in or around their homes. Where zoning legislation prevents the making and selling of goods from their homes, the only solution is to do so illegally.[21]

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Gender-aware changes in zoning legislation to allow household enterprises can therefore meet the practical gender need of women to earn an income.

The fact that women are the principal users of housing, does not necessarily mean that they become the owners of either the house or land. Tenure is generally given to men as household heads, even where women *de facto* have primary household responsibilities. For women, tenure rights are a strategic gender need which ensures protection for themselves and their children in unstable, or ~~violent~~ ~~dome~~stic situations. Without land rights, women often cannot provide collateral to gain access to credit; since ownership of land represents a form of savings, women may end up without capital in the event of marital separation. Housing projects that provide for ownership regardless of the sex of the household head may be difficult to design in countries where women do not legally possess rights of ownership. However, in other contexts where women's lack of land tenure is a consequence of "tradition" there may be relatively simple means of making land ownership rights available to women.[22]

(c) *Gender needs in basic services*

The planning of childcare facilities, such as a creche or nursery, provides a good example of the way in which differences in location can result in different gender needs being met. If located at the woman's workplace it will certainly meet her practical gender need for adequate childcare facilities, essential for her to undertake waged employment. If located in the community this may encourage a sharing of responsibilities within the family, although if anyone other than the mother delivers the child it is likely to be another female member of the family. If, however, the nursery is located at the father's place of work, this provides the opportunity for meeting both practical and strategic gender needs since it involves the father in taking some of the responsibility for childcare, and thereby alleviates the burden of domestic labor on the woman.

In the transport sector one of the most critical problems faced by women is that transport services are organized to meet the needs of male workforce schedules, with buses running from the periphery to the center during morning and evening peak periods.[23] Low-income women often not only use public transport more than men, but require it for multiple activities, such as school, shopping and health-related trips, in addition to work trips. While the provision of adequate off-peak transport meets practical gender needs, it cannot meet strategic gender needs since it does not alleviate women's burden of domestic labor and childcare. In addition, in many large cities the fear of male harassment prevents low-income women from using public transport, particularly late at night. Where women-only transportation is introduced, this meets the more strategic gender need of countering male violence.

The examples cited above show the limitations of individual sectoral interventions for low-income women. Because of the need to "balance" their triple role, women require integrative strategies which cut across sectoral lines. The examples also reveal that the majority of planning interventions "for women" only meet practical gender needs, and do not seek to change existing divisions of labor, or other forms of discrimination against women, and therefore are not "feminist" in content. In reality, practical gender needs remain the only specific policy target for most of those concerned with planning for women. The underlying reasons for this, and the extent to which shifts in policy have occurred during the past 30 years, can best be understood through the examination of different policy approaches to women.

6. POLICY APPROACHES TO LOW-INCOME THIRD WORLD WOMEN AND GENDER PLANNING

Throughout the Third World, particularly in the past decade, there has been a proliferation of policies, programs and projects designed to assist low-income women. Identification of the extent to which such planned interventions have been appropriate to the gender needs of women requires an examination of the conceptual rationale underlying different policy approaches from a gender planning perspective. Each approach can be evaluated in terms of which of women's triple roles it recognizes, and which practical or strategic gender needs it meets. Such analysis illustrates the utility of the methodological tools of gender planning evaluation.

Until recently there has been little systematic classification or categorization of the various policy initiative to help low-income women.[24] Concern for their needs coincided historically with a recognition of their important role in development. Since the 1950s a diversity of interventions has been formulated, not in isolation, but reflecting changes in macro-level economic and social policy approaches to Third World development. Thus the shift in policy approach

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toward women, from "welfare," to "equity" to "anti-poverty," as categorized by Buvinić (1983), to the two other approaches categorized here as "efficiency," and "empowerment," has mirrored general shifts in Third World development policies, from modernization policies of accelerated growth, through basic needs strategies associated with redistribution, to the more recent compensatory measures associated with structural adjustment policies.

While the different policy approaches, as summarized in Table 2, are described chronologically, it is recognized that the linear process implied is an over-simplification of reality. In practice many of the policies have appeared more or less simultaneously. Implementing agencies have not necessarily followed any ordered logic in changing their approach, most frequently jumping from welfare to efficiency without consideration of the other approaches. Different policies have particular appeal to different types of institutions. Policy makers often favor combined policy approaches in order to meet the needs of different constituencies at the same time. Finally, shifts in policy approach often occur not only during the formulation stage, but also during the implementation process (Buvinić, 1986). In order to examine the interrelationship between different policy approaches and gender needs, they are described here as ideal types.

(a) *The welfare approach*

The welfare approach is the oldest and still the most popular social development policy for the Third World in general, and women in particular. Its underlying rationale toward women reflects its origins which are linked to the residual model of social welfare, first introduced by colonial authorities in many Third World countries. Their concern with law and order and the maintenance of stable conditions for trade, and agricultural and mineral expansion, meant that social welfare was a low priority. Echoing the 19th-century European Poor Laws with their inherent belief that social needs should be satisfied through individual effort in the marketplace, administrations dealt largely with crime, delinquency, prostitution and other forms of "deviant" behavior, while voluntary charity organizations carried a large share of the burden of social welfare (Hardiman and Midgley, 1982). Since it was also compatible with the prevailing development paradigms of modernization, many post-independence governments continued this policy (MacPherson and Midgley, 1987). On the basis that "social welfare institutions should come into play only when the normal structure of supply, the family and the market, break down" (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965, p. 138), the ministries of social welfare, created for the implementation of such residual measures for "vulnerable groups," were invariably weak and underfinanced.

In fact it was First World welfare programs, specifically targeted at "vulnerable groups," which were among the first to identify women as the main beneficiaries. As Buvinić has noted, these were the emergency relief programs widely initiated in Europe after the end of World War II, accompanying the economic assistance measures intended to ensure reconstruction. Relief aid was provided directly to low-income women, who, in their engendered roles as wives and mothers, were seen as those primarily concerned with their family's welfare. This relief distribution was undertaken by international private relief agencies, and relied on the unpaid work of middle-class women volunteers for effective and cheap implementation (Buvinić, 1986).

The creation of two parallel approaches to development assistance — on the one hand financial aid for economic growth, on the other hand relief aid for socially "vulnerable" groups — was then replicated in development policy toward Third World countries. This had critical implications for Third World women. It meant that the international economic aid which prioritized government support for capital-intensive industrial and agricultural production to accelerate growth focused on increasing the productive capacity of the male labor force. Welfare provision for the family was targeted at women, who, along with the disabled and the sick, were identified as "vulnerable groups," remaining the responsibility of the marginalized ministries of social welfare.[25] Further assistance was then provided by nongovernmental organizations, such as the mothers' clubs created in many Third World countries, and, to a lesser extent, by bilateral aid agencies with specific mandates for women and children, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

The welfare approach is based on three assumptions. First, that women are passive recipients of development, rather than participants in the development process. Second, that motherhood is the most important role for women in society. Third, that child rearing is the most effective role for women in all aspects of economic development. While this approach sees itself as "family centered" in orientation, it focuses entirely on women in terms of their reproductive role, assumes men's role to be productive, and identifies the mother–child dyad

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Table 2. *Different policy approaches to Third World women*

	← "Women in Development" (WID) →				
Issues	**Welfare**	**Equity**	**Anti-poverty**	**Efficiency**	**Empowerment**
Origins	Earliest approach: — residual model of social welfare under colonial administration — modernization/ accelerated growth economic development model.	Original WID approach: — failure of modernization development policy — influence of Boserup and First World feminists on Percy Amendment — declaration of UN Decade for Women.	Second WID approach: — toned down equity because of criticism — linked to Redistribution with Growth and Basic Needs.	3rd and now predominant WID approach: — deterioration in world economy — policies of economic stabilization and adjustment rely on women's economic contribution to development.	Most recent approach: — arose out of failure of equity approach — Third World Women's feminist writing and grassroot organizations.
Period most popular	1950–70: but still widely used.	1975–85: attempts to adopt it during and since Women's Decade.	1970s onward: still limited popularity.	Post 1980s: now most popular approach.	1975 onward: accelerated during 1980s, still limited popularity.
Purpose	To bring women into development as better mothers: this is seen as their most important role in development.	To gain equity for women in the development process: women seen as active participants in development.	To ensure poor women increase their productivity: women's poverty seen as problem of underdevelopment not of subordination.	To ensure development is more efficient and more effective: women's economic participation seen as associated with equity.	To empower women through greater self-reliance: women's subordination seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neocolonial oppression.
Needs of women met and roles recognized	To meet PGN* in reproductive role, relating particularly to food aid, malnutrition and family planning.	To meet SGN† in terms of triple role — directly through state top-down intervention, giving political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men.	To meet PGN* in productive role, to earn an income, particularly in small-scale income generating projects.	To meet PGN* in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time.	To reach SGN† in terms of triple role — indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around PGN* as means to confront oppression.
Comment	Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on reproductive role. Nonchallenging therefore still widely popular especially with government and traditional NGOs.	In identifying subordinate position of women in terms of relationship to men, challenging, criticized as Western feminism, considered threatening and not popular with government.	Poor women isolated as separate category with tendency only to recognize productive role; reluctance of government to give limited aid to women means popularity still at small-scale NGO level.	Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day. Most popular approach both with governments and multilateral agencies.	Potentially challenging with emphasis on Third World and women's self-reliance. Largely unsupported by governments and agencies. Avoidance of Western feminism criticism, means slow significant growth of underfinanced voluntary organizations.

*PGN — Practical gender needs.
†SGN — Strategic gender needs.

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as the unit of concern. The main method of implementation is through "top-down" handouts of free goods and services. When training is included it is for those skills deemed appropriate for nonworking housewives and mothers. In their mothering roles, low-income women have been the primary targets for improving family welfare, particularly of children, through an increasing diversity of programs, reflecting a broadening of the mandate of welfare over the past decades.

With their origins in relief work, the first, and still the most important concern of welfare programs is *family physical survival*, through the direct provision of food aid to vulnerable groups. Generally this is provided on a short-term basis after such natural disasters as earthquakes or famines. However, it has increasingly become a longer-term need for refugees seeking protection, whose numbers have grown to 12–15 million in the past two decades. Although the majority of refugees in camps are women, left as heads of households to care and often provide for the children and elderly, they usually do not have refugee status in their own right but only as wives within the family (Bonnerjea, 1985). Projects implemented by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and nongovernmental organizations most often focus on these women in their reproductive role, with special attention given to those pregnant or lactating, identified as a "vulnerable group" in the same category as the elderly, orphans and the handicapped (Weeda, 1987).[26]

The second important type of welfare program is the extensive international effort to combat Third World *malnutrition* not just through food but also through nutritional education targeting children under five years, and pregnant and nursing mothers. Since the 1960s, Mother–Child Health Programs (MCH) have distributed cooked or rationed food along with nutrition education at feeding centres and health clinics (Jackson and Eade, 1982). In linking additional food for children and nutrition education for mothers, MCH focuses on the mother–child dyad and the reproductive role of women, on the assumption that extra provisions will make them better mothers. Although by the early 1980s considerable criticism had been expressed about the use of food aid to guarantee nutritional improvement of children, the focus on women in their role as mothers was not seen as problematic.[27]

Most recently, especially since the 1970s welfare policy toward women has been extended to include *population control* through family planning programs. Thus development agencies responding to the world's population "problem" identified women, in their reproductive role, as primarily responsible for limiting the size of families. Early programs assumed that poverty could be reduced by simply limiting fertility, achieved through the widespread dissemination of contraceptive knowledge and technology to women. Only the obvious failure of this approach led population planners to recognize that variables relating to women's status, such as education and labor force participation, could affect fertility differentials and consequently needed to be taken into consideration.[28]

Although welfare programs for women have widened their scope considerably over the past decades, the underlying assumption remains that motherhood is the most important role for women in Third World development, which means that the concern is to meet *practical* gender needs relating to their reproductive role. Intrinsically, welfare programs identify women rather than lack of resources as the problem, and place the solution to family welfare in their hands, without questioning their "natural" role. Although the top-down handout nature of so many welfare programs tends to create dependency rather than to assist women to become more independent, they remain very popular precisely because they are politically safe, not questioning the traditionally accepted role of women within the sexual division of labor. Such assumptions tend to result in the exclusion of women from development programs operated by the mainstream development agencies that provide a significant proportion of development funds (Germaine, 1977). The fact is that the welfare approach is not concerned with meeting *strategic* gender needs, one of the most important of which, the right for women to have control over their own reproduction, was highlighted by a Third World women's group which wrote:

> Women know that childbearing is a social not purely personal phenomenon: nor do we deny that world population trends are likely to exert considerable pressure on resources and institutions by the end of the century. But our bodies have become a pawn in the struggles among states, religions, male heads of households, and private corporations. Programs that do not take the interests of women into account are unlikely to succeed (DAWN, 1985, p. 42).

Although by the 1970s dissatisfaction with the welfare approach was widespread, criticism differed as to its limitations, coming from groups representing three very different positions. First, in the United States, a group of mainly female professionals and researchers were concerned with the increasing evidence that Third World development projects were negatively affecting

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women. Second, development economists and planners were concerned with the failure of modernization theory in the Third World. Third, the United Nations designated a Women's Decade, starting in 1976. This was a result of the 1975 International Women's Year Conference, which formally "put women on the agenda" and provided legitimacy for the proliferation of a wide diversity of Third World women's organizations.

During the 1970s, criticisms of such groups resulted in the development of a number of alternative approaches to women, namely equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment. The fact that these approaches share many common origins, were formulated during the same decade, and are not entirely mutually exclusive, means that there has been a tendency not only to confuse them, but indeed to categorize them together as the "Women in Development" (WID) approach. With hindsight, it is clear that there are significant differences among these approaches which it is important to clarify.[29]

(b) *The equity approach*

By the 1970s studies showed that although women were often the predominant contributors to the basic productivity of their communities, particularly in agriculture, their economic contribution was referred to neither in national statistics nor in the planning and implementation of development projects (Boserup, 1970). At the same time new modernization projects, with innovative agricultural methods and sophisticated technologies, were negatively affecting women, displacing them from their traditional productive functions, and diminishing the income, status and power they had in traditional relations. Findings indicated that neocolonialism as much as colonialism was contributing to the decline in women's status in developing countries.[30]

On the basis of evidence such as this, the WID group in the United States challenged the prevailing assumption that modernization was equated with increasing gender equality, asserting that capitalist development models imposed on much of Third World had exacerbated inequalities between men and women. Recognition of the damaging effects of ignoring women in United States Agency for International Development (USAID) projects during the First Development Decade made the WID group work to influence USAID policy. Lobbying of Congress and participation in Congressional hearings resulted in the 1973 Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act, which mandated that US assistance help "move women into their national economies" in order to improve women's status and assist the development process (Maguire, 1984; Tinker, 1982).

The original WID approach was in fact the *equity* approach.[31] This approach recognizes that women are active participants in the development process, who through both their productive and reproductive roles provide a critical, if often unacknowledged contribution to economic growth. The approach starts with the basic assumption that economic strategies have frequently had a negative impact on women, and acknowledges that they must be "brought into" the development process through access to employment and the marketplace. It therefore recognizes their *practical* gender need to earn a livelihood. However, the equity approach is also concerned with fundamental issues of equality which transcend the development field. As Buvinić (1986) has described, its primary concern is with inequality between men and women, in both public and private spheres of life and across socioeconomic groups. It identifies the origins of women's subordination as lying not only in the context of the family, but also in relationships between men and women in the marketplace, and hence it places considerable emphasis on economic independence as being synonymous with equity.

In focusing particularly on reducing inequality between men and women, especially in the sexual division of labor, the equity approach meets an important *strategic* gender need. Equity programs are identified as uniting notions of development and equality. The underlying logic is that women beneficiaries have lost ground to men in the development process. Therefore in a process of redistribution men have to share in a manner that entails women from all socioeconomic classes gaining and men from all socioeconomic classes losing, through positive discrimination policies if necessary. The rational consequence of this is seen to be greater equality with an accompanying increase in economic growth (Buvinić, 1983).

In fact the theme selection for the 1975 International Women's Year (IWY) Conference showed that the equity approach, despite its identification as "developmental," in many respects was more concerned with reflecting First World feminist preoccupations with equality. Third World delegations, while acknowledging women's problems, identified development as their main concern, maintaining that this would increase women's status, with Second World delegates more concerned with peace, claiming

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that the capitalist system with its militarism was responsible for women's problems — hence the theme of Equality, Development and Peace (Stephenson, 1982).

Nevertheless, the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of IWY firmly reflected the equity approach, with its call for equality between men and women, its requirements that women should be given their fair share of the benefits of development, and its recognition of the need for changes in the traditional role of men as well as women (UN, 1976). The plan set the agenda for future action of both governments and development agencies for the Women's Decade, with the common goal of integrating women into the development process. In reality the interpretation of the agenda varied. This was reflected in the language used, which ranged from the definitely expressed aim to "integrate," "increase," "improve" or "upgrade" women's participation in development to the more tentatively worded desire to "help create a more favorable climate for improving women's options in development" (World Bank, 1980; Maguire, 1984).

Despite such rhetoric, equity programs encountered problems from the outset. Methodologically, the lack of a single unified indicator of social status or progress of women and of baseline information about women's economic, social, and political status meant that there were no standards against which "success" could be measured (USAID, 1978). Politically, the majority of development agencies were hostile to equity programs precisely because of their intention to meet not only practical gender needs but also strategic gender needs, whose very success depended on an implicit redistribution of power.[32] From the perspective of the aid agency this was identified as unacceptable interference with the country's traditions. At the same time, recognition of equity as a policy principle did not guarantee its implementation in practice.[33]

Despite their endorsement of the Plan of Action, similar antipathy was felt be many Third World governments, legitimized by their belief in the irrelevance of Western-exported feminism to Third World women. In fact one of the outcomes of the 1975 conference was the labeling of feminism as ethnocentric and divisive to WID. Many Third World activists felt that to take "feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense" (Bunch, 1980, p. 27), and labeled Third World socialists and feminists as bourgeois imperialist sympathizers. At the same time, the fact that there was only one reference to women in the UN New International Economic Order showed that the importance of women was still identified in terms of their biological role by those formulating policies in the Third World.

In a climate of widespread antagonism to many of its underlying principles from development agencies and Third World governments alike, the equity approach has been effectively dropped by the majority of implementing agencies. However, its official endorsement in 1975 ensured that it continues to provide an important framework for those working within government to improve the status of women through official legislation. Tinker and Jaquette, in reviewing the 1975–85 women's decade conference documents, noted that the goal of legal equality of women — including the rights of divorce, custody of children, property, credit, voting and other citizen rights — had been accepted as a minimum basis of consensus from which to begin the discussion of more controversial issues (1987, p. 423).

Significant though the ratification of such legislation is, it is necessary, nevertheless, to recognize that it meets *potential* strategic gender needs, rather than *actual* needs. Property rights, arranged marriages, dowry and child custody rights provide much-cited examples of the highly sensitive strategic gender needs which are often still curtailed by custom, even when amended by law. Even the incorporation of practical gender needs into the mainstream of development plans does not guarantee their implementation in practice. Mazumdar (1979), for instance, noted that the incorporation of women's concerns into the framework of India's Six Year Plan indicated India's constitutional commitment to equality of opportunity. However, such constitutional inclusions in no way ensured practical changes, which in her opinion would be largely a function of the strength of the political power base of organized women's groups. Ultimately the equity approach has been constructed to meet strategic gender needs through top-down, legislative measures. The bottom-up mobilization of women into political pressure groups to ensure policy becomes action is the mandate of the empowerment approach, developed by Third World women, and described below.

(c) *The anti-poverty approach*

The anti-poverty approach to women can be identified as the second WID approach, in which economic inequality between women and men is linked not to subordination, but to *poverty*, with the emphasis thus shifting from reducing inequality between men and women, to reducing income inequality. Here women's issues are separated

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from equity issues and linked with the particular concern for the majority of Third World women as the "poorest of the poor." Buvinić (1983) has argued that this is a toned-down version of the equity approach, arising out of the reluctance of development agencies to interefere with the manner in which relations between men and women are constructed in a given society. However, this shift also coincided with the end of the unsuccessful First Development Decade, and the formulation of alternative models of Third World economic and social development.

By the early 1970s it was widely recognized that modernization theory, with its accelerated growth strategies based on maximizing GNP, had failed either to redistribute income or solve the problems of Third World poverty and unemployment. Contrary to predictions about the positive welfare effects of rapid economic growth, financial benefits had not "trickled down" to the poor. An early initiative was the International Labor Organization's (ILO) World Employment Program, in which employment became a major policy objective in its own right. The "working poor" were identified as the target group requiring particular attention, and the informal sector with its assumed autonomous capacity to generate employment was seen as the solution (Moser, 1978, 1984). In 1972, the World Bank officially shifted from a preoccupation with economic growth to a broader concern with the eradication of absolute poverty and the promotion of "redistribution with growth." Integral to this was the "basic needs strategy," with its primary purpose to meet "basic needs" such as food, clothing, shelter and fuel, as well as social needs such as education, human rights and "participation" in social life through employment and political involvement (Streeten, 1981; Ghai, 1978). Low-income women were identified as one particular target group to be assisted in escaping absolute deprivation; first, because the failure of "trickle down" was partially attributed to the fact that women had been ignored in previous development plans, and, second, because of the traditional importance of women in meeting many of the basic needs of the family (Buvinić, 1982).

The anti-poverty policy approach to women focuses mainly on their *productive* role on the basis that poverty alleviation and the promotion of balanced economic growth requires the increased productivity of women in low-income households. Underlying this approach is the assumption that the origins of women's poverty and inequality with men are attributable to their lack of access to private ownership of land and capital, and to sexual discrimination in the labor market. Consequently, it aims to increase the employment and income-generating options of low-income women through better access to productive resources. The preoccupation of basic needs strategies with population control also resulted in increasing recognition that education and employment programs could simultaneously increase women's economic contribution and reduce fertility.

One of the principal criticisms of employment programs for women is that since they have the potential to modify the sexual division of labor within the household, they may also imply changes in the balance of power between men and women within the family. In anti-poverty programs, this redistribution of power is said to be reduced, because the focus is specifically on low-income women, and because of the tendency to encourage projects in sex-specific occupations in which women are concentrated, or projects which are particularly targeted at women who head households. Nevertheless, the fear that programs for low-income women may reduce the already insufficient amount of aid allocated to low-income groups in general means that Third World governments have remained reluctant to allocate resources from national budgets to women. Frequently the preference is to allocate resources at the "family" or household level, despite the fact that they generally remain in the hands of the male head of household.[34]

While income-generating projects for low-income women have proliferated since the 1970s, they have tended to remain small in scale, to be developed by nongovernmental organizations (most frequently all-women in composition), and to be assisted by grants, rather than loans, from international and bilateral agencies. Most frequently they aim to increase productivity in activities traditionally undertaken by women, rather than to introduce them to new areas of work, with a preference for supporting rural-based-production projects as opposed to those in the service and distribution sectors which are far more widespread in the urban areas of many developing countries.[35]

Considerable variation has been experienced in the capacity of such projects to assist low-income women to generate income. While Buvinić (1986) has highlighted the problems experienced by anti-poverty projects in the implementation process, due to the preference to shift toward welfare-oriented projects, such projects also experience considerable constraints in the formulation stage. In the design of projects, fundamental conditions to ensure viability are often ignored, including access to easily available raw materials, guaranteed markets, and small-scale production capacity (Schmitz, 1979; Moser,

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1984). Despite widespread recognition of the limitations of the informal sector to generate employment and growth in an independent or evolutionary manner, income-generating projects for women continue to be designed as though small-scale enterprises have the capacity for autonomous growth (Moser, 1984; Schmitz, 1982).

Frequently ignored, in addition, are the particular constraints that women experience in their engendered role. These may include problems of perception in separating reproductive from productive work, as well as those associated with "balancing" productive work alongside domestic and childcare responsibilities. In many contexts there are cultural constraints that restrict women's ability to move freely outside the domestic arena and therefore to compete equally with man running similar enterprises (Moser, 1981). Where men control household financial resources, women are unable to save unless special safe facilities are provided (Sebsted, 1982). Equally where women cannot obtain equal access to credit, through, for instance, a lack of collateral, they are often unable to expand their enterprises unless nontraditional forms of credit are available to them (Bruce, 1980; IWTC, 1981). Finally, the tendency to distinguish between microenterprise projects for men, and income-generating projects for women is indicative of the prevailing attitude, even among many nongovernmental organizations, that women's productive work is of less importance than men's, and undertaken as a secondary earner or "for pocket money."

Anti-poverty income-generating projects may provide employment for women, and thereby meet *practical gender needs* to augment their income. But unless employment leads to greater autonomy, it does not meet *strategic gender needs*. This is the essential difference between the equity and anti-poverty approach. In addition, the predominant focus on the productive role of women in the anti-poverty approach means that their reproductive role is often ignored. Income-generating projects which assume that women have free time often only succeed by extending their working day and increasing their triple burden. Unless an income-generating project also alleviates the burden of women's domestic labor and childcare, through, for instance, the provision of adequate, socialized childcare, it may fail even to meet the practical gender need to earn an income.

(d) *The efficiency approach*

While the shift from equity to anti-poverty has been well documented, the identification of WID as efficiency has passed almost unnoticed. Yet, I would argue the efficiency approach is now the predominant approach for those working within a WID framework — indeed for many it may always have been so. In the efficiency approach, the emphasis has shifted away from *women* and toward *development*, on the assumption that increased economic participation for Third World women is automatically linked with increased equity. This has allowed organizations such as USAID, the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to propose that an increase in women's economic participation in development links efficiency and equity together.

The assumption that economic participation increases women's status and is associated with equity has been widely criticized, as has the identification of such problems as lack of education and underproductive technologies as the predominant constraints affecting women's participation. Among others, Maguire (1984) has argued that the shift from equity to efficiency reflected a specific economic recognition of the fact that 50% of the human resources available for development were being wasted or underutilized. While the so-called development industry realized that women were essential to the success of the total development effort, it did not necessarily follow, however, that development improved conditions for women.[36]

This shift toward efficiency coincided with a marked deterioration in the world economy, occurring from the mid-1970s onward, particularly in Latin America and Africa, where the problems of recession were compounded by falling export prices, protectionism and the mounting burden of debt. To alleviate the situation, economic stabilization and adjustment policies designed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have been implemented by an increasing number of national governments. These policies, through both demand management and supply expansion, lead to the reallocation of resources to enable the restoration of a balance-of-payments equilibrium, an increase in exports, and a restoration in growth rates.

With increased efficiency and productivity two of the main objectives of structural adjustment policies, it is no coincidence that *efficiency* is the policy approach toward women currently gaining popularity among international aid agencies and national governments alike. In reality this approach often simply means a shifting of costs from the paid to the unpaid economy, particularly through the use of women's unpaid time.

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While the emphasis is on women's increased economic participation, this has implications for women not only as reproducers, but also increasingly as community managers. In the housing sector, for instance, one such example is provided by site and service and upgrading projects with self-help components, which now regularly include women in the implementation phase. This is a consequence of the need for greater efficiency: not only are women as mothers more reliable than men in repaying building loans, as workers they are equally capable of self-building alongside men, while as community managers they have shown far greater commitment than men in ensuring that services are maintained (Fernando, 1987; Nimpuno-Parente, 1987).

Structural adjustment policies define economies only in terms of marketed goods and services and subsistence cash production, and exclude women's reproductive work. This built-in gender bias concerning the process of the reproduction and maintenance of human resources allows economic resource reallocation policies to assume that women's unpaid labor is elastic in such activities as caring for children, gathering fuel, processing food, preparing meals, and nursing the sick (Elson, 1987). Disinvestments in human resources, made in the name of greater efficiency in IMF and World Bank "conditionality" policies have resulted in declines in income levels, severe social expenditure cuts in government health and education, and reductions in food subsidies. These cuts in many of the practical gender needs of women are seen to be cushioned by the elasticity of women's labor in increasing self-production of food, and changes in purchasing habits and consumption patterns.

Until recently, structural adjustment has been seen as an economic issue, and evaluated in economic terms (Jolly, 1987). Although documentation regarding its social costs is still unsystematic, it does reveal a serious deterioration in living conditions of low-income populations resulting from a decline in income levels. A gender differentiated impact on intra-household resource distribution with particularly detrimental effects on the lives of children and women is also apparent (Cornia *et al.*, 1987; 1988). Within the household a decline in consumption often affects women more than men, while the introduction of charges for education and health care can reduce access more severely for girls than for boys. The capacity of the household to shoulder the burden of adjustment can have detrimental effects in terms of human relationships, expressed in increased domestic violence, mental health disorders and increasing numbers of women-headed households resulting from the breakdown in nuclear family structures (UNICEF, n.d.).

UNICEF's widely publicized plea to devise adjustment policies "with a human face" now challenges the efficiency basis of IMF and World Bank policy. It argues that women's concerns, both in the household and in the workplace, need consciously to be made part of the formulation of adjustment policies, which in turn will require the direct involvement of women in both the definition of development and the adjustments in its management (Jolly, 1987). On paper, UNICEF's current recommendations to assist low-income women would appear highly laudable. Yet optimism that an international agency has the capacity to effect policy measures designed to increase the independence of women must be treated with caution.

This point can be illustrated, for instance, through the appraisal of some of the recent compensatory policies endorsed by UNICEF. These are designed to protect basic health and nutrition of the low-income population during adjustment, before growth resumption enables them to meet their basic needs independently. In a diversity of nutrition interventions, such as targeted food subsidies and direct feeding for the most vulnerable, it is assumed that women in their community managing role will take responsibility for the efficient delivery of such services. For example, in Lima, Peru, the *Vaso de Leche* (Glass of Milk) direct feeding program, which provides a free glass of milk to young children in the low-income areas of the city, is managed by women in their unpaid time. Similarly, the much acclaimed communal kitchen organizations, which receive targeted food subsidies, depend on the organizational and cooking ability of women to ensure that the cooked food reaches families in the community (Sara-Lafosse, 1984). While both programs are aimed "at improving the nutritional status of the population, especially the low-income groups" (Cornia *et al.*, 1988), this is achieved through reliance on women's unpaid time.

These examples illustrate the fact that the efficiency approach relies heavily on the elasticity of women's labor in both their reproductive and community managing roles, and only meets *practical gender needs* at the cost of longer working hours and increased unpaid work. In most cases this approach not only fails to reach any *strategic gender needs*, but also, because of the reductions in resource allocations, results in a serious reduction of the *practical gender needs* met.

(e) *The empowerment approach*

The fifth policy approach to women is the

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empowerment approach, still neither widely recognized as an "approach," nor documented as such, although its origins are by no means recent. Superficially it may appear synonymous with the equity approach, with references often made to a combined equity/empowerment approach. In many respects, empowerment as an identified approach developed out of dissatisfaction with the original WID as equity, because of its perceived co-option into the anti-poverty and efficiency approaches. However, the empowerment approach differs from the equity approach not only in its origins, but also in the causes, dynamics and structures of women's oppression which it identifies, and in terms of the strategies it proposes to change the position of Third World women.

The origins of the empowerment approach are derived less from the research of First World women, and more from the emergent feminist writings and grass-roots organization experience of Third World women. It recognizes that feminism is not simply a recent Western, urban, middle-class import. As Jayawardena (1986) has written, the women's movement was not imposed on women by the United Nations or Western feminists, but has an independent history. Since the late 19th-century, Third World feminism has been an important force for change, but with women's participation more often in nationalist and patriotic struggles, working-class agitation and peasant rebellions than in the formation of autonomous women's organizations. Although the empowerment approach acknowledges inequalities between men and women, and the origins of women's subordination in the family, it also emphasizes the fact that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history and current position in the international economic order. It therefore maintains that women have to challenge oppressive structures and situations simultaneously at different levels.

The empowerment approach questions some of the fundamental assumptions concerning the interrelationship between power and development that underlie previous approaches. While it acknowledges the importance for women to increase their power, it seeks to identify power less in terms of domination over others (with its implicit assumption that a gain for women implies a loss for men), and more in terms of the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength. This is identified as the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change, through the ability to gain control over crucial material and nonmaterial resources. It places far less emphasis than the equity approach on increasing women's "status" relative to men, but seeks to empower women through the redistribution of power within, as well as between, societies. It also questions two underlying assumptions in the equity approach; first, that development necessarily helps all men, and second, that women want to be "integrated" into the mainstream of Western-designed development, in which they have no choice in defining the kind of society they want (UNAPCWD, 1979).

One especially succinct articulation of the empowerment approach has been made by the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), a loose formation of individual women and women's groups set up prior to the 1985 World Conference of Women in Nairobi.[37] DAWN's purpose has been not only to analyze the conditions of the world's women, but also to formulate a vision of an alternative future society, which it identifies as follows:

> We want a world where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country and from the relationships among countries. We want a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. Each person will have the opportunity to develop her or his full potential and creativity, and women's values of nurturance and solidarity will characterize human relationships. In such a world women's reproductive role will be redefined: childcare will be shared by men, women and society as a whole . . . only by sharpening the links between equality, development and peace, can we show that the "basic rights" of the poor and the transformations of the institutions that subordinate women are inextricably linked. They can be achieved together through the self-empowerment of women (1985, pp. 73–75).[38]

Using time as a basic parameter for change, DAWN distinguishes between long-term and short-term strategies. Long-term strategies are needed to break down the structures of inequality between genders, classes and nations. Fundamental requisites for this process include national liberation from colonial and neocolonial domination, shifts from export-led strategies in agriculture, and greater control over the activities of multinationals. Short-term strategies are identified as the necessity to provide ways of responding to current crises, with measures to assist women both in food production through the promotion of a diversified agricultural base, as well as in formal and informal sector employment.

Although short-term strategies correspond to practical gender needs, long-term strategies contain a far wider agenda than do strategic gender needs, with national liberation identified as a

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fundamental requisite for addressing them. In its description of this approach, however, DAWN does not identify the means to ensure that once national liberation has been achieved, women's liberation will automatically follow. Recent liberation and socialist struggles in countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe have shown that this is not neccessarily the case (Molyneux, 1981; 1985; Murray, 1979). One of the reasons why the categorization of practical/strategic gender needs in this article avoids time as a determinant of change, is because of the implicit underlying assumptions that short-term change leads to long-term transformation. In the same way, it cannot be assumed that meeting practical gender needs will automatically result in the satisfaction of strategic gender needs.

The new era envisaged by DAWN also requires the transformation of the structures of subordination that have been so inimical to women. Changes in law, civil codes, systems of property rights, control over women's bodies, labor codes and the social and legal institutions that underwrite male control and privilege are essential if women are to attain justice in society. These strategic gender needs are similar to those identified by the equity approach. It is in the means of achieving such needs that the empowerment approach differs most fundamentally from previous approaches. Recognition of the limitations of top-down government legislation to actually, rather than potentially, meet strategic gender needs has led adherents of the empowerment approach to acknowledge that their strategies will not be implemented without the sustained and systematic efforts by women's organizations and like-minded groups. Important points of leverage identified to be used by such organizations are therefore not only legal changes but also political mobilization, consciousness raising, and popular education.

In its emphasis on women's organizations, the empowerment approach might appear similar to the welfare approach, which also stressed the importance of women's organizations, leading some policy makers to conflate the two approaches. However, whereas the welfare approach recognizes only the reproductive role of women and utilizes women's organizations as a top-down means of delivering services, the empowerment approach recognizes the triple role of women and seeks through bottom-up women's organizations to raise women's consciousness to challenge their subordination. In fact Third World women's organizations form a continuum from those whose purpose is direct political action, to those exchanging research and information, to the traditional, service-oriented organizations with their class biases and limited scope for participatory action. While acknowledging the valuable function of different types of organizations, the empowerment approach seeks to assist the more traditional organizations to move toward a greater awareness of feminist issues.

Similarly, an important distinction between the empowerment and equity approach is the manner in which the former seeks to reach strategic gender needs indirectly through practical gender needs. The very limited success of the equity approach to confront directly the nature of women's subordination through legislative changes has led the empowerment approach to avoid direct confrontation, and to utilize practical gender needs as the basis on which to build a secure support base, and a means through which more strategic needs may be reached. The following examples illustrate this.

In the Philippines, GABRIELA (an alliance of local and national women's organizations) ran a project which combined women's traditional task of sewing tapestry with a nontraditional activity, the discussion of women's legal rights and the constitution. A nation-wide educational "tapestry-making drive" enabled the discussion of rights in communities, factories and schools, with the end product, a "Tapestry of Women's Rights," seen to be a liberating instrument (Gomez, 1986).

A feminist group in Bombay, India, the "Forum Against Oppression of Women," first started campaigning in 1979 on such issues as rape and bride burning. However, with 55% of the low-income population living in squatter settlements, the forum soon realized that housing was a much greater priority for local women, and, consequently, soon shifted its focus to this issue. In a context where women by tradition had no access to housing in their own right, homelessness, through breakdown of marriage or domestic violence, was an acute problem, and the provision of women's hostels a critical practical gender need. Mobilization around homelessness, however, also raised consciousness of patriarchal bias in inheritance legislation as well as in the interpretation of housing rights. In seeking to broaden the problem from a "women's concern" and raise men's awareness, the forum has become part of a nation-wide alliance of non-governmental organizations, lobbying national government for a National Housing Charter. Through this alliance, the forum has ensured that women's strategic gender needs relating to housing rights have been placed on the mainstream political agenda, and not remained simply the concern of women.

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Conflicts often occur when empowered women's organizations succeed in challenging their subordination. One widely-cited example, the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) started in Ahmedabad, India in 1972 by a group of self-employed women laborers. It initially struggled for higher wages and for the defense of members against police harassment and exploitation by middlemen. At first, with the assistance of the male-dominated Textile Labor Association (TLA), SEWA established a bank, and provided support for low-income women, such as skill training programs, social security systems, production and marketing cooperatives (Sebsted, 1982). It has been said that the TLA expelled SEWA from its organization, not only because the TLA leaders felt increasingly threatened by the women's advance toward independence, but also because their methods of struggle, in opposition to TLA policy of compromise and collaboration, provided a dangerous model to male workers (Karl, 1983). In fact, SEWA has survived considerable setbacks in its development largely due to its widespread membership support and the fact that it has developed into a movement, making it increasingly difficult to eliminate. In addition, at various times the grant support SEWA has received from international agencies has assisted in giving the organization a level of independence within the local political context.

As highlighted by DAWN, "empowering ourselves through organization" has been a slow global process, accelerating during and since the Women's Decade, in which diverse women's organizations, movements, networks and alliances have developed. These cover a multitude of issues and purposes, with common interests ranging from disarmament at the international level, to mobilization around specific laws and codes at the national level. All share a similar commitment to empower women, and a concern to reject rigid bureaucratic structures in favor of nonhierarchical open structures, although they are not necessarily the most efficient organizational form. Experience to date has shown that the most effective organizations have been those which started around concrete practical gender needs relating to health, employment and basic service provision, but which have been able to utilize concerns such as these as a means to reach specific strategic gender needs identified by women in particular sociopolitical contexts.

The potentially challenging nature of the empowerment approach has meant that it remains largely unsupported either by national governments or bilateral aid agencies. Despite the widespread growth of Third World groups and organizations whose approach to women is essentially one of empowerment, they remain underfunded, reliant on the use of voluntary and unpaid women's time, and dependent on the resources of those few international nongovernmental agencies and First World governments prepared to support this approach to women and development.[39]

7. CONCLUSION

This article has outlined the essential components of a planning approach which, in incorporating gender into planning, challenges Western planning stereotypes. Its conceptual rationale is based on the identification of the triple role of women and the necessity of making a fundamental analytical distinction between practical and strategic gender needs. The methodological tools identified simplify complex theoretical feminist concerns relating both to the productive, reproductive and community managing roles of women, and to the nature of their gender subordination, such that they can be translated into specific interventions in planning practice. At the same time the examples illustrate how simplified methodological tools can assist planners in the appraisal and evaluation of complex planning interventions, and in the formulation of more gender-aware proposals at policy, program or project level, within particular socioeconomic and political contexts.

In order to provide a critique of different policy approaches to women from a gender planning perspective, it has proved necessary not only to critique the well-documented welfare, equity and anti-poverty approaches, but also to classify more systematically the efficiency and empowerment approaches. This review shows that wide-scale confusions still exist concerning both the definition and use of different policy approaches, with many institutions at both national government and international agency level either unclear or conflating their policy approach to women. Similarily, the ubiquitous WID approach has mystified rather than clarified conceptual categories and served to legitimize a diversity of approaches to women, which incorporate different underlying assumptions in relation to their practical and strategic gender needs. Indeed it is precisely because of confusions such as these that it is important to develop simple, but sufficiently rigorous, tools to enable policy makers and planners to understand with greater clarity the implications of their interventions in

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terms of both their potential and their limitations in assisting Third World women.

From this policy review it is clear that the "room for maneuver" still remains limited, with welfare, and more recently efficiency, the predominant policy approaches endorsed by most governments and international agencies. With increasing political and ideological control in many contexts, severe difficulties continue to be encountered in shifting policy toward the anti-poverty, equity or empowerment approach. However, there are also individuals and groups involved in changing policy approaches: government and aid agency personnel who argue that the efficiency approach can also be the means, with a hidden agenda, to empower women, and the proliferating number of underfinanced, small-scale, Third World women's organizations, in which women are increasingly struggling not only to meet practical gender needs, but also to raise consciousness to struggle for strategic gender needs.

NOTES

1. This article is the result of five years of research, developing the conceptual rationale for gender planning. The author acknowledges the collaborative work and support of Caren Levy, without which this would not have been written. She would also like to thank Maxine Molyneux, Linda Peake, Michael Safier, Marianne Schmink and Peter Sollis for their comments on various drafts, and to acknowledge the support of the Ford Foundation, New York in the development of training courses and materials on gender planning. For earlier versions of some sections of this article see Moser (1986), and Moser and Levy (1986).

2. Among the wide diversity of studies of Third World women's employment are the edited volumes by Jain and Banerjee (1985); Nash and Safa (1986); Redclift and Mingione (1985); and Young and Moser (1981).

3. The term WID was first coined in the early 1970s by the women's committee of the Washington, DC Chapter of the Society for International Development, a network of female development professionals, influenced by the work on Third World development undertaken by Ester Boserup and other "new" anthropologists. (See Boserup, 1970; Tinker, 1982; and Maguire, 1984.) USAID, with its Office of Women in Development, has been one of the most resolute advocates of the WID approach. Together with the Harvard Institute of International Development they have produced a case study-based methodology to identify how women have been left out of development on the grounds that "women are key actors in the economic system, yet their neglect in development plans has left untapped a potentially large contribution" (Overhalt *et al.*, 1984, p. 3).

4. A summary of the distinction between sex and gender is provided by Oakley (1972), while Whitehead (1979) has highlighted the reasons for choosing the term "subordination," rather than patriarchy, to refer to the general character of male/female relations.

5. From 1981–86 the author taught at the Development Planning Unit, University College London, in training courses for Third World planners involved in such sectors as transport, housing, employment, land use, and infrastructure. Efforts to make them gender aware by "grafting" on gender to their particular planning disciplines met with little success, and led to recognition of the necessity to distinguish between a gender-aware planner (in, say, transport planning) and gender planning, a specific planning approach in its own right. This was developed at the DPU in the training course "Planning with Women for Development" (1983–86), in in-country workshops in Egypt (1987) and Peru (1988), and in gender planning workshops with British non-governmental organizations involved in Third World countries, such as Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), Christian Aid, and OXFAM U.K. (1987–88).

6. The gender division of labor and its ideological reinforcement is discussed historically by Scott and Tilly (1982). Barrett (1980) provides a contemporary account in advanced economies, while women's subordination in an international perspective is examined by Harris (1981), Mackintosh (1981), Elson and Pearson (1981) and Rogers (1980).

7. The term "triple" has already been used in relation to women, in various contexts. Bronstein (1982), for instance, discusses the three ways in which Third World peasant women suffer in terms of a "triple struggle," "as citizens of underdeveloped countries: as peasants, living in the most impoverished and disadvantaged areas of those countries; and as women in male-dominated societies." In contrast to this, European feminists have used the term to refer to the increasing parental caretaking role of women (Finch and Groves, 1983; Pascall, 1986).

8. In developing the conceptual rationale of gender planning, the term "productive work" is used to indicate work that has an exchange value, either actual or potential. This includes work in both the formal and the informal sectors, as well as in family enterprises. In this case it may not be perceived as work with an exchange value, since a salary is not given directly for work undertaken. It is critical, however, to acknowledge that reproductive work is also productive, but because of the production of use value under nonwage relations it is not identified as "productive" work. For further discussion of this debate see, for instance, Gardiner (1977), CSE (1976), and Barrett (1980). It is recognized, therefore, that the use of the term "produc-

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tive" work as referring only to work with an exchange value is an over-simplification of reality, particularly in rural subsistence economies where the divisions are not always separated. In fact, it is recognition of the multiple forms of women's work that has highlighted the severe limitations of categories used principally to show the differences between men's productive work and women's reproductive work. The purpose of this simplification is not to undervalue or ignore the importance of production for use value, but is based on the necessity for the development of a conceptual rationale of gender planning which recognizes that women, unlike men, have a triple role as producers, reproducers and community managers.

9. Although the important role of women in local-level protest groups has been most widely documented in urban South America, with case studies by, for instance, Barrig and Fort (1987), and Moser (1987b), this phenomenon is neither uniquely South American nor urban. Recent examples, for instance, by Barrett *et al.* (1985), Omveldt (1986), Sharma *et al.* (1985) and Yoon (1985) show the community managing role of women in rural environmental and basic service struggles in Asia and Africa.

10. A recent unpublished random survey of Third World community-level organizations showed a consistent trend for political organizations to be run by men with mainly men members, and collective consumption groups to be in the hands of women. For instance, in Lima the *Junta Comunal* is most frequently led and controlled by men, while the Community Kitchen Associations are organized by women; in Manila the *Baranguay* Captain is generally a man, while the Women's Club is obviously led by a woman; in Bombay the National Slum Dwellers Association local representative is a man, but the *Mahila Mandal* leader is a woman (Moser, 1987c).

11. The fact that men leaders are frequently paid for their work is legitimized by the fact that "a man has to work," whereas women are expected to be selfless and "pure," with their participation justified in terms of working to improve living conditions for their families (Moser, 1987b). An example of the gender division between paid men's work and unpaid women's voluntary work is provided by the UNICEF urban basic services program in India, which was designed to provide paid employment for men in official positions but required the unpaid work of women in the community for its successful implementation (Metha, 1986).

12. Useful reviews of Third World women-headed households are provided by Buvinić, Youssef, with Von Elms (1978) and Lele (1985). In many contexts it is difficult to assess their numbers accurately because cultural discrimination and stigma against women-headed households makes officials reluctant to admit the scale of the "problem." For instance, the author was informed by a senior Indian Administrative Service Official that in a metropolitan Indian city the figure was between 3–4%. A woman social worker working in the slums in that same city put the figure at 70%, thus demonstrating the differences both in definition and in perception.

13. Different feminist approaches place varying emphasis on the relative importance of class and gender. While radical feminists utilizing the concept of a "sex class" stress that the sexual imbalance of power is biologically based, and see sexual politics as the central area of struggle (Hartmann, 1981), Marxist feminists, in contrast, identify economic or class relations as the primary oppression, with capitalism particularly responsible for women's double oppression in productive and reproductive work (Barrett, 1980). Finally, socialist feminists have emerged in part as an attempt to deal with the "unhappy marriage" of Marxism and feminism, and seek to expose the pervasiveness and persistence of patriarchy within and across societies and classes even in socialist countries (Maguire, 1984; Sargent, 1981).

14. In fact, Molyneux (1985) does not define "interests" as such, nor does she make the distinction between "interests" and "needs." From a planning perspective this separation is essential because of its focus on the process whereby an interest, defined as a "prioritized concern" is translated into a need, defined as the "means by which concerns are satisfied."

15. Following the definition of "interests" and "needs" made in this article, Molyneux's differentiation between practical and strategic gender interests provides a useful theoretical and methodological distinction when translated into practical and strategic gender needs. For example, if the strategic gender interest, i.e., the prioritized concern, is for a more equal society then a strategic gender need, i.e., the means by which the concern may be satisfied, could be identified as the abolition of the sexual division of labor. On the other hand, if the practical gender interest is for human survival, then a practical gender need could be the provision of water.

16. In a recent example from Nigeria, the curriculum in a community development home economics course included new recipes such as angel cakes to be cooked in Western-style ovens (Erinle, 1986). In fact the majority of low-income women dropped out of the program, preferring to cook for sale "traditional" food such as *gari*. While the training recognized the reproductive role of women and might have met nutritional needs, assuming that angel cake had greater nutritional value than the traditional foods it substituted, it failed to recognize the productive role of women, which for the women themselves was their priority.

17. The capacity to earn an income from dressmaking varies from place to place, as the following three examples show. In Amman, Jordan, the Urban Development Department implements an extensive program in purpose-built premises, although there are considerable problems for Muslim women to work outside the home (Khairy, 1986). Consequently, the majority attending sewing classes are young, unmarried women, for whom the class itself is an escape from the tedium of the home. For the few older women who for

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economic reasons try to put their newly acquired skill to practice, there are very limited job opportunities. In Madras, where medium-sized nongovernmental organizations such as the Dom Bosco Society run extensive courses, one of the problems for newly trained dressmakers is the lack of demand for their skills, in a context where the majority of women still wear the *sari*, and sewing of the *quota* is still traditionally a men's occupation. In Recife, where in one self-help mothers' group *Tres Carneiros* some 80 women received dressmaking training, problems relate to the over-supply of dressmakers in low-income slum communities and the lack of resources to buy the sewing materials.

18. In a recent community-level project in Colombo, Sri Lanka, for instance, masonry training was initially extended to women as a means to ensure that those who headed households, but lacked both employment and housing, could get access to the project. Initially the women were hesitant to train, experiencing problems with the male trainer who had to be persuaded by the project officer to find room for them in his crowded training shed. But the demand for masonry skills grew so rapidly that the project was soon forced to absorb women straight into construction teams and provide on-the-job training (Fernando, 1987).

19. For an extensive analysis of the consequences of household stereotypes for human settlement and housing policy, see Moser (1987a), while for detailed case study examples see Moser and Peake (1987).

20. In Tunis, Tunisia, in two low-income settlements, Mellassine, a squatter upgrading project, and Ibn Khalkoun, a planned community, women were dissatisfied with house design because of the small size of the inner courtyard. Pressure on land, insensitivity to women's needs, and middle-class aspirations to European architecture had resulted in a reduction of inner courtyard area, in some cases leading to psychological depression, neuroses, and even suicide among women (Resources for Action, 1982).

21. At the Dandora Site and Service Project, in Nairobi, Kenya, partially funded by the World Bank, restrictive zoning legislation was identified by women as the main cause of arrears in repaying building loans (Nimpuno-Parente, 1987).

22. In an upgrading project in Jordan, for instance, it was found that because a woman staff member happened to be in charge of handling the title deeds in the Community Development Office, many men in the community allowed their wives to complete the relevant paperwork. As a result, title deeds ended up in the women's names, thus meeting, if unintenionally, their strategic gender need to own land.

23. Schmink (1982) in a study of transport needs in Belo Horizonte, Brazil showed that the routing of buses from the low-income settlements to the industrial areas and then into the city meant that women spent twice as much on transport costs, with their daily average travel time three times longer than men's.

24. The most systematic classification of different policy approaches to women is the informative work of Buvinić (1983; 1986).

25. In most countries the ministries of social welfare and the profession of social planning, frequently seen as their mandate, are dominated by women, particularly at the lower levels. Consquently this is often identified as "women's work," serving to reinforce social planning as soft-edged, and of lesser importance than the hard-edged areas of economic and physical planning.

26. Gender-blindness on the part of those formulating refugee programs has severe consequences. As Harrell-Bond has commented, "The failure to recognize their pivotal position in the household economy, and the special needs and particular vulnerability of women in the refugee situation has led not just to women being disadvantaged, although this is obviously the case, but to whole programs going awry" (1986, p. 267).

27. In their critique of food aid, Jackson and Eade (1982) argue that MCH programs can have detrimental effects on participants. In support of this assertion they cite a survey in the Dominican Republic that found food aid to be encouraging malnutrition. Pre-school children who ate rations at a MCH center and were weighed monthly over two years were found not to gain weight noticably except during the mango and avocado season and whenever food aid stopped. After questioning the mothers, the nutritionist concluded that when children received food aid mothers tended to overestimate the value of this foreign "wonder food" and to feed them less local food. Whenever the food aid failed to arrive, mothers would, as a matter of course, ensure that their children had food. This resulted in a weight gain. The experiment repeated elsewhere confirmed the same findings that with food aid there was not weight gain; without food aid weight increased (see Hilsum, 1983).

28. By 1984, for instance, the World Bank *Development Report* identified reducing infant and child mortality, educating parents (especially women) and raising rural incomes, women's employment and legal and social status, as key incentives to fertility decline (World Bank, 1984). However, recognition of the links between women's autonomy over their own lives and fertility control is not widespread and women continue to be treated in an instrumental manner in population programs. The lack of satisfactory birth control methods, and the introduction of more invasive techniques (such as IUDs and hormonal implants) is making birth control even more "women centered." As DAWN (1985) has argued, this lets men off the hook in terms of their responsibility for birth control, while increasingly placing the burden on women, whose own ambivalence toward contraceptive technology will only be removed when the technology is better adapted to the social and health environments in which it is used.

29. The lack of definition of WID is widespread in the proliferating number of national-level WID ministries

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and bureaus, which implement a wide diversity of policies under the umbrella of the WID approach (Gordon, 1984). UNICEF in a policy review paper on the agency's response to women's concerns also showed a lack of clarity in defining its policy approach when it stated,

> "There is a growing recognition within UNICEF of the multi-dimensional nature of women's roles and the need for increasing support to programs that are both women- and mother-centered and are based on a development rather than a welfare approach" (UNICEF, 1985, p. 4).

Although UNICEF distinguished between "welfare" and "development," no further elaboration as to the definition of the latter was provided.

30. Tinker, in her documentation of development projects that had widened the gap between men and women, argued that development planners were, "unable to deal with the fact that women must perform two roles in society whereas men perform only one" (1976a, p. 22). She attributed the adverse impact of development on women to three types of planning error. First, errors of omission or failure to acknowledge and utilize women's productive role. Second, errors that reinforced values which restrict women to the household engaged in childbearing and childrearing activities. Third, errors of inappropriate application of Western values regarding women's work (1976b). Maguire (1984) also provides an extensive discussion of these issues.

31. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "equity" as "fairness" and "equality" as "condition of being equal" (OUP, 1964). Despite her important analysis of policy approaches to women, Buvinić (1983; 1986) has never sought to qualify the semantic shift from "equity" to "equality." In much of the literature, the two terms are often used interchangeably, despite the definitional differences.

32. As Buvinić has commented, "Productivity programs for women usually require some restructuring of the cultural fabric of society, and development agencies do not like to tamper with unknown and unfamiliar social variables. As a rule of thumb they tend to believe in upholding social traditions and thus are reluctant to implement these programs" (1983, p. 26).

33. In Europe, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Development Assistance Committee (OECD/DAC) Guiding Principles to Aid Agencies for Supporting the Role of Women in Development identified "integration" as critical for a policy on WID issues. In a review of European development assistance, Anderson and Baud argue, "at the most abstract level the concept points the way toward a society in which men and women have interchangeable social roles, so that gender will only be marginally a defining element in life choices. The policy statements of most donor countries are in general accord with this general abstract idea of equality. At the level of actual policy, integration has been mainly interpreted to mean an increasing number of women in existing policies and programs . . . implicit in such an approach is the idea that current development models are in principle favorable to women, and that they therefore do not need to take account of women's vision or priorities" (1987, p. 22).

34. A typical example is that of loans provided to landless families in Bangladesh to assist household-level rice processing businesses by enabling the men to buy additional paddy. Although their wives then undertook additional production activities, men still "sold the final product and controlled the earnings" (Carr, 1984). In contrast to this is a *gari* (processed cassava) processing project ~~in Ghana, in which~~ the introduction of improved technology enabled the women to considerably increase their output of *gari*. In contrast, here women controlled the marketing and were able to use their additional resources to buy a tractor to assist the men to put more land under cassava cultivation. In this case "involving the women in the design of the new technology undoubtedly contributed to the success of the project" (Carr, 1984).

35. While undertaking gender planning training workshops during 1987–88, the author reviewed documentation on a range of projects that had received financial assistance from such UK-based agencies as Oxfam and Christian Aid. Their support for women's income-generating projects at that time included projects as diverse as handmills in Tanzania, fish processing in Sierra Leone, dressmaking in Brazil, foundry work in Bangladesh, rope making in Bangalore, India, Khadi spinning in Tamil Nadu, India and clay pot making in Indonesia. However, one largely unrecognized income-generating activity for low-income urban women was the street foods trade. Recent research has shown this as vital to urban survival strategies, with the widespread availability of low-cost cooked food reducing the time women spend in food marketing and home preparation (Cohen, 1986; UNICEF, 1987).

36. The following quotes from international organizations illustrate not only that women are essential to the total development effort, but also suggest efficiency has always been a primary rationale for working with women.

> "The experience of the past ten years tells us that the key issue underlying the women in development concept is ultimately an economic one" (USAID, 1982, p. 3).
>
> ". . . leaving questions of justice and fairness aside, women's disproportionate lack of education with its consequences in low productivity, as well as for the nutrition and health of their families, has adverse effects on the economy at large" (World Bank, 1979, p. 2).
>
> "Substantial gains will only be achieved with the contribution of both sexes, for women play a vital role in contributing to the development of their countries. If women do not share fully in the development process, the broad objectives of development will not be attained" (OECD, 1983).

37. The project Development Alternatives with

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Women for a New Era (DAWN), grew "from small seeds planted in Bangalore, India in August 1984" (DAWN, 1985, p. 9). In 1985, collaborating institutions included the African Association of Women for Research and Development (AAWORD), Dakar, Senegal; the Women and Development Unit of the University of the West Indies (WAND), Barbados; the Asian and Pacific Development Centre (APDC), Malaysia; and the Chr. Michelson Institute (CMI), Norway, with support provided by the Ford Foundation, the Population Council and the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD). Research organizations and funding institutions such as these have all played a critical role in supporting the development of the empowerment approach.

38. DAWN placed great importance on the relationship between international structures of domination warfare and technology, and the subordinate position of Third World women. Thus they state,

> "We want a world where the massive resources now used in the production of the means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both inside and outside the home. This technological revolution will eliminate disease and hunger, and will give women means for safe control of her fertility" (1985, pp. 73–75).

39. Evidence suggests that considerable support has come from the governments of such countries as Canada, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. The Netherlands government, in its Development Cooperation Policy, has probably gone furthest in questioning the WID approach, and identifying the importance of what is termed an "autonomy" approach (Boesveld *et al.*, 1986). A 1986 summary of their Overseas Development Assistance objectives include "stimulating structural improvements in the position of women . . . increasing women's control over their own lives . . . strengthening women's organizations." It is recognized that a stimulus for the shift in approach was the appointment of a feminist as Minister for Development Cooperation from 1982 until 1986 (Berden and Papma, 1987).

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Klausurtagung der Kammer der EKD für Kirchlichen Entwicklungsdienst 1989

Bad Boll II



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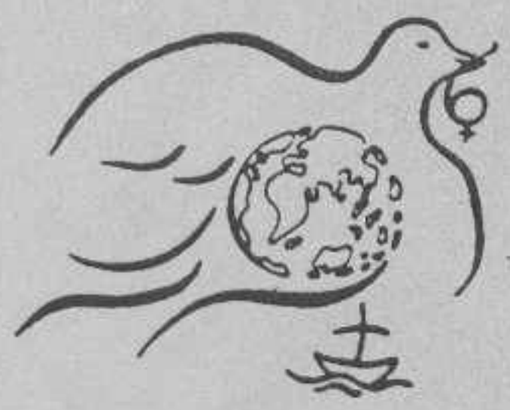
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The Role of Women in Development

Their creative powers will make "convivencia" possible

In May 1989 the Advisory Commission of the EKD for Development Affairs held a conference on "The Role of Women in Development". It was both intended as a contribution to the World Council of Churches' Ecumenical Decade "Churches in Solidarity with Women" and to prepare for the next meeting of the EKD Synod in November this year, which will focus on "The Fellowship of Women and Men in the Church".

At the conference Dr. Claudia von Braunmühl (German Foundation for Development Policy, DSE) analysed the living conditions of women in the Third World, who have to bear the greatest part of the burden arising from the international debt crisis and the programmes for structural adjustment imposed on the indebted countries by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Women from the Third World involved in grass-roots organisations then added moving accounts of their own experiences. Prof. Neuma Aguiar (Brazil) reported from Latin America, Sister Mary John Mananzan (Philippines) from Asia and Mrs. Nyoni Sithembiso (Zimbabwe) from Africa. Their experience showed clearly that it is women who, particularly in times of crisis, both make essential contributions towards the survival of their families and develop forwardlooking models for a survival economy. As pointed out by Erika Märke (Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development, EZE), those involved in church development work are now trying to make use of this kind of experience to develop new approaches themselves.

The efforts now being made cannot, however, blind us to the fact that development aid still largely ignores the social reality and the role of women. It is true that the fact that women play an essential role in securing the survival and self-sufficiency of their families has now been recognised in the field of state development aid, too. Yet many "women's projects" are merely intended to increase the efficiency of aid by involving women to a greater extent — as became clear at the conference —, and the criteria for planning these projects are still mainly imposed from outside. This means that women, although increasingly being recognised as important factors in crisis management, are not taken seriously as the initiators of new approaches and models of development.

The Commission therefore urged that the creative powers now apparent in the women's movements in the Third World should be given backing. Efforts should also be made to cooperate with these women in order to develop visions of a more just society, one which permits differences and allows them to develop in a positive way, thus making true "convivencia" (living together) possible. The report issued by the Commission at the end of the conference is to be submitted to the EKD Synod for its consideration at the forthcoming session.

Quelle: EKD-Bulletin, No. 3
September 1989, p. 4

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Irmgard Kees:

Zur Einführung



Die Kammer der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland für Kirchlichen Entwicklungsdienst veranstaltete erstmals im Mai 1985 in Bad Boll zusammen mit den Mitarbeiterinnen kirchlicher Entwicklungsdienste eine Klausurtagung zu dem Thema "Die Rolle der Frau im Entwicklungsprozeß". Diese erste Auseinandersetzung der Kammer mit einem Problem, das eine besondere Herausforderung für die Kirchen darstellt, hatte konkrete Auswirkungen: Es kam zur Gründung des "Arbeitskreises Frauenfo(e)rderung" (AKF), in dem Frauen aus allen Stäben der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kirchlicher Entwicklungsdienst (AGKED) und der Missionswerke vertreten sind. Außerdem wurde ein zeitlich befristetes Frauenreferat bei der AGKED geschaffen. Ziele dieser Initiativen sind die Einbringung der Frauenfrage in die kirchliche Entwicklungsarbeit und die Thematisierung der Frauenfrage in den Stäben der Entwicklungsdienste. Dabei geht es darum, daß die kirchliche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit in ihren Ansätzen, Zielen und Arbeitsformen der Rolle der Frau gerecht wird. Bisher wurde die Bedeutung der Frau für den Entwicklungsprozeß bei der Planung und Durchführung von Strategien und Projekten nur unzureichend berücksichtigt.

Eine zweite Klausurtagung der Kammer und des Arbeitskreises Frauenfo(e)rderung zum gleichen Thema im Mai 1989 in Bad Boll stand in engem Zusammenhang mit der ökumenischen Dekade "Solidarität der Kirchen mit den Frauen" (1988 - 1989), die der ÖRK im Rahmen des konziliaren Prozesses zu Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Bewahrung der Schöpfung ausgerufen hat. Ein weiterer wichtiger Anlaß für die Tagung war die Tagung der EKD-Synode im Herbst 1989 mit dem Schwerpunktthema "Gemeinschaft von Frauen und Männern in der Kirche".

Inhaltlich ging die zweite Klausurtagung, auf der über Leitlinien eines neuen Entwicklungskonzeptes diskutiert wurde, über das Ergebnis von 1985 deutlich hinaus. Damals konzentrierte man sich auf eine Problemanalyse der Situation der Frauen in Entwicklungsländern, sowie auf die Mitarbeit von Frauen im Kirchlichen Entwicklungsdienst. Dieses Mal gaben Frauen aus Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika durch Situationsberichte Anlaß zum Umdenken und zum Entwickeln neuer Strategien. Sie wiesen vor allem auf die Verschlechterung der Lage der Frauen durch die Schuldenkrise und die Umweltzerstörung hin, deren Folgen besonders die Frauen belasten. Frau Sithembiso Nyoni, Professorin aus Simbabwe, wies auf die steigenden Preise für Nahrungsmittel und die staatlichen Ausgaben in der Sozial- und Bildungspolitik hin, ohne daß die Regierungen auf die betroffenen Frauen Rücksicht nehmen. Als menschliche Wesen seien Frauen unsichtbar, sagte sie in ihrem Bericht. Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen kam Neuma Aguiar, Professorin aus Brasilien. Auch sie be-

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richtete, daß Verschuldung und Strukturanpassungsmaßnahmen das Leben der Frauen besonders erschweren. Die Schuldirektorin Sr. Mary John Mananzan von den Philippinen zeigte am Beispiel der Frauenorganisation "Gabriela", wie sich Entwicklung aus der Sicht von Frauen gestaltet, um gesellschaftliche Veränderungen voranzutreiben.

Im Dialog mit diesen Frauen wurden Elemente eines neuen Leitbildes von "Entwicklung" deutlich. Diese Neuorientierung liegt in einer "frauengerechten" Ausgestaltung der gesamten Entwicklungspolitik. Dabei reicht es nicht mehr aus, Frauen in vorhandene Strukturen und Modernisierungsprogramme einzugliedern, Männer durch Frauen zu ersetzen oder isolierte Projekte für Frauen, von Männern geplant, durchzuführen. Frauen sollen nicht länger als Opfer oder Objekte der Entwicklung angesehen werden, sondern müssen sich als Subjekte aktiv am Entwicklungsprozeß beteiligen können. Durch eine solche "Entwicklung aus Frauensicht" werden dem Prozeß zugleich kreative und verändernde wie lebenserhaltende und bewahrende Kräfte zugeführt. Der bisher "unsichtbaren Frau" soll eine von Abhängigkeiten befreite Frau gegenüberstehen, die Anstöße für eine gerechtere Gesellschaft gibt. Dies setzt die aktive und verantwortliche Beteiligung von Frauen an allen Aufgaben der Entwicklung voraus. Hier muß eine neue Entwicklungsstrategie der Kirchen ansetzen. So muß z. B. die Bedeutung der Frauen in der Nahrungsmittelproduktion für den Eigenbedarf (Subsistenz) erkannt und stärker unterstützt werden und Vorrang vor der Förderung der Produktion für den Markt haben.

Eine der wichtigsten Empfehlungen der Tagung lautete, die Frauenfrage als einen festen Arbeitsbereich in die Planungen der kirchlichen Entwicklungshilfe zu integrieren und beide, Frauen und Männer, gerechter an Entscheidungen zu beteiligen. Männer müßten es lernen, alte Positionen aufzugeben. Dies erfordere in unserer Gesellschaft und Kirche eine neue Gemeinschaft von Frauen und Männern.□

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German Foundation for International Development
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Claudia von Braunmühl:

Frauen in Entwicklungsländern: Lebensbedingungen unter Schuldenlast und Anpassungszwang - Neue Ansätze der Überlebenssicherung

Zunächst einmal möchte ich mich für das Vertrauen bedanken, das in der Einladung, zu dieser Klausurtagung einen Beitrag zu leisten, enthalten ist. Dem Programm entnehme ich, daß Sie aus viel berufenerem Munde als dem meinigen Situationsnalysen und Erfahrungsberichte aus Lateinamerika, Asien und Afrika hören werden. Und daß die auf Frauen bezogenen Ansätze insbesondere der evangelischen kirchlichen Zusammenarbeit ausführlich vorgestellt werden.

Insofern Sie da also in zentralen Themenbereichen schon mal sehr gut versorgt sind, möchte ich ganz bewußt thematisch sozusagen einen Schritt zurücktreten und einen größeren Bogen spannen, der mehr versucht, Einordnungen zu markieren, als jeden einzelnen Punkt selber eingehend auszuformulieren. Es soll ein Bogen sein von Entwicklungstendenzen, -theorien, -begriffen zu konkreten entwicklungspolitischen Interventionsstrategien - es sind ja immer Interventionen, also Eingriffe von außen, was wir da tun, das dürfen wir nicht vergessen - einen Bogen hin zu der Frage, wie Frauen in dem allen vorkommen.

Neulich las ich einen Satz von Erhard Eppler, den dieser vor zehn Jahren in einer Rede gesagt hat. Der Satz lautet: "Es geht in der Entwicklungspolitik nicht mehr darum herauszufinden, was richtig wäre, es geht darum, das als richtig Erkannte gegen ökonomische und publizistische Macht durchzusetzen." Ich möchte hinzufügen: auch gegen politische Macht, bei uns und in den Entwicklungsländern.

Entwicklungsland. Als nach dem Ende des II. Weltkrieges das Wort Entwicklung und Entwickungsland als ökonomischer und politischer Begriff auftauchte, da war Entwicklung ganz selbstverständlich als Modernisierung gedacht. In zeitlicher Verschiebung, aber qualitativer Ähnlichkeit würden die Entwickulngsländer den von den westlichen Industrienationen erfolgreich beschrittenen Weg zu materiellem Wohlstand über industrielle Entwicklung gehen. Ich erinnere mich, daß wir in der Schule lernten, auf die Stahlproduktion pro Kopf für gelungene gesamtgesellschaftliche Entwicklung zu achten. Ende der 60er Jahre, am Ende der ersten sog. Entwicklungsdekade, legte der von der UNO in Auftrag gegebene Pearson-Bericht dann Zahlen vor, die schon damals erhebliche Zweifel an der Tauglichkeit dieses Modells aufkommen ließen. Die Erkenntnis setzte sich durch, daß es so etwas wie Wachstum ohne Entwicklung gibt.

In den 70er Jahren dann kam eine Debatte auf, welche die in den pro Kopf-Wachstums-Betrachtungen ausgeblendete soziale Dimension

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zum Thema hatte. Sie kreiste um den Begriff Grundbedürfnisse. Es gebe, so war die Argumentation, zwar kein universelles Entwicklungsmodell, wie das die Modernisierungstheoretiker - es waren in der Tat fast ausschließlich Männer - unterstellten, wohl aber universelle Bedürfnisse, die zu befriedigen vorrangig die Aufgabe jeder Entwicklungspolitik sei.

Es ist der sog. Grundbedürfnisstrategie im großen und ganzen nicht gelungen, faktische ökonomische und politische Prozesse zu beeinflussen. Hier noch einmal ein Zitat Epplers von vor zehn Jahren: "Was hilft es, wenn wir von der Strategie der Grundbedürfnisse reden, wenn unsere Industrie aber eben nicht an Aufforstung in der Sahelzone oder ländlicher Regionalentwicklung in Tansania interessiert ist, sondern an Atomkraftwerken für Iran, westlich-perfekte Krankenhäuser für Saudi-Arabien, Autostraßen für Nigeria?"

Obwohl also in der entwicklungspolitischen Praxis nicht sehr einflußreich, als Diskussion ist damals ein Anspruchshorizont entworfen worden, bei dessen Ausleuchtung vor dem weitgehend unbeachtete Bereiche und Gruppen Aufmerksamkeit fanden. Zum einen wurde nun, da man von gleichsam naturwüchsig sich einstellenden Lebensverbesserungen aller Bevölkerungsgruppen offenbar nicht mehr ausgehen konnte, in besonderen Zielgruppen gedacht, an deren positivem Erreichen Strategien und Handlungsweisen orientiert sein müssen. Zum anderen tauchte die Sphäre der Reproduktion ins Blickfeld als ein Bereich nicht mehr nur karitativer Zuwendung, sondern systematischer entwicklungspolitischer Aufmerksamkeit.

Im Lichte dadurch aufgeworfener Fragestellungen wurden auch die Frauen entdeckt, als eine Zielgruppe mit besonderen Rollen und Funktionen im Entwicklungsprozeß, die nicht ohne Strafe des Scheiterns übersehen werden können. D. h. sie tauchten natürlich nicht einfach so auf, sondern sie meldeten sich zunehmend häufig zu Wort, in der Dritten Welt wie auch bei uns, machten sich geltend, kämpften. Sie mischten sich in eine entwicklungspolitische Diskussion ein, die sich vorrangig mit Themen des Scheiterns beschäftigte.

- Breiten Wohlstand herzustellen, war nicht gelungen, nicht einmal der unmittelbare Lebensbedarf konnte gesichert werden; im Gegenteil, es gab und gibt eine brennende Ernährungsproblematik. Nun wurde auch der Subsistenzproduktion, in der v. a. Frauen arbeiten, Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, - d. h. - nein, geschenkt wahrlich nicht, in zähen Argumentationen und belegreichen Beweisführungen von vornehmlich Frauen wurde ihre Bedeutung unwiderlegbar gemacht.
- Im Rahmen der Diskussion über die Wirkungslosigkeit oder gar unerwünschte Folgen von Entwiclungshilfe und die Notwendigkeit der Berücksichtigung sozio-kultureller Faktoren zeigte sich die Bedeutung der Geschlechterrollen.
- In der Diskussion über die Ökologie- und Energieproblematik kam es zu einer Zuschreibung der Verantwortung für bedeutende Bereiche (Holz, Wasser) an die Frauen.
- Bei der Diskussion des informellen Sektors in Entwicklungsgesellschaften und den oft schwer durchschaubaren Überlebensstrategien der Bevölkerung erschienen plötzlich die Frauen als wichtige Akteure.

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- Bei der Diskussion alternativer Entwicklungsmodelle von Selbsthilfe und Netzwerken und deren Unterstützung stellte sich plötzlich heraus, daß ein großer Teil der Beteiligten Frauen waren.
- Bevölkerungspolitische Ansätze schließlich meinten, bei Körper und Kopf der Frauen ansetzen zu müssen.

Der Rückblick auf die vergangenen Jahre der "Modernisierung" und auf die sie begleitenden entwicklungspolitischen Strategien also offenbarte:

- weltweit hatten die Frauen erhebliche Statusverluste erlitten, will sagen, ihre Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen hatten sich verschlechtert und ihre Stellung in ihrer jeweiligen Gesellschaft war unterhöhlt.
- Der Verlust bisheriger Positionen in der Gesellschaft hängt eng mit dem Funktionsverlust traditioneller agrarischer Strukturen zusammen. Neue Strukturen indes, das bewies die sich verschärfende Ernährungsproblematik, waren gerade nicht funktionstüchtiger als die alten. Im Gegenteil, es wurden nun mit einem gewissen Bedauern über die angerichtete Zerstörung traditionelle Techniken neu aufgewertet. In dem Zusammenhang erhielt der Begriff Subsistenzwirtschaft erneute, nahezu glanzvolle Bedeutung. Dazu wird in den letzten Jahren viel diskutiert, und dazu wird Erika Märke heute abend noch eine Menge zu sagen haben.

Die Versprechen industrieller Entwicklung versagen auch im produktiven Gewerbe. Weltweit schwankt die offiziell zugegebene Arbeitslosigkeit um 30 %, in der Regel ist der Anteil der Frauen sehr viel höher. Bringt man diese Zahlen in Zusammenhang mit der Geburtenhäufigkeit von Jahrgängen, so stellt sich heraus, daß zwei Drittel aller Kinder in völlig ungesicherte Einkommensverhältnisse hineingeboren werden.

Dies alles sind zunächst einmal Ergebnisse weltweiten Wirtschaftens. Sie müssen nicht unbedingt auch die Entwicklungshilfe im engeren Sinne bestimmen. Tatsächlich aber finden wir diese Erscheinungen in entwicklungspolitischen Strategien und Verfahrensweisen widergespiegelt. In landwirtschaftlichen Modernisierungsprojekten wurden Frauen großflächig verdrängt. Technische Innovationen richteten sich ausschließlich an Männer, die entsprechenden Beratungsdienste sind nahezu ohne Ausnahme von Männern besetzt. Ebenso gaben die Umverteilungsmaßnahmen selbst progressiver Landreformen Rechtstitel an Grund und Boden in der Regel nur in Männerhand. An den Landbesitz gebundene Leistungen wie landwirtschaftliche Zulieferung, Kredite, etc. richteten sich folglich ebenso nur an Männer. So wurde eine soziale Balance zerstört und eine Ernährungssicherungsquelle ausgetrocknet.

Obwohl, und auch das ist vielfach belegt, Frauen bei weitem mehr arbeiten als Männer, richteten sich Angebote technischer Innovationen, die also auf die Arbeitserleichterung und Produktionssteigerung zielen, fast ausschließlich an Männer.

Fragen wir uns, wie das möglich war, so stoßen wir auf drei immer wieder wirksame Fehlerquellen. Wirksam übrigens ganz im Sinne des

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eingangs zitierten Eppler-Satzes in Sachen Wissen und Handeln, wirksam allzuoft auch heute noch, obwohl sie bis zur Ermüdung erforscht und mitgeteilt sind. Allen drei Fehlerquellen ist eines gemeinsam, der Export von Wertbildern und Wahrnehmungsweisen einer westlichen, männlich dominierten Welt.

1. Produktion und Produktivität gelten als männliche Domäne. 80 % der Feldarbeit in Afrika werden von Frauen gemacht, in Asien sind es 60 %, in Lateinamerika rund 40 %; trotzdem wird außerhäusliche weibliche Produktion insbesondere in der Landwirtschaft noch immer weitgehend schlicht übersehen.

2. Die produktive Rolle des Haushaltes, der in der Regel auch die ökonomische Funktion einer Betriebseinheit hat, fällt bis heute aus ökonomischen Betrachtungen weitgehend heraus. Die innerhäusliche Produktion und deren volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung ist schlicht unsichtbar. Bis heute findet sie in keiner nationalen Statistik Berücksichtigung. Statt dessen wird das westliche Modell von bürgerlicher Kleinfamilie aufgepfropft: da wird aus der sehr genau definierten, produktive Verantwortungsbereiche ausfüllenden Bäuerin eine mithelfende Ehefrau gemacht und wird der Mann zum Familienernährer stilisiert. Ein Bild, das im beachtlichen Ausmaß an der ökonomischen und sozialen, auch der emotionalen Realität vorbeigeht.

   Bis heute wird kaum gestellt, was eine Routinefrage sein sollte, nämlich die nach der geschlechtsspezifischen Arbeitsteilung in einer Gesellschaft. Wer macht was? Wer arbeitet wie lang, wie schwer, wie entgolten, wie bewertet in der Gesellschaft?

3. Wird einerseits in das bestehende Gleichgewicht der Geschlechter und zwar zu Ungunsten der Frau gravierend eingegriffen und die produktive, d. h. implizit öffentliche Rolle der Frauen systematisch übersehen, wird andererseits fortwährend verleugnet, daß es so etwas wie eine eigene soziale Welt der Frauen, die als solche beschädigt sein kann, gibt; eine Welt übrigens, die nicht notwendigerweise in Familienfunktionen aufgeht, sondern in der die Frauen als autonome, ihr Leben gestaltende und genießende Menschen leben wollen. Die getrennte soziale Welt der Frauen, insofern sie nicht vorab vom Vorbild der westlichen Kleinfamilie verdeckt wird, wird in der Regel auf ihre versorgende und familienzugewandte Funktion reduziert.

Solche Fakten - ich habe mir ganz bewußt vorgenommen, Sie nicht mit Zahlen zu malträtieren, sondern mich auf das Aufzeigen von Zusammenhängen zu konzentrieren, aber diese Fakten sind natürlich zahlenmäßig belegbar und vielfältig belegt - solche Fakten also zu konstatieren, ist nicht selbstverständlich. Es setzt reale eigene Erfahrungswelten, aus der Vorstellungskraft und Fragen sich speisen, voraus; also das, was in der Frauenbewegung mit dem oft strapazierten Wort Betroffenheit bezeichnet wird.
Die negative Betroffenheit der Frauen in der Dritten Welt von unseren - auch - entwicklungspolitischen Strategien wurde jahrzehntelang nicht gesehen und erst dann zum Thema gemacht, als Frauen bei uns aus solidarischer Betroffenheit gegen viel Wider-

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stand auf dieser Realität beharrten. Es bedarf auch heute noch erheblicher Auseinandersetzung und Kampf, daß diese Realität überhaupt gesehen wird, um sie zum bewußten Gegenstand entwicklungspolitischen Handelns machen zu können.

Das sagt im Prinzip nichts über die Fähigkeit von Männern, sich gleichermaßen mit einer mit Geschlechtern ausgestatteten und in geschlechtsspezifischer Arbeitsteilung organisierten sozialen Wirklichkeit auseinanderzusetzen. Es entspricht aber der Erfahrung, daß diese so und so schlecht geordnete und verwaltete Wirklichkeit, wenn überhaupt, nur dann und nur dort zum Thema wird, wo die bislang in ihr benachteiligten Frauen mit viel Kraft und einigen Blessuren dies Thema auf der Tagesordnung halten. Auf diese Tatsache möchte ich noch einmal zurückkommen, wenn von Schlußfolgerung für unser Handeln die Rede sein soll.

Wenn bislang von Entwicklungspolitik die Rede war und von ihren charakteristischen Schwachstellen in puncto Frauen, dann ist damit zunächst einmal staatliche bilaterale und multilaterale Entwicklungshilfe gemeint. Die Entwicklungsarbeit der Kirchen ist, wenn ich es recht sehe, sehr viel bescheidener angelegt und folgt in vielem anderen Gesetzmäßigkeiten. Allerdings habe ich wenig Hinweise dafür gefunden, daß sie in Sachen patriarchaler Voreingenommenheit und geschlechtsspezifischer Sehschwäche sich merklich von der staatlichen Hilfe unterscheidet. Hier lasse ich mich aber - sehr gern - eines Besseren belehren.

Ende der 70er, Anfang der 80er Jahre, zu einer Zeit also, als längst
- 1975 die UN-Dekade der Frauen ausgerufen war,
- 1979 die UN-Konvention gegen Diskriminierung der Frauen verabschiedet war
- 1980 die erste Weltfrauenkonferenz in Kopenhagen stattfand
- die zweite Weltfrauenkonferenz 1985 in Nairobi angesetzt und vorbereitet wurde

zu einer Zeit also, als die Frage der Beteiligung und Berücksichtigung von Frauen im Entwicklungsprozeß mit unterschiedlichen strategischen Konsequenzen langsam in die Diskussion kam, wurde weltweit eine Erscheinung sichtbar, die wir heute mit dem Wort Schuldenkrise zusammenfassen.

Sozusagen in Klammern übrigens sei gesagt, daß die in den Institutionen der deutschen staatlichen wie nichtstaatlichen Organisationen der entwicklungspolitischen Zusammenarbeit geführte Frauendiskussion in einer merkwürdigen Zeitlücke um mindestens fünf Jahre hinter dem internationalen Stand der Diskussion und daraus entstandenen neueren Ansätzen hinterherhinkt. Insofern hat es bei uns eine von den Krisenerscheinungen der 80er Jahre getrennt geführte Diskussion von Frauenbelangen im Entwicklungsprozeß nicht so ausführlich wie in anderen Ländern gegeben.

Die 80er Jahre, das ist die Zeit, wo die hohe Verschuldung der Entwicklungsländer, an welcher die entwickelte Welt ja ihren - bekannten - Anteil hatte und hat, zur Krise wurde. Nicht, wie die Kredite verwandt wurden, was ihre Verwendung in den Gesellschaften angerichtet hatte, wurde übrigens als die Krise angesehen, sondern die Krise lag in der Unfähigkeit der Länder, ihre Schulden zurück-

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zuzahlen, ja auch nur ihren Schuldendienst zu bewältigen. Unter der Federführung von IWF und Weltbank wurden Land für Land der Dritten Welt sog. Strukturanpassungsprogramme verpaßt, die nun die Krise zur innergesellschaftlich akuten machten.

Mittlerweile ist gänzlich unbestritten und in vielfältigen Studien belegt, von welch schwer faßlicher Härte die sozialen Folgen dieser Strukturanpassungsprogrammatik sind. Es ist, so der Titel eines umfassenden UNICEF-Berichts von 1987, von der Notwendigkeit einer "Anpassung mit menschlichem Gesicht" die Rede, und allein darin ist ja eine bemerkenswerte Aussage über die bisherige Praxis enthalten.

In dieser Studie wie in vielen anderen ist auch belegt, wie die Härten der Strukturanpassung insbesondere die Frauen treffen. Ihre meist unteren Arbeitsplätze im öffentlichen Dienst fallen als erste dem Rotstift zum Opfer ebenso wie die Arbeitsplätze in der von Importliberalisierung und Abwertung bedrängten Kleinindustrie.

Die Lebenshaltungskosten sind allenthalben dramatisch gestiegen, die soziale Infrastruktur, Schulen, Erziehung, administrative Dienstleistungen, öffentlicher Transport etc. wurden dem Verfall anheim gegeben, dafür aber mit oft unerschwinglichen Preisen belegt. Die Daten der volkswirtschaftlichen Gesamtrechnungen weisen überwiegend Rückfall und wenig Anzeichen auf, daß diese ungeheuren sozialen Kosten tatsächlich, wie uns IWF und Weltbank versichern, nur vorübergehende Anpassungserscheinungen sind.

Es sind v. a. die Frauen, denen die Last der Überlebenssicherung überantwortet wird. Ganz konkret, von morgens bis abends. Sie mühen sich, irgendwie doch die Kinder satt zu kriegen, sie pflegen die um vieles anfälliger gewordenen Kranken und Kränklichen in der Familie, sie versuchen, durch einen Flickenteppich verschiedener Aktivitäten im sog. informellen Sektor den geringer gewordenen männlichen Anteil am Familieneinkommen wettzumachen, bzw. generell die gestiegenen Lebenshaltungskosten aufzufangen.

Nur der geringste Teil dieser Überlebenssicherung und seiner Kosten ist in Daten zu fassen. Der erschreckende Anstieg der Anämie bei Frauen z. B., der ist sozusagen faßbar. Aber was ist mit den Erscheinungen, die selbst bei gleichbleibendem Familieneinkommen aus z. B. Peru und Mexiko beschrieben werden? Wie da alle mehr schuften, auf jegliche Erholung und Vergnügen verzichten, wie krisenhaftes Zusammen- und Durchhalten, Seite an Seite stehen mit dem Verzicht auf individuelle Entfaltung, mit zunehmender Verrohung und einer Zunahme von Gewalt gegen Frauen.

Die zentrale Rolle der Frauen an der Basis der Überlebenssicherung ist mittlerweile zu einer weitverbreiteten Kenntnis geworden und so sind auch die entwicklungspolitischen Ansätze der 80er Jahre wie nie zuvor um Frauen bemüht. Das ist begrüßenswert. Aber wir sollten vor der Entdeckung der Frauen in der Entwicklungspolitik und in den Entwicklungsländern nicht die eben angedeuteten Zusammenhänge vergessen.

Weil sich die Durchsetzung und die Umsetzung dieser "Entdeckung" bei uns mit den Kämpfen und Einklagungen engagierter Frauen verknüpft, sollten wir daraus nicht umstandslos auf eine besonders

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fortschrittliche und emanzipationsförderliche Strategie schließen. Mal ganz abgesehen von dem faktischen Niederschlag in finanziellen und administrativen Ressourcen für Frauenförderung und Frauenpolitik, die in schlicht beschämendem Verhältnis zur rhetorischen Ausbeute des Frauenthemas stehen.

"Brauchen wir wirklich Kontaktlinsen, um mit der Unsichtbarkeit von Frauen im Entwicklungsprozeß aufzuraumen ?"



Quelle: Verbindungsausschuß der NROs für Entwicklungsfragen bei der EG, Brüssel 6/89

Überlebenssicherung hat zunächst einmal nichts mit Emanzipation zu tun. Daß Frauen das Überleben sichern, und nicht ihr Glück, ihr Wohlbehagen, ihre Entfaltung, - ihr eigenes und das der ihnen lieben Menschen - ist eine gänzlich aufgezwungene Angelegenheit. Überlebenssicherung ist eine Last, eine schwere Bürde und Zumutung, die sich bleischwer über alle Hoffnungen, Träume und Wünsche an das Leben legt.

Nach neueren Ansätzen der Überlebenssicherung gefragt, fällt mir zunächst einmal die Nahrungsmittelhilfe ein. Sie soll hier erwähnt, aber in ihren Ausiwirkungen und ihrer Bedeutung nicht weiter diskutiert werden; denn, ich denke, hier interessieren mehr entwicklungspolitische Strategien, die sich selber als zukunftsweisend begreifen.

Zu denen gehört ganz zweifellos die vom Anspruchshorizont her von staatlicher wie kirchlicher Seite geteilte Selbsthilfeförderung, die in den 80er Jahren unter die Zielsetzung "Armutsbekämpfung" gestellt wird. "Armutsbekämpfung durch Selbsthilfe", so lautet auch der Titel der gemeinsamen Einheit von staatlichen und nichtstaatlichen Trägern der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, die nach dreijähriger Tätigkeit vor wenigen Tagen formell ihre Arbeit abgeschlossen hat.

Die Förderung von Selbsthilfe als ein auf praktische Kritik herrschender Verhältnisse gerichteter Zusammenschluß von Menschen, die

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auf bessere Welten nicht warten, sondern sie ein Stück weit selber herstellen und um sie kämpfen wollen, die Förderung solcher Gruppen und Aktivitäten ist seit langen Jahren ein Schwerpunkt kirchlicher Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Jetzt reden wir ja aber genau genommen gar nicht mehr von Entwicklung oder so etwas Luxuriösem wie Grundbedürfnisbefriedigung. Wir reden von Armutsbekämpfung und Überlebenssicherung. Und wir stellen fest, daß dieselbe Bewegung, die Selbstorganisation von Menschen, unter veränderten "Rahmenbedingungen" einen sehr anderen sozialen Sinn erhält. Im Französischen läßt sich dieser Prozeß mit den beiden Begriffen autopromotion und autoaide besonders deutlich ausdrücken.

Zunehmend werden vormals staatlich bereitgestellte Leistungen der materiellen und sozialen Infrastruktur der Selbsthilfe überantwortet. Das heißt dann Selbsthilfe des Dorfes, der Gemeinde, des Stadtteils, aber, wenn Sie genau hinsehen, dann schleppen die Frauen die Steine und das Wasser für den Schulbau, und schreiben sie potentielle Spender an, um das gekürzte Drittel des Krankenhaus-Budgets per Spenden aufzubringen; sie tun es unentgeltlich, versteht sich. Dies festzustellen, nimmt Selbsthilfe als gemeinsames Anpacken und Sich-Einmischen überhaupt nicht an Wert. Aber wir müssen doch auch sehen, daß solche Motivationen zunehmend als überaus nützlich angeeignet und in ihren überschießenden Teilen abgefiltert wird, und daß selbst da, wo dies nicht geschieht, der soziale Gehalt von Selbsthilfe-Aktivitäten aufgrund der Krisenbedingungen erodiert. Das Versagen des formellen wirtschaftlichen Systems, nämlich die Unfähigkeit, hinreichend einkommenssichernde Arbeitsplätze bereitzustellen, hat eine andere Form der Selbsthilfe, den sog. informellen Sektor, auf den Plan gebracht. Einst, ohne damals so genannt zu werden, als eher beschämender, unkontrollierter Wildwuchs randständiger Krepelexistenzen gesehen und in vielen Ländern noch in den 70er Jahren mit Polizeigewalt bekämpft, wurde er in den 80er Jahren zur Geheimwaffe in Sachen galoppierender Verarmung. Und dies ganz überwiegend, das entspricht der Empirie, in Frauenhänden. Entsprechend werden in den meisten Institutionen der entwicklungspolitischen Zusammenarbeit informeller Sektor und Frauenförderung in eins gedacht und gehandelt.

Wir werden dazu im Laufe der Tagung noch einiges hören. Ich möchte deshalb hier nur sagen, daß ich die Förderung von Frauen im informellen Sektor, die Unterstützung beim Aufbau lebenssichernder Einkommensquellen also, für eine ganz wichtige Angelegenheit halte, deren Bedeutung für Leben und Lebensgefühl der Frauen meist weit über den wirtschaftlichen Aspekt hinausgeht. Allerdings wird ungeachtet heftiger Selbstbegeisterung, etwas für Frauen zu tun, faktisch an einkommensschaffende Frauenprojekte und -programme in einem Ausmaß mit Wohlfahrtsorientiertheit, Unprofessionalität (sog. freiwillige, also unentgoltene Arbeit) und Sparsamkeitserwägungen herangegangen, wie das bei vorwiegend und reinen Männerprojekten nie der Fall sein würde. Ein Männerprojekt würde als Männerprojekt gar nicht auffallen, dafür würde die bei Frauenprojekten [1] von allen Beteiligten sofort für unzumutbar erklärt werden.

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1 "normale" Herangehensweise

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Weil Überleben ja nicht nur eine Frage materieller Fortexistenz ist, sondern auch soziale Strukturen, Lebensräume von fühlenden, hoffenden, sehnsüchtigen Menschen meint, möchte ich noch einmal auf die sozialen Räume der Frauen zurückkommen. Diese Räume sind, wie gesagt, durch die Veränderungen im produktiven Gefüge zunehmend beeinträchtigt. Förderstrategien und Unterstützungsprogramme, die sich nicht auf spezifische, den Frauen zugeschriebene Rollen, also Mutter und Familienversorgerin, beschränken, sondern die ganz direkt die Frau als auch für sich selbst fühlenden, hoffenden, sehnsüchtigen Mensch ansprechen, solche Ansätze haben es in den allenthalben männerdominierten mit Entwicklungsprozessen befaßten Organisationen extrem schwer. Ein technisch daherkommender Eingriff spricht immer für sich.

Da müssen die Menschen sich eben umstellen und anpassen; das ist Sachzwang. Ein wirtschaftlich begründeter Schritt wird gemeinhin mit der Vokabel innovativ versehen und ist selbst bei größeren Veränderungszumutungen leicht akzeptabel. Eine soziale Intervention, wie z. B. die Öffnung gesellschaftlicher Räume für Frauen, die Ermutigung ihrer expliziten Bedürfnisartikulation auf entscheidungsrelevaten Ebenen, die Förderung entsprechender Strukturen, das alles wird allzu oft unter Rekurs auf lauter hehre Werte wie Sensibilität und Respekt als kultureller Übergriff abgewehrt. Es ist für die Frauen aber wichtig, daß solche Räume, die keinem anderen Zweck als ihrer eigenen Entfaltung und der Stärkung ihrer Auseinandersetzungsfähigkeit in der Gesellschaft dienen, gefördert werden.

Nun noch ein paar abschließende Worte zu einigen handlungsstrategischen Schlußfolgerungen:

1. Es wird Ihnen und Ihren eigenen Wirkungsorten kaum entgangen sein und ich habe das hier an den Beziehungen zwischen Realität und ihrer Artikulationen lediglich noch einmal widergespiegelt: Die Art, wie der Gang der Dinge die Frauen berührt, wird zunächst einmal von Frauen und von niemand anderem gesehen. Frauen bringen die Themen, die meist Defizitthemen sind, auf die Tagesordnung, sie werden darin nicht gerade ermutigt, sie lassen gleichwohl nicht locker. Das hat etwas, das ist sehr banal, mit dem Interesse und der Betroffenheit von Frauen zu tun. Betroffenheit und elementares Interesse sind auch die Kräfte, welche die Kreativität und die Zähigkeit von Frauen beim Auffinden und Durchsetzen von Gegenstrategien ausmachen. Wie gesagt, ich bin sicher, Sie kennen das alles aus den beruflichen Zusammenhängen, in denen Sie arbeiten.

   Weil das alles eigentlich ganz banale und auf der Hand liegende Zusammenhänge und Erfahrungen sind, ist die strategische Schlußfolgerung aus dieser Beobachtung eigentlich ähnlich simpel und mindestens ebenso sehr eine schlichte entwickungspolitische Effizienz wie des christlichen Menschenbildes: Die Repräsentanz von Frauen in den Institutionen, übrigens auch im Sprachgebrauch der Institutionen, muß ganz erheblich gesteigert werden. Es müssen mehr Frauen Zugang zu den mit Entwicklungsprozessen befaßten

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Institutionen finden und die Institutionen mussen den Zugang zu den Frauen finden. Das ist von Bedeutung für die Organisation der Arbeitswelt, aber auch die der privaten. Ich will darauf nicht näher eingehen; nichts davon sind neue Erkenntnisse, aber fast alles daran sind überfällige Handlungsfelder vor aller die weite Welt meinenden Entwicklungsstrategie.

2. Wenn, wie wir sahen, das was im neudeutschen Entwicklungsjargon elegant "Rahmenbedingungen" genannt wird, wenn also internationale Produktions-, Handels- und Finanzstrategien die Lebensmöglichkeiten derer, die in diesem Rahmen ein Auskommen suchen müssen, dermaßen und dermaßen katastrophal bestimmen, so muß, so ermüdend und dem Geruch dauernder Negativelei das ausgesetzt ist, Benennen und Bekämpfen der in den Rahmenbedingungen wirksamen Herrschaft und Ungerechtigkeit die entwicklungspolitische Aufgabe Nr. 1 sein und bleiben.

3. Für entwicklungspolitisches Handeln im engeren Sinne, also auf Entwicklungsinterventionen, -programme und -projekte bezogene Strategien, scheint es mir unerläßlich, die Frauenfrage als Teil, ich sage es mal bewußt platt, als Teil von job efficiency zu installieren. Sie muß in das ganz normale Berufsverständnis all derer, deren Tätigkeit im weitesten Sinne Entwicklungsprozesse berühren, eingehen, sei es in den durchführenden Organisationen selber, in der öffentlichen Rede, in der Lehre, in der Arbeit, in der Gemeinde oder an anderen Orten. Wenn die angemessene Beteiligung und Berücksichtigung von Frauen in den bis jetzt überwiegend männlich dominierten Institutionen dauerhaft als Postulat und Einklagen, mithin als weitgehend "von außen" kommender Impuls erlebt wird, wird man sich dieses unbequemen Störfaktors früher oder später mit leisem oder auch gar nicht so leisem Aufatmen entledigen. Es wird bald wichtigere Fragen geben, die Umweltproblematik z. B, das bedrängt doch nun wirklich alle Menschen. Daß auch dieses Problem, wie alle anderen, die Menschen nach Geschlecht unterschiedlich betrifft, daß, wer das nicht sieht, sein Arbeitsfeld nicht gut überblickt, daß, wer nicht nach der geschlechtsspezifischen Arbeitsteilung in den Ecken der Welt, in die sein Handeln interveniert, zu fragen versteht, sein Handwerk nicht beherrscht, das halte ich für einen ganz wichtigen Tatbestand und ein dringendes Feld entwicklungspolitischer Bildungsarbeit.

Mit diesen Erwägungen möchte ich meinen Beitrag jetzt erstmal beschließen. Wir werden sicherlich, und darauf freue ich mich, im Laufe der Tagung auf einzelne Aspekte vertiefend zurückkommen können. Ich danke Ihnen!□

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EVANGELISCHE ZENTRALSTELLE
FÜR ENTWICKLUNGSHILFE E.V.

Erika Märke:

Frauenförderung oder "Entwicklung aus Frauensicht"?
- Thesen zur Frauenförderung im Kontext verschiedener Entwicklungsmodelle

1. **These:** **Die in den 70er Jahren kreierte Strategie der "Integration von Frauen in die Entwicklung" basiert auf dem Mythos der Ausgeschlossenheit ("Unsichtbarkeit") von Frauen aus der Entwicklung. Insofern hat sie dazu beigetragen, die strukturellen Defizite des Entwicklungsmodells selbst zu verdecken.**

Im herrschenden Entwicklungsmodell bleibt der größte Teil lebensschaffender und -bewahrender Tätigkeiten gesellschaftlich "unsichtbar" (z. B. in der Statistik des Bruttosozialprodukts), weil er unbezahlt geleistet und nicht über den Markt vermittelt wird (privater Haushalt, Subsistenzproduktion). Damit bleiben auch die Trägerinnen dieser Tätigkeiten "unsichtbar", obwohl sie die unverzichtbare Überlebensgrundlage einer jeden Gesellschaft schaffen.

Tatsächlich sind die Frauen also immer systematisch in die Entwicklung integriert gewesen, d. h. ihre strukturelle und ideologische Unterordnung ist kein Zufall, sondern wichtiger Bestandteil des Systems. Beispielsweise ist männliche Erwerbsarbeit in der bisher üblichen Form nicht ohne die kostenlose Haus- und Familienarbeit der Frauen denkbar. Die Reproduktion männlicher Arbeitskraft wie auch die gesellschaftliche Reproduktion als solche tauchen weder in der betrieblichen noch in der volkswirtschaftlichen Kostenrechnung auf. Indem die Integrationsstrategie nunmehr die Effizienz und Produktivität der Frauen in den ihnen zugeschriebenen Funktionsbereichen steigern will und dies zur "Frauenförderung" erklärt, verschleiert sie den strukturellen Unrechts- und Diskriminierungscharakter und trägt damit zu seiner Verfestigung und zur zusätzlichen Ausbeutung von Frauen bei.

2. **These:** **Das westlich-abendländische, bürgerlich oder auch sozialistisch geprägte Konzept der Emanzipation ist eine Falle.**

Es suggeriert, daß die strukturelle Benachteiligung von Frauen im Sinne einer "nachholenden Entwicklung" ("catching up") aufgehoben werden könnte. Ideologisch entspricht es dem Entwicklungskonzept als solchem, das

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der sogenannten "Dritten Welt" vorspiegelt, sie könne den Modernisierungs"vorsprung" der Industrieländer aufholen. Übersehen wird dabei, daß Entwicklung und Emanzipation in diesem Sinne nur einer Minderheit auf Kosten einer Mehrheit möglich ist. Eine Studie kommt zu dem Schluß, daß es innerhalb von 48 Stunden zu einem weltweiten Zusammenbruch käme, hätte die gesamte Menschheit einen Ressourcenverbrauch, der dem eines(r) Durchschnittsbürgers/in in einem Industrieland entspricht.

Emanzipation kann es also nur für eine Minderheit privilegierter Mittel- und Oberschichtsfrauen hier und in der "Dritten Welt" auf dem Rücken einer armen, strukturell weiterhin benachteiligten Mehrheit geben. Damit hilft die Emanzipationsstrategie, die bestehende Asymmetrie zu erhalten und dividiert zudem die feministische Bewegung in Gewinnerinnen und Verliererinnen.

Abgesehen davon müssen sich Frauen grundsätzlich fragen, ob sie mittels einer so verstandenen Emanzipation an Strukturen partizipieren wollen, die Ungerechtigkeit, Unfrieden und das weltweite ökonomisch-ökologische Disaster produzieren.

3. These: Die Zuspitzung der Weltentwicklungskrise in den 80er Jahren führt zu einer "Feminisierung der Armut", die in der Strategie der "Feminisierung der Entwicklung" ihre Entsprechung findet.

Die deutlichsten Phänomene, auf die sich die Strukturkrise des herrschenden Entwicklungsmodells zuspitzt, sind die weltweite Verschuldung und ökologische Zerstörung. In beiden Fällen wird die Hauptlast aufgrund bestehender Arbeitsteilung auf die Frauen abgewälzt. Zunehmende Verarmung und Verelendung müssen von ihnen als den Hauptverantwortlichen für die Überlebensproduktion aufgefangen werden.

Entwicklungspolitisch spiegelt sich dies wider in einer breiten Mobilisierung des Denk- und Arbeitspotentials von Frauen.

Zum einen fungieren sie auf der Theorie- und Konzeptionsebene zunehmend als "Rettungsengel" für eine brüchig gewordene Wachstums- und Modernisierungsideologie: alternative Denkansätze aus der Frauenforschung, wie etwa der sogenannte Subsistenzansatz und der ökofeministische Ansatz[1], finden mehr und mehr Eingang in die generelle Entwicklungsdiskussion.

Zum anderen werden Frauen im globalen Maßstab als Krisenmanagerinnen eingesetzt. Besondere Ausbildungs- und Kreditprogramme etwa dienen der Erschließung zusätzlicher Einkomensquellen, auch in bisher "frauenuntypi-

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[1] *vgl. Kasten auf der folgenden Seite*

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Für eine öko-feministische Gesellschaft

Maria Mies, Patriarchat und Kapital, Frauen in der internationalen Arbeitsteilung, 1988, Zurich

Gewalt gegen Frauen - ein Thema, bei dem wir hier in der Bundesrepublik an psychische und physische Mißhandlungen von Frauen denken, gewinnt in einem Land der Dritten Welt noch andere Dimensionen: Mitgiftmorde an verheirateten Frauen in Indien, Fruchtwasserpunktur (Amniozentese) als Methode der Geschlechtsbestimmung und als Konsequenz die Abtreibung weiblicher Foeten.

Das ist nur ein Thema, das Mies behandelt. Sie geht in ihrer Analyse von der Position aus, daß der Weltmarkt auf der Kombination der geschlechtlichen mit der internationalen Arbeitsteilung beruht. Aus dieser Perspektive untersucht sie die Geschichte der Frauenbewegung, Ursprünge der Unterdrückung von Frauen und stellt die Verbindung her zwischen Frauen hier und in der Dritten Welt.

(Haus-) Frauen hier als Konsumentinnen von Produkten, die von Frauen in der Dritten Welt produziert werden, die diese aber nicht selbst konsumieren können. Der Zusammenhang wird hergestellt zwischen Arbeitslosigkeit von Frauen in den Industrieländern und der Beschäftigung von Frauen in der Massenproduktion von elektronischen Gütern und Textilien in "freien Produktionszonen" in den Entwicklungsländern, Heimarbeit sowie der Frauenarbeit in der Landwirtschaft im exportorientierten Großanbau (cash crop production) von Gemüse, Früchten oder Blumen.

Die Rolle der Frauen in nationalen Befreiungsbewegungen und sozialistischen Ländern zeigt - so Mies - , daß sich auch dort das patriarchalische Geschlechterverhältnis nicht grundlegend geändert hat. Grund dafür ist, daß kein entscheidender Bewußtseinswandel stattgefunden hat, die Produktionsverhältnisse noch immer auf der geschlechtsspezifischen Arbeitsteilung basieren und die traditionellen Familienstrukturen aufrecht erhalten werden.

Frauenunterdrückung ist also weder ein Resultat biologischer oder ausschließlich kultureller Bedingungen noch bloß von ökonomischen Faktoren abhängig, sondern beruht in letzter Instanz auf der Gewalt des Mannes über die Frau, die Natur und abhängige Länder. Dem setzt Maria Mies die Utopie einer "öko-feministischen Gesellschaft" entgegen, die basiert auf einem neuen Arbeitsbegriff, neuen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Strukturen sowie einem bewußten Umgang mit Umwelt und Natur. Für den Kampf um die Anerkennung der menschlichen Würde der Frauen, der Ablehnung ihres Objektstatus sowie einer neuen Solidarität, die über Klassen- und Rassenschranken sowie Grenzen hinausgeht, gibt es schon jetzt Beispiele: Gemeinsame Aktionen von holländischen, deutschen, thailändischen und philipinischen Feministinnen gegen Sextourismus oder Kampagnen von Frauen aus der "Ersten" und der "Dritten" Welt um Themen wie Bevölkerungspolitik, Gen- und Reproduktionstechnik.

Christa Widmaier

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schen" Bereichen; die allzeit verfügbare weibliche Reserve wird mobilisiert, wenn schon nicht zur Entwicklung, dann doch zur Armutsbekämpfung. Insbesondere die armen Frauen des Südens werden bis an die äußerste Grenze ihrer Belastbarkeit für die Überlebenssicherung benutzt, die in den 80er Jahren immer schwieriger geworden ist. Die im Zusammenhang mit der Verschuldung aufgelegten Strukturanpassungprogramme von Weltwährungsfonds und Weltbank haben in vielen Ländern dazu geführt, daß die Preise für Güter des Grundbedarfs gestiegen und staatliche Sozialausgaben gestrichen worden sind. Das bedeutet für die Frauen mehr Zeitaufwand und zusätzliche Arbeitslast, um das Existenzminimum für die Familie zu sichern. Dies wird noch verstärkt durch eine Tendenz zur zunehmenden "Entstaatlichung" gesellschaftlicher Verantwortung durch Verschiebung in den "informellen Sektor", der bezeichnenderweise gerade in den letzten Jahren immer stärker zu einer Förderungspriorität staatlicher und internationaler Institutionen geworden ist.

Bei Licht besehen ist also die "Feminisierung der Entwicklung" aus der Sicht der Frauen weniger ein Hoffnungszeichen als ein Alarmsignal.

4. These: **Frauen sind auf der Suche nach Ansätzen einer Entwicklung aus Frauensicht als gesamtgesellschaftliche Alternative zum Wachstums- und Modernisierungsmodell, in der die strukturellen Voraussetzungen für die Unterdrückung von Frauen, die Ausbeutung der sogenannten Entwicklungsländer und die Zerstörung der Natur abgebaut werden.**

Die Vernichtung der gesamten Schöpfung ist real geworden und jederzeit möglich. Die ökologisch-ökonomische Zeitbombe tickt. Die Beweise für das Scheitern des herrschenden Entwicklungsmodells mit seinem reduktionistischen, destruktiven Weltbild und Wirtschaftskonzept häufen sich. Und doch bestehen die es erhaltenden Strukturen fort. Auch Frauen tragen seinen Fortbestand mit - als Opfer, Tolerierende oder Mittäterinnen.

Die alternative Konzeptions- und Theoriebildung auf seiten der Frauen stagniert. Zum Teil, weil sie sich instrumentalisieren läßt für Krisenmanagement- und Emanzipationsstrategien. Zum Teil auch, weil ihren Protagonistinnen in den von Männern gehaltenen Bastionen universitärer und (entwicklungs-)politischer Institutionen erheblicher Widerstand entgegengebracht wird.

5. These: Orientierung für eine Entwicklung aus Frauensicht ist die Vision einer gerechten, friedlichen, überlebensfähigen und schöpfungsbewahrenden Gesamtgesellschaft. Aus ihrer besonderen Geschichte, der ihnen aufgrund ihres

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Geschlechtes zugeordneten Rolle und den daraus erwachsenen Erfahrungen können gerade Frauen eine solche Vision entscheidend gestalten.

Entwicklung vollzieht sich bis heute als eine weltweite Ausdehnung wachstumsorientierter Modernisierung auf Kosten der Natur/Schöpfung, der Frauen und der sogenannten Dritten Welt.

Wichtige ideologische Wurzeln dieses Entwicklungsmodells reichen zurück bis in die historische Periode der Aufklärung, in der die Natur zum Chaos und die Frau zur Natur erklärt wurde; beide galten als gefährlich und minderwertig. Der weiße Mann aus dem Norden fühlte sich berufen, sie zu "zähmen" und zu "kultivieren", mit Hilfe von Naturwissenschaft und Technik "Ordnung zu schaffen", das Chaos unter Kontrolle zu bringen. Mit dem Anspruch auf universale Geltung wurde diese Interpretation der Welt - u. a. über Kolonialismus und Mission - in die südliche Hemisphäre übertragen.



Mit dem herrschenden Entwicklungsmodell ist ein Wirtschaftskonzept verbunden, das lediglich die über den Markt vermittelten monetisierbaren Tätigkeiten und Güter registriert und bewertet (für "wert" befindet und mit einem Preis versieht). Natur und Frauen werden weitgehend kostenlos (aus)genutzt: nach wie vor gibt es höchst selten eine Schadensersatzpflicht für den Raubbau an natürlichen Ressourden, und die unbezahlte Familien-, Haus- und Subsistenzarbeit von Frauen wird als

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selbstverständlich hingenommen. Zunehmende weltwirtschaftliche Integration und internationale Arbeitsteilung verweisen auch die sogenannte "Dritte Welt" auf eine solche Funktion, mit der eine wertemäßige und ökonomische Unterordnung unter den nordlichen Teil der Welt verbunden ist.

Vor der globalen Ausdehnung dieses Entwicklungsmodells galt die Natur als Schöpferin und Quelle allen Reichtums und darum als besonders schutzwürdig. Naturverbundene Lebens- und Wirtschaftsformen und ihre Trägerinnen und Träger (vor allem Bauern und Frauen), die ein umfassendes systematisches Wissen über die Prozesse der Reproduktion natürlichen Reichtums hatten, wurden hochgeachtet. Noch heute finden sich sozio-kulturelle und ökonomische Elemente dessen bei Stammesgruppen in Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika. Ebenso haben Frauen bis heute in allen Teilen der Welt aufgrund der geschlechtsbezogenen Arbeitsteilung die lebensschaffenden und -bewahrenden Funktionen (Nahrungsmittelproduktion, Betreuung und Erziehung der Kinder etc.) behalten und verfügen über ein entsprechendes Wissen.

Voraussetzung für eine gerechte und überlebensfähige Entwicklung wäre es, den heute kosten- und wertlosen Gütern ihren tatsächlichen gesellschaftlichen Wert wiederzugeben und damit ihre Produzentinnen und Produzenten in den sozialen Status zu versetzen, der ihnen zusteht. Darin liegt eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die neue Bewertung von Arbeit - der sogenannten produktiven und reproduktiven Tätigkeiten - und damit auch für eine Neuverteilung dieser Tätigkeiten zwischen Frauen und Männern. Eine solche Neubewertung ökonomischer Tätigkeiten und natürlicher Ressourcen kann langfristig auch die asymmetrische internationale Arbeitsteilung beeinflussen. Sie könnte letztlich hinführen zu einer Regionalisierung von Wirtschaftskreisläufen, in denen bedarfs- statt wachstumsorientiert produziert wird, in denen sich menschliches Wirtschaften den natürlichen Bedingungen anpaßt und schonend mit den Ressourcen der Region umgeht und in denen die geschlechtsbezogene Teilung und Ungleichwertigkeit von "Produktion" und "Reproduktion" aufgehoben ist.

Auf diese Weise können Frauen und Männer gemeinsam einen anderen Entwicklungsweg einschlagen. Insofern bedeutet Frauenförderung im kirchlichen Entwicklungsdienst heute eher die Suche nach einer "Entwicklung aus Frauensicht", an der alle teilnehmen und teilhaben sollen□

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Peru: "Jede Frau wirft in den Topf, was sie hat"

*von Judith Schüpfer**

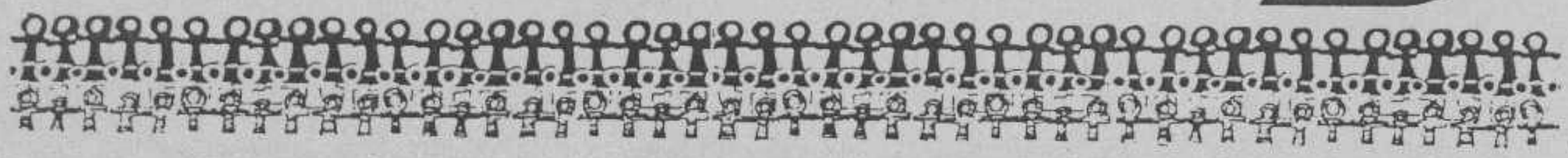
16. September 1988, *Cusco*, 16.00 Uhr. Eine alte Frau sitzt vor der Kirche auf dem Boden. Vor ihr steht eine Schachtel mit weissen Kerzen, die sie den BesucherInnen der Kirche zu verkaufen versucht. Resolut spricht sie mich an. Die Kraft in ihrer Stimme verhindert es, dass ich überhaupt auf den Gedanken kommen könnte, keine Kerzen zu kaufen. Obwohl sie heute doppelt soviel wie noch vor wenigen Tagen kosten.
Alle Preise sind gestiegen, seit der neue Wirtschaftsminister *Abel Salinas* sein neues, dem IWF genehmes Massnahmenpaket vorgestellt hat, das die rasante Talfahrt der peruanischen Volkswirtschaft bremsen soll. Die Löhne sind eingefroren, die Preise für Nahrungsmittel, Medikamente und Treibstoff um das Drei- bis Sechsfache gestiegen. Von einem Tag auf den andern. Und von einem Tag auf den andern haben viele ihre Arbeit verloren, weil sie es sich nicht mehr leisten können, mit dem öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel zur Arbeit zu fahren. Und Hunderttausende leiden Hunger. Für ein Brötchen, das vorher drei Inti (rund zwei Rappen) gekostet hat, müssen heute zehn bis zwölf Inti bezahlt werden.
Ich kaufe der alten Frau fünf Kerzen ab. Trotz der Teuerung scheue ich mich, den von ihr genannten Preis einfach zu bezahlen und feilsche ein wenig. Sie könnte sonst beleidigt sein, trotz allem. Nach einem kurzen Geplänkel drückt sie mir sechs Kerzen für den Preis von fünf in die Hand und lacht mir ins Gesicht. Das beruhigt mich, ich schliesse daraus, dass sie ein *"lohnendes"* Geschäft gemacht hat. Ihr weisses Haar leuchtet auf in der Spätnachmittagssonne, in ihren hundertjährigen Augen blitzt kurz ein verborgener Schalk.
In der Kirche hat sich eine Gruppe von Frauen versammelt. Sie beten um Kraft. Ihre Art, sich der Resignation entgegenzustellen. Die meisten von ihnen wirken abgearbeitet und alt. Ihre dunklen Kopftücher wecken in mir den Eindruck von in sich gekehrter Entschlossenheit, eine fast fatalistisch wirkende Standhaftigkeit.
Auf der *Plaza de Armas* und in den umliegenden Gassen haben sich inzwischen Tausende von Menschen versammelt. Demonstrationszüge formieren sich. *"Halt Garcia"* und *"Todesgefahr"* haben die Leute auf ihre Transparente geschrieben und sie skandieren:*"Das geeinte Volk kann nie besiegt werden"*. Es sind Frauen, die die Gruppen anführen - Lehrerinnen, Hausfrauen, indianische Strassenhändlerinnen, die kleinen Kinder mit farbigen Tüchern auf den Rücken gebunden. An den Strassenrändern und unter den Arkaden stehen finstere Gestalten mit gespreizten Beinen: Militärgrenadiere, gesichtslos mit ihren schwarzen geschlossenen Helmen, bewaffnet mit Maschinenpistolen, Tränengaspetarden und Knüppeln. Die Stimmen der Frauen werden lauter und wütender, wenn sie an den Bewaffneten vorbeiziehen. Einige schmeissen Steine in die Fenster eines teuren Restaurants. Hier zu essen können sich nur die TouristInnen und die Reichen leisten.
In den Armenquartieren von Perus Städten werden in diesen Tagen unzählige Gemeinschaftsküchen gegründet. Dass eine Frau sieben oder zehn Kinhder hat, ist keine Seltenheit. Dass viele Väter dieser Kinder sich eines Tages von ihren Familien *"abgesetzt"* haben, auch nicht. Die Frauen können ihre Kinder nicht mehr ernähren und tun sich zusammen. Jede wirft in den gemeinsamen Kochtopf, was sie hat. Auf fast wunderbar anmutende Weise bekommen so immer wieder alle etwas zu essen, wenn auch längst nicht genug.
Isabel ist heute auf der Plaza nicht zu sehen. Hier verkauft sie sonst ihre Postkarten. Schon mehrmals haben wir hier eine Stunde miteinander geplaudert und einander erzählt, wie wir leben. Isabel ist 21 Jahre alt und Mutter dreier Kinder. Die zwei Kleinen hat sie immer bei sich, beide Mädchen sind krank. Sie sind fiebrig und husten. Auch ihr Mann war eines Tages nicht mehr da. Und Isabel kann es sich nicht leisten, Medikamente zu kaufen für ihre Töchter. Einmal erlebe ich mit, wie sie ihrer zweijährigen Tochter beibringt, den TouristInnen Postkarten zu verkaufen. *"Die Touristen kaufen einem kleinen Kind schneller etwas ab"*, sagt sie lakonisch. Isabel will Geld von mir. Sie wolle sich damit die Lizezn für den Verkauf von Pullovern erstehen, sagt sie. Mit Pullovern könne sie mehr verdienen als mit Karten. Ich gebe ihr den verlangten Betrag mit dem Gefühl, eine von vielleicht vielen TouristInnen zu sein, die Isabel auszunehmen versucht. Sie sagt zwar immer wieder, sie wolle mir das Geld in einer Woche zurückgeben. Ich sage nichts dazu. Es könnte ja sein, dass sie das wirklich vorhat. Und falls nicht, ist es für sie vielleicht weniger erniedrigend als sagen zu müssen:*"Ich brauche das Geld und kann es nicht zurückgeben."* Vermutlich käme sie meistens gar nicht an das Geld heran, wenn sie *"ehrlich"* wäre - ehrlich, so wie wir uns das vorstellen.
Ich habe die junge Isabel nie wieder gesehen. Sie hat vorerst Wege gefunden, um zu überleben und ihre Kinder nicht verhungern zu lassen. Ich denke oft an sie und frage mich, wie lange sie das mit mSchlauheit schaffen wird. Ihre Schlauheit ist ihre einzige Chance.

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Quelle: Informationsdienst Dritte Welt, 2/1989

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Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era



Neuma Aguiar:[1]

Die Krise in Lateinamerika und ihre Auswirkungen auf Frauen

Eine Zusammenfassung der Forschungsarbeit von Mitgliedern des DAWN-Netzwerks in Lateinamerika

Die Arbeit der lateinamerikanischen DAWN[2]-Forschungsgruppe konzentriert sich auf vier Hauptbereiche der lateinamerikanischen Krise: 1. die komparativen Auswirkungen von sozioökonomischem Wachstum und Rezession auf Beschäftigungsmuster bei Männern und Frauen (in Arbeitslosigkeit, Arbeitsbereich, Zahl der Arbeitsstunden, Status der Arbeit und Einkommen); 2. die Auswirkungen der Krise auf die Familieneinheit; 3. die Auswirkungen der staatlichen Politik auf Frauen; und 4. die Beziehung zwischen der Krise und der Frauenbewegung. Diese Themen ergaben sich aus einer Analyse der jüngsten Forschung sowie aus Diskussionen in verschiedenen Kontexten über neuen Forschungsbedarf. Da die Erkenntnisse auf Untersuchungen beruhten, die in unterschiedlichen Ländern durchgeführt worden waren, sollten sie auch als relevant für andere lateinamerikanische Länder betrachtet werden. Wir hoffen, daß die Verbreitung unserer Erkenntnisse als Anstoß zu weiteren Untersuchungen dient und die auf der Krise beruhende Zunahme der regionalen Armut ins Bewußtsein rückt.

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2Das Netzwerk DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) wurde von Wissenschaftlerinnen und Vertreterinnen der Frauenbewegung 1984 in Bangalor/Indien gegründet. Es gliedert sich in Forschungsgruppen, die sich in den verschiedenen Regionen der Dritten Welt konstituiert haben und die Auswirkungen der Weltwirtschaftskrise auf Frauen untersuchen und deren Bewegungen und Visionen für die Zukunft stärken wollen.

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1. Beschäftigungsmuster

In ganz Lateinamerika verzeichneten die Statistiken in dem Zeitraum unmittelbar vor der Krise eine Zunahme der weiblichen Erwerbsquote, die dann während der Krise den Höchststand erreichte. In diesen Zahlen spiegelt sich eine neue Form der weiblichen Erwerbsbeteiligung wider, wobei sich eine relative Verringerung der Zahl junger Frauen unter den Erwerbstätigen und eine beträchtliche Zunahme der Zahl der Frauen im gebärfähigen Alter, der Gruppe der über 30jährigen, die verheiratet sind und kleine Kinder haben, zeigt.

Die Zahl der Erwerbstätigen stieg bei den Frauen stärker an als bei den Männern. Aufgrund der Schuldenkrise ist diese Tendenz in den stärker industrialisierten und städtischen Gebieten der Region am deutlichsten ausgeprägt. In früheren Untersuchungen hatte sich eine Tendenz in Richtung auf eine stärkere Einbeziehung junger und alleinstehender Frauen in den Entwicklungsprozeß abgezeichnet; die soeben erwähnten Veränderungen in der Erwerbsquote der Frauen wurden mit Beginn der Rezession beobachtet.

Andere Beschäftigungsmuster erfordern eine tiefergreifende Analyse und Erläuterung. Während aus Untersuchungen zu früheren Krisen hervorging, daß in Krisenzeiten mehr Frauen als Männer von Entlassungen betroffen waren[3], zeigt die neuere Forschung, daß in der gegenwärtigen Krise häufiger Männer als Frauen entlassen werden. Der Grund dafür liegt nicht etwa in einer stärkeren Mitgliedschaft von Frauen in den Gewerkschaften oder ähnlichen Organisationen, sondern darin, daß die Krise am stärksten die modernsten Sektoren betrifft, in denen weniger Frauen beschäftigt sind als in anderen Sektoren, wie es in Brasilien der Fall ist. Frauen verrichten gewöhnlich Arbeit, die von Männern abgelehnt wird, schwierigere Arbeit, die weniger Ausbildung erfordert und die von der Krise nicht betroffen ist.

[3] Vgl. Aguiar & Moraes, 1987; Pardo, 1987; Jelin & Feijoo, 1985.

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In anderen Ländern sind jedoch auch traditionelle Industriezweige mit einem großen Anteil weiblicher Arbeitskräfte aufgrund der Krise stillgelegt worden[4]. In diesen Fällen treten ältere Frauen im gebärfähigen Alter in den "informellen Sektor" ein, da in den moderneren Sektoren zumindest in Krisenzeiten junge und alleinstehende Frauen bevorzugt werden. Interessanterweise zeigen die gesamten Daten auf, daß in Wachstumsperioden tatsächlich ältere Frauen mit Kindern bei der Einstellung bevorzugt werden[5]. Zusammenfassend hat unsere Forschungsarbeit erwiesen, daß die Statistiken ein spezifisches Einstellungsverhalten in Krisenzeiten widerspiegeln; dieses Phänomen und die bei unterschiedlichen Arbeitsbereichen zu beobachtenden Tendenzen bedürfen einer Untersuchung, die wahrscheinlich durch eine Kombination der Gesamtdaten mit Fallstudien erfolgen kann.

Die Charakteristika von Arbeitsprozessen und Verdrängungsprozessen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt als Folge von Modernisierungsversuchen, insbesondere als Ergebnis der Krise, wurden bereits erörtert (Souza Lobo, 1985 und 1986). Die verfügbaren Informationen belegen, daß durch Modernisierung ausgelöste Verdrängungsprozesse in einer Wachstumsperiode anders verlaufen (Humphrey, 1984). Die mexikanische Literatur deutet darauf hin, daß in solchen Wachstumsperioden Frauen, die von ihren Arbeitsplätzen in den Fabriken verdrängt werden, zumindest im Grenzgebiet zunehmend die gleiche Arbeit verrichten wie zuvor in der Fabrik zu Hause[6].

In allen Ländern zeigt sich eine beträchtliche Ausweitung der irregulären Arbeitsaktivitäten ohne Arbeitsverträge oder Sozialversicherung sowie derjenigen Aktivitäten, die allgemein zum "informellen Sektor" gezählt werden. Von der Sozialversicherung abgedeckte Tätigkeiten unterscheiden sich von einem Land zum nächsten, und in Arbeitsverträgen festgelegte Garantien hängen von den jeweiligen Zeitumständen ab, da Militärdiktaturen dazu neigen, viele Rechte und Errungenschaften der Arbeiterklasse wieder zunichtezumachen.

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[4]Vgl. Feijoo & Jelin, 1987; Prates, 1987.
[5]Vgl. Prates, 1987; Zuleica de Oliveira, 1987.
[6]Vgl. Orlandina de Oliveira, 1987.

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In einigen Industriezweigen wird einfach die Zahl der Einstellungen auf der Basis formeller Verträge verringert. In anderen Fällen wiederum erklären Arbeiter sich bereit, ohne Sozialversicherung zu arbeiten, weil sie dringend ein Einkommen benötigen, um die Krise überstehen zu können. In wieder anderen Fällen gehen sie einer Arbeit im formellen Sektor nach und verrichten nebenher Schwarzarbeit. Während Frauen in früheren Krisen dazu tendierten, im informellen Sektor zu arbeiten, sucht gegenwärtig in einigen Regionen eine immer größere Zahl von Frauen nach Alternativen dieser Art. Dennoch lassen sich hier je nach Stadtteil[7] Unterschiede feststellen.

Zwar betreffen die meisten Untersuchungen städtische Gebiete, in einigen wurden jedoch auch Tendenzen bei Landfrauen analysiert (Arizpe, 1987; Guimaraes & Brito, 1987). Diese Untersuchungen belegen, daß die Zahl der in der Landwirtschaft Beschäftigten in der Zeit vor der Rezession stark zunahm, wobei vermehrt Frauen als Saisonarbeiterinnen tätig waren. Frauen mit Zugang zu Land waren von der Krise weniger direkt betroffen, da die Ernten gut waren. Aber die starke Landflucht, die in diesem Zeitraum in Lateinamerika stattfand, weist ein Muster auf, dem zufolge zuerst junge Männer und Frauen in die Städte abwandern, gefolgt von verheirateten Männern, wobei die Frauen zurückbleiben und in der Landwirtschaft arbeiten. Im Fall Brasiliens ist dieses Phänomen stärker örtlich begrenzt und besser dokumentiert als im Falle anderer Länder. Diese Feminisierung der Landwirtschaft erfolgte z.B. in Regionen, in denen Zuckerrohr zur Erzeugung von Brennspiritus angebaut wird, und in anderen Gebieten mit besseren Optionen zum Arbeiten (Aguiar, 1987). Das Brennspiritusprogramm, das als Reaktion auf die Ölkrise entwickelt wurde, führte dazu, daß die Landarbeiter diesen Brennspiritus für die Bedürfnisse der Mittelschicht erzeugen, anstatt Nahrungsmittel anzubauen, die sie zum Überleben benötigen (Saffioti, 1984). Auch der Eigenbedarf der Arbeiter an Brennstoffen zum Kochen wird größtenteils

[7] Vgl. Hirata & Humphrey, 1986; Zuleica de Oliveira, 1987.

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nicht gedeckt, da die Frauen als Saisonarbeiterinnen auf den Zuckerrohrplantagen arbeiten (Aguiar, 1987).

Zwar sind Frauen, rassische und ethnische Minderheiten, und insbesondere Frauen aus rassischen und ethnischen Minderheiten, in Bereichen beschäftigt, die weniger stark vom Abbau von Arbeitsplätzen betroffen sind, aber auch sie haben die Auswirkungen der Krise in Form von Einkommensverlusten zu spüren bekommen. Ein Vergleich ist schwierig, weil Haushaltserhebungen keine spezifischen Daten über ethnische Gruppen enthalten. Wo jedoch nach Rasse aufgeschlüsselte Informationen verfügbar sind, zeigt sich, daß die besten Stellen von weißen Frauen besetzt sind und daß schwarze oder indianische Frauen länger gegen geringere Bezahlung arbeiten.

In den modernen Sektoren wird gewöhnlich das Einkommensniveau während einer Krise aufrechterhalten, wogegen die Zahl der Beschäftigten und der Arbeitsstunden verringert werden. Traditionelle Industriezweige (Baugewerbe, Handel, Heimindustrie) weisen den stärksten Beschäftigungsrückgang auf. Im Verlauf der Krise wurden die Löhne der Frauen je nach Land und Arbeitsbereich um 10-30% gesenkt.

In den meisten Fällen sind Frauen in den allgemeinen Arbeitslosenzahlen enthalten (Prates, 1987; Arriagada, 1987). Bessere, geschlechtsspezifische Daten sind erforderlich (Feijoo & Jelin, 1987). Hirata und Humphrey (1986) stellten fest, daß arbeitslose Männer im gleichen Sektor auf der gleichen Ebene wiederbeschäftigt werden. Wenn jedoch Frauen ihren Arbeitsplatz verlieren, ist es schwieriger für sie, wieder im gleichen Sektor Arbeit zu finden. Die Mehrzahl derjenigen, die wieder Arbeit finden, arbeitet in der Heimindustrie oder als ungelernte Arbeiterin. Feijoo und Jelin (1987) beobachteten in Argentinien, daß arbeitslose Frauen, die einem Haushalt vorstehen, größere Schwierigkeiten haben, Arbeit zu finden, als Männer, die sich in der gleichen Situation befinden. Arbeitslosigkeit hat daher schwerwiegendere Konsequenzen für Frauen. Viele junge Frauen und Frauen mit Kindern suchen Arbeit und sind fast zu jeder Arbeit bereit. Mehr Frauen als jemals zuvor geben an, daß sie aktiv

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nach Arbeit suchen, anstatt sich als Hausfrauen zu bezeichnen; dadurch verändert sich ihr Arbeitsstatus, da sie als Teil der Erwerbsbevölkerung betrachtet und in die Arbeitslosenstatistiken mit aufgenommen werden.

2. Veränderungen in der Zusammensetzung der Haushalte

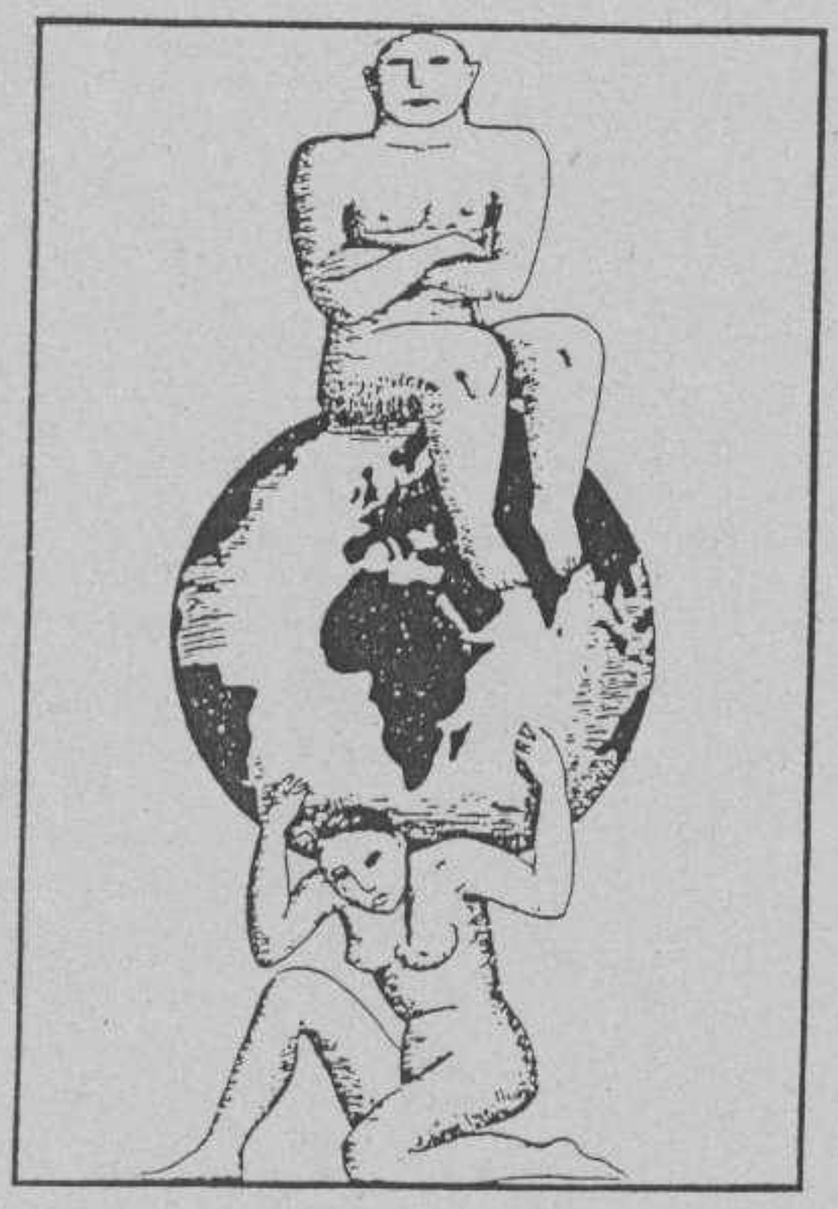
Unsere Arbeitsgruppe kam zu dem Schluß, daß eine Analyse der Auswirkungen der Krise aus der Perspektive des Arbeitsmarkts und des einzelnen Haushalts wichtig ist (Hirata & Humphrey, 1986). Haushaltserhebungen sind wichtig, da sie Heimarbeit sowie Teilzeitarbeit ohne Sozialversicherung berücksichtigen. Beschäftigungsstatistiken bieten dagegen lediglich Informationen über Arbeit im formellen Sektor. Wenn möglich sollte die Datenerhebung daher durch Informationen aus Fallstudien begleitet werden (Ricci, 1987).

Ein wichtiger Bereich, in dem weitere Vergleiche und Erläuterungen notwendig sind, betrifft die Frage, aus wie vielen Erwerbstätigen sich die Haushalte zusammensetzen. Pro Familie wird typischerweise nur ein Erwerbstätiger angegeben, insbesondere wenn im Haushalt auch Kinder leben. Je nach dem Grad der industriellen Verstädterung gehen jedoch zur Zeit durchschnittlich zwei oder drei Familienmitglieder einer Beschäftigung nach; der Haushaltsvorstand ist nicht mehr der einzige Geldverdiener.

Zwar werden ländliche Haushalte noch immer aus Großfamilien gebildet (wobei es Unterschiede je nach Land und Region gibt), in städtischen und stärker industrialisierten Regionen läßt sich jedoch ein Rückgang der Kinderzahlen und der Haushaltsgröße mit einer Tendenz hin zu Kleinfamilien beobachten (Z. Oliveira, 1987). Obwohl Kleinfamilien vorherrschen, ist dies keine einheitliche Tendenz in Lateinamerika, da die Zahl der Großfamilien im Verlauf der Krise ebenfalls zugenommen hat, so z.B. in Kolumbien (Alonso, 1985, S. 50).

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Einige Untersuchungen belegen, daß die Krise die Arbeitslast der Frauen noch verstärkt und ihren Arbeitstag verlängert hat, wenn man zusammenrechnet, wie viele Stunden sie für Hausarbeit und für kommerzielle Tätigkeiten insgesamt aufwenden (Feijoo & Jelin, 1987). Die Auswirkungen dieser Zunahme kommerzieller Tätigkeiten auf die traditionellen Rollen der Frau zu Hause sind Gegenstand zahlreicher Diskussionen. Eine Fallstudie belegt, daß Männer der Arbeiterklasse hartnäckig darauf bestehen, die Frauenarbeit einzuschränken, und nicht bereit sind, einen Teil der Hausarbeit zu übernehmen, selbst wenn ihre Frauen einen beträchtlichen Beitrag zum Familieneinkommen leisten (Hirata & Humphrey, 1986). Wenn Frauen Heimarbeit verrichten, sind sie noch stärker ans Haus gebunden. Paradoxerweise wirkt sich die Krise daher auf Frauen entweder dadurch aus, daß sie sehr viel mehr außer Haus arbeiten, oder dadurch, daß sie viel stärker ans Haus gebunden sind.



Ricci (1987) diskutiert die Unterschiede, die sich während der Krise in der Situation verschiedener Familien und bei der Frauenarbeit zeigen, als Funktion der gesellschaftlichen Klasse. Barbieri und Oliveira (1985) vergleichen in ähnlicher Weise die unterschiedliche Reaktion auf die Krise von Frauen der Mittelschicht einerseits und der Arbeiterklasse

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andererseits. Während einige Forscher die Theorie vertreten, daß niedrige Löhne auf den Eintritt von Frauen ins Berufsleben zurückzuführen sind (Porcaro, 1986), beweisen andere, wie Jurado (1985), daß Frauen, die in Krisenzeiten berufstätig werden, großenteils, wenn auch nicht ausschließlich, aus ärmeren Gruppen stammen, was darauf hindeutet, daß niedrigere Löhne die Ursache und nicht die Wirkung der Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen sind. Humphrey (1984) bezweifelt jedoch, daß Armut die Erklärung für den Eintritt von Frauen ins Berufsleben ist. Zwar geht aus seinen Daten nicht der genaue Zeitpunkt hervor, zu dem Frauen beschließen, sich eine Arbeit zu suchen, er trifft jedoch die richtige Feststellung, daß die ausschließliche Betonung des Einzelfaktors Armut eine unzureichende Erklärung dieses Phänomens ist.

Ein weiterer zu berücksichtigender Faktor tritt in Fallstudien zutage, denen zufolge Frauen, die ins Berufsleben eintreten, stärker der Gewalt ausgesetzt sind: zum einen in der Öffentlichkeit, da ihre Berufstätigkeit zu vermehrten öffentlichen Kontakten führt, und zum anderen zu Hause, da die durch Arbeitslosigkeit ausgelöste Frustration der Männer aggressives Verhalten gegenüber den Frauen bewirkt. Zwar kann die Krise nicht direkt mit dem zunehmenden Mißbrauch von Frauen in Verbindung gebracht werden, aber Veränderungen in der Definition der Geschlechterrollen, die durch die neue Rolle der Frau auf dem Arbeitsmarkt bewirkt werden, können Spannungen in den Familien verursachen, wie Barbieri und Oliveira (1985) sowie Ricci (1985) andeuten. Häusliche Veränderungen und Spannungen sowie Mittel und Wege zur Lösung dieser Konflikte sollten untersucht werden.

3. Sozialpolitik und Frauen

Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, daß eine bestimmte Regierungspolitik - wie etwa Kürzungen im Sozialhaushalt - sich negativ auf Frauen auswirkt, da sie zu einer Zunahme der Arbeitslast für Frauen führt und ihre Fähigkeit, ihren Haushalt mit den Grundbedarfsgütern zu versorgen, stark beeinträchtigt. Kürzungen im Gesundheits- und Bildungswesen zwingen beispielsweise Frauen dazu, mehr Zeit darauf zu verwen-

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den, Kinder und Kranke zu versorgen, die Hausarbeit zu verrichten und für bestimmte Sozialleistungen Schlange zu stehen. Untersuchungen zu öffentlichen Dienstleistungen stoßen in Lateinamerika auf immer größeres Interesse, obwohl es in diesem Bereich einen Mangel an Vergleichsdaten gibt. Es fehlt auch an geschlechtsspezifischen Daten zu diesem Thema.

In Ländern wie Brasilien hat eine Entwicklungspolitik, die eine rasche Industrialisierung vorantrieb, eine Einkommenskonzentration bewirkt (Spindel, 1987). In 20 Jahren Militärdiktatur ging z.B. die Kaufkraft der Mindestlöhne um 50% zurück, und 1983, im schlimmsten Jahr der Krise, entfielen auf die ärmsten 50% der Bevölkerung nur 13,5% des nationalen Einkommens, wogegen die reichsten 10% der Bevölkerung über 46,2% der Einkommen verfügten (Spindel, 1987).

Im Norden begannen einige Länder, zahlreiche Staatsunternehmen zu privatisieren. Die Politik der lateinamerikanischen Militärdiktaturen bestand darin, die Sozialdienste in private Hände zu überführen, woraufhin die Grundbedürfnisse der Armen in den Bereichen Ernährung, Wohnen, elementare Schulbildung und Gesundheit nicht mehr erfüllt wurden. Da die verbleibenden Programme aus den Löhnen der Arbeiter finanziert wurden, beeinträchtigte jeder Beschäftigungsrückgang die Höhe der Mittel, die für Sozialleistungen zur Verfügung standen. In Krisenzeiten waren daher diese Programme als erste betroffen (Abranches 1985, S. 86). Andere sozialpolitische Maßnahmen dienten dem Privatsektor und kamen der Wirtschaft[8], den Privatkliniken[9] oder der Mittelschicht zugute, der es leichter gemacht wurde, Häuser zu bauen (Cardoso, 1984; Abranches, 1985).

Darüber hinaus förderte der Autoritarismus das Anwachsen konkurrierender Bürokratien, die Entscheidungen über soziale Angelegenheiten zentralisierten. Diese Bürokratien und politische Verfolgung verhinderten eine Mitwirkung der Gemeinden. Auch waren die Kosten für die Unterhaltung dieser Bürokratien sehr hoch und verschlangen Mittel, die den bedürftigsten Bevölkerungsgruppen hätten zugute kommen müssen. Die

[8] Die Privatwirtschaft monopolisierte z.B. die Nahrungsmittelproduktion für staatliche Schulen.
[9] Diese Kliniken bieten teure und ineffiziente Dienstleistungen.

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Korruption verursachte ebenfalls immer höhere Kosten, denn die Entscheidungsträger waren der Bevölkerung nicht mehr rechenschaftspflichtig. Wenn eine Diktatur endet, bestehen die Bürokratien und der Entscheidungsapparat leider fort. Entfremdung und Frustration nehmen zu und manchmal resultiert daraus Gewalt (Coelho, 1987). In einigen Ländern hat Drogenhandel zu organisierter Gewalt geführt, die eine Gefahr für alle gesellschaftlichen Bereiche darstellt - einschließlich der führenden Mitglieder der Frauenbewegungen, deren Leben aufgrund ihres Engagements für die Interessen der Armen bedroht ist.

Im Gegensatz dazu fördern dezentralisierte Sozialdienste mit kommunaler Verwaltung die Mitwirkung der Gemeinwesen. Frauen neigen dazu, in derartigen Initiativen aktiver zu sein[10] als Männer. Dennoch richten sich die meisten dieser Aktivitäten auf die Erfüllung unmittelbarer Bedürfnisse; nur wenige von ihnen zielen darauf ab, mittellosen Frauen die Chance auf Arbeit und ein regelmäßiges Einkommen zu bieten. Nur einige wenige Ausbildungsprogramme vermitteln Frauen marktorientierte Fertigkeiten, um ihre Stellung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt zu verbessern und ihnen so die Chance auf besser bezahlte Arbeit zu eröffnen. Frauen haben auch keinen Zugang zu Kindertagesstätten, Land, Krediten, technischer Ausbildung im landwirtschaftlichen Bereich, Sozialversicherung, Gesundheitsdiensten oder Informationen über Empfängnisverhütung und Familienplanung[11].

Die Programme zur Förderung der Gleichstellung der Geschlechter umfassen

- die Bildung von Frauenräten zur Errichtung von Kindertagesstätten,
- Programme zur Eindämmung von Gewalt gegen Frauen sowie
- politische Maßnahmen gegen die Diskriminierung.

Es gibt keine Untersuchungen zum Zusammenhang zwischen diesen Arten von Programmen und einer stärkeren Erwerbsquote

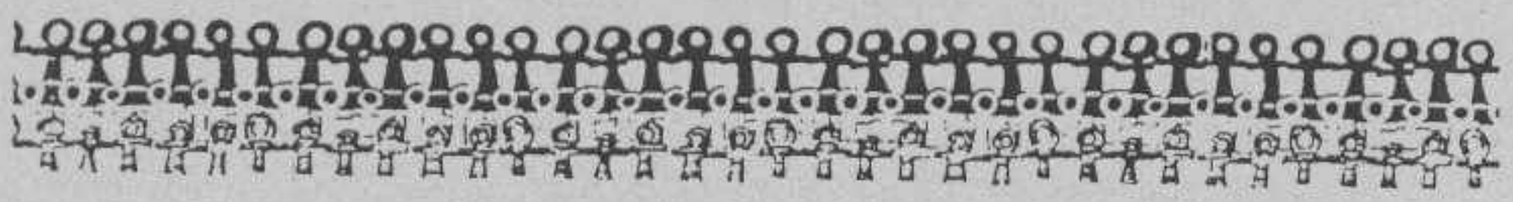
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[10] Mündlicher Bericht an die lateinamerikanische DAWN-Tagung.
[11] Spezielle langfristige Programme könnten einigen dieser Probleme abhelfen.

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von Frauen. Benötigt werden daher Untersuchungen über Regierungsinitiativen, die die Chancengleichheit fördern.

Schließlich geht der Schuldendienst auf Kosten der Armen und kommt den Privatbanken im Norden zugute. Diese Politik schafft ein starkes Einkommensgefälle und führt dazu, daß Frauen länger gegen geringere Bezahlung arbeiten.



4. Frauenbewegungen

Seit dem ersten alle zwei Jahre stattfindenden Treffen lateinamerikanischer Feministinnen, das sich vor allem an Frauen der "Mittelschicht" richtete, haben sich Landfrauen und Arbeiterinnen zunehmend für eine Mitwirkung an diesen Tagungen interessiert.

DAWN hat die Beziehung zwischen den Gewerkschaftsbewegungen der Frauen, den Genossenschaften und Gemeinwesenbewegungen, und der feministischen Bewegung untersucht[12]. Die meisten Forscher, die sich mit dem Thema der Frauen und der Krise befassen, haben die Zunahme verschiedener Arten von Frauenorganisationen beobachtet[13]. Die Beziehung zwischen der feministischen Bewegung und anderen Frauenbewegungen ist Teil der Arbeit, die von Vargas (1987) (sowohl in ihrer Arbeit mit DAWN als auch außerhalb dieses Rahmens) und von den anderen Gruppenmitgliedern entwickelt wurde, die die Frauenbewegungen und ihre Zukunftsvisionen, insbesondere ihre Entstehung aus der Krise heraus, untersucht haben.

Wichtige Strategien für die Kommunikation mit mittellosen Frauen wurden von verschiedenen Netzwerken im Rahmen der fe-

[12] Diese Bewegungen umfassen Initiativen wie Gemeinschaftsküchen.

[13] Vgl. Barbieri & Oliveira, 1985; Feijoo & Jelin, 1987; Feijoo & Cogna, 1987.

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ministischen Bewegung entwickelt[14].

Im Verlauf der 4. Feministischen Tagung in Taxco (Mexiko) sprachen einige Teilnehmerinnen davon, daß Frauen mehr Macht erhalten müssen. Das zunehmende Interesse an Feminismus unter Landfrauen, Frauen der Arbeiterklasse, Heimarbeiterinnen und farbigen Frauen bewirkt, daß sich die "Veteraninnen" der feministischen Bewegung genauer mit diesem Aspekt auseinandersetzen[15]. Die Untersuchungen zeigen, daß die Reihen der Frauenbewegung auf eine grundlegende Demokratisierungsstrategie geeint werden müssen, die nach Virginia Vargas auf die Rebellionsfähigkeit der Frauen abzielen soll.

5. Methodische Strategien

Im Jahr 1986, nach der Konferenz in Brasilien, die vom Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas de Rio de Janeiro (Forschungsinstitut der Universität von Rio de Janeiro) abgehalten wurde, begann DAWN, eine Strategie zur Förderung der Forschung zu diesen Themen einzuleiten[16]. DAWN förderte Untersuchungen zu den Auswirkungen der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung auf arme Bevölkerungsschichten, insbesondere auf Frauen, die von den negativen Auswirkungen einer Entwicklungspolitik betroffen sind, die bestehende Ungleichheiten oftmals noch verstärkt. DAWN selbst interessiert sich für eine Förderung von Entwicklungsstrategien, die die Grundbedürfnisse der Armen erfüllen, und hat an vielen, besonders

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[14] Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, Chile; Flora Tristan, Peru; CIFAP, Dominikanische Republik; IDAC, Brasilien; Rede Mulher, Brasilien; CEPAL, Lateinamerika; SOS Corpo, Brasilien; und viele andere Gruppen, die systematisch armen Frauen helfen. Diese Situation hat der lateinamerikanischen Frauenbewegung einen einzigartigen Charakter verliehen. DAWN hat begonnen, grundlegende Forschungsinformationen zu verbreiten, um bestehende Informationskanäle zwischen Frauengruppen zu stärken und es ihnen zu ermöglichen, Probleme, vor denen sie gegenwärtig stehen, zu analysieren.

[15] Vgl. Virginia Vargas, Estela Suarez, Margarita Pisano, Viviana Erazo, Adriana Santa Cruz et al.: "Del Amor a la Necesidad", Erklärung der IV. Lateinamerikanischen Feministischen Tagung, Oktober 1987, Taxco (Mexiko).

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an nationalen und internationalen Tagungen, teilgenommen und wichtige Beiträge zu diesem Thema geleistet.

CEPAL (die Wirtschaftskommission der Vereinten Nationen für Lateinamerika) hat angeboten, die DAWN-Forschungsaktivitäten zu unterstützen. Ihre Abteilung für Frauenarbeit hat DAWN Vergleichsdaten übermittelt und ist an den Forschungsergebnissen der Teilnehmerinnen des Netzwerks, insbesondere an detaillierten und historischen Daten sowie an sozialpolitischer Kritik, die die Einstellung DAWNs widerspiegelt, interessiert.

Einige der von DAWN vorgebrachten Empfehlungen zu weiteren Untersuchungen sind hier dargelegt worden. Ein Großteil der in der Region durchgeführten Untersuchungen befaßt sich mit den statistischen Zahlen der Beschäftigung und Arbeitslosigkeit sowie Einkommensniveaus nach Geschlecht, Alter, Berufsfeld, Beschäftigungsstatus, Familienstand und Alter der Kinder. Es ist jedoch wichtig, bei der Untersuchung dieser Daten zwischen Perioden der Rezession und des Wachstums zu unterscheiden und Vergleiche anzustellen. Alle Daten sollten geschlechtsspezifisch aufgeschlüsselt, regionale Unterschiede sollten berücksichtigt werden. Die Informationserhebung sollte sich nicht nur auf den Arbeitsplatz, sondern auch auf Haushaltseinheiten konzentrieren. Fallstudien sollten unternommen werden, um spezifische Informationen zu erhalten, die aus den Gesamtdaten nicht hervorgehen. Wir glauben, daß die hier dargelegten Richtlinien für den Großteil der zu diesem Thema durchgeführten Untersuchungen nützlich sein können.

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[16] Da es an Ressourcen fehlt, ist es wichtig, eine konsequente Forschungsstrategie zu entwickeln. DAWN-Forscherinnen haben neben Volkszählungsdaten auch regionale, nationale und städtische Geschäfts- und Haushaltserhebungen sowie nationale Beschäftigungsstatistiken genutzt, darunter auch Daten, die in Rezessionsperioden gesammelt wurden. DAWN hat auch Tagungen veranstaltet, um die Informationen von nationalen Forschungsorganisationen wie ANPOCS (Nationaler Forschungsverband der Sozialwissenschaften, Brasilien) und von regionalen sozialwissenschaftlichen Netzwerken wie FLACSO (Bolivien) zu nutzen, die vor kurzem eine Regionaltagung in La Paz abhielten.

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6. Danksagungen

Diese Arbeit ist das Ergebnis der Zusammenarbeit zwischen zahlreichen Netzwerken und lateinamerikanischen Forscherinnen und Forschern, die die Ansichten DAWNs teilen. Große Fortschritte wurden in der Diskussion und Entwicklung von Untersuchungen und Bibliographien erzielt. Nachdem Gita Sen und Caren Grown den Aktionsplan des Netzwerks entwickelt hatten, erarbeiteten Teresita de Barbieri und Orlandina de Oliveira die erste Zusammenfassung der in Nairobi abgehaltenen DAWN-Podiumsveranstaltung zu der Krise. Zur Fortsetzung der Bemühungen wurde eine DAWN-Podiumsveranstaltung von Carmen Barroso mit der Forschungsgruppe "Frauen und Gesellschaft" unter der Koordination von Deniz Kandiyoti organisiert. Das DAWN-Sekretariat mit Sitz im Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas de Rio de Janeiro hat wertvolle Informationen aus einer Seminarreihe zu den beiden DAWN-Forschungsthemen "Die Krise in der Nahrungmittelerzeugung und im Energiesektor sowie die Außenverschuldung in bezug auf Frauen" und "Frauenbewegungen und Zukunftsvisionen" zusammengetragen.

Die IX. Feministische Tagung in Garahuns gab DAWN die Gelegenheit, den Teilnehmerinnen die Erkenntnisse über Frauen und die Krise vorzustellen. In der Folge übernahmen die beiden ANPOCS-Forschungsgruppen "Frauen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt" sowie "Frauen und Politik" die DAWN-Themen als Forschungsschwerpunkte. Heleieth Saffioti und Eleonora Menicucci de Oliveira leisteten in enger Zusammenarbeit mit dem Sekretariat hervorragende Arbeit bei der Suche nach Forschern, die unsere Themen übernehmen und wichtige Seminare und Diskussionen veranstalten. Eine großartige Chance bot das CLACSO-Sekretariat durch die Ausschreibung eines nationalen Forschungswettbewerbs zu Frauenthemen, wodurch es der "Arbeitsgruppe über den Status von Frauen" dieser Organisation ermöglicht wurde, die Forschungsinteressen von DAWN weiterzuverbreiten. Darüber hinaus arbeitete María del Carmen Feijoo an der Vorbereitung einer Podiumsveranstaltung zum Thema "Frauen und die Krise" mit, das während der

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CLACSO-Generalversammlung in Recife abgehalten wurde. Fernando Calderon, Clovis Cavalcanti und Elizabeth Jelin verliehen der Initiative, die sich als die populärste Podiumsdiskussion der Generalversammlung erwies, ihre Unterstützung. Dank der Unterstützung durch FLACSO-Bolivien und Gloria Ardaya fand später die lateinamerikanische DAWN-Regionaltagung in La Paz statt.

Bis heute haben alle wichtigen nichtstaatlichen Regionalnetzwerke mit DAWN zusammengearbeitet. Die CEPAL-Frauenabteilung hat durch Vivian Mota und Irma Arriagada, die nicht nur ihre Forschungsergebnisse, sondern auch das Hauptwerk und die von CEPAL gesammelten Daten zur lateinamerikanischen Krise zur Verfügung stellten, bedeutende Unterstützung geleistet. Carmen Barroso trug durch Beratung und regelmäßige Besprechungen erheblich dazu bei, daß fundierte Forschungsarbeit geleistet wurde. Cheywa Spindel bietet der mit der Krise befaßten Arbeitsgruppe weiterhin grundlegende Unterstützung. Virginia Vargas ist für das Thema "Frauenbewegungen und Zukunftsvisionen" verantwortlich; sie sucht nach Beziehungen zwischen diesem Thema und der Krise□

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