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ABSTRACT

The third International Forum on Intercultural Exchange focused on four important issues for developing nations: literacy education, environmental protection, economic activities, and violence against women. In all of these areas, women are striving for social change as agents and beneficiaries of development. Following the conference agenda, the following papers are presented in this English version of the proceedings: (1) "Women in Development: What Are Agents of Social Change?" (Hiroko Hara) (keynote address); (2) "Literacy and Status of Women" (Akihiro Chiba); (3) "Tackling with Literacy Education" (Akihiro Chiba); (4) "Literacy Education in Nigeria" (Teresa Ebuzaju Chukuma); (5) "Women's Participation in Social Forestry: A Case Study in Nepal" (Yumiko Tanaka); (6) "Women's Role in Natural Resource Management in Africa" (Eva Rathgeber); (7) "Mainstreaming Women's Economic Activities in Development Policy Making and Programming" (Lorraine Corner); (8) "Economic Activities of Women in Rural Communities: Some Cases and Problem" (Hideki Yoshino); (9) "Development--Human Rights: Violence against Women" (E. S. Nimalka Fernando); and (10) "Violence against Women--Endeavors Made by Women in Japan" (Yoko Hayashi). Summaries are provided of group discussions and of comments made in the plenary session on the presented papers. For reference purposes, outlines of the previous intercultural exchange forums are provided. (SLD)

International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1993

'Women in Development' :

we as agents of social change

17 (Wed.) - 19 December (Fri.) 1993

Proceedings

NATIONAL WOMEN'S EDUCATION CENTRE
JAPAN
1994

International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1993

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Preface

In order to promote information exchange and networking on behalf of women, the National Women's Education Centre (NWEC) has been inviting experts from Japan and abroad who are interested in international cooperation and cross-cultural understanding to participate in International Forums on Intercultural Exchange (known until 1988 as the Meeting of International Exchange for Women.

From 1991 to 1993, the NWEC has been focusing on the subject of "Women in Development (WID)", emphasizing the diffusion of the WID viewpoint in Japan and international grass-roots networking among related organizations.

In 1991, the first year of this series, under the title "What is WID?" we considered the theoretical and practical implications of the growing contribution of women, and in the following year discussed "Promoting Women's Visibility in Development" based on actual case studies. Our third Forum in 1993 focused on the current situation with regard to four important issues in developing countries: literacy education, environmental protection, economic activities and violence against women, in all of which women are striving for social change as agents and beneficiaries of development.

This report has been prepared following the International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1993. I hope very much that it will be of use to people interested in international exchange and to the cause of Women in Development.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to those who have generously contributed their time and expertise to the writing of this document.

Mizue Maeda
Director-General
National Women's Education Centre

Editor's Note

The report contains presentations by two experts for each of the four themes of the 1993 Forum: 'literacy education', 'environmental protection', 'economic activities' and 'violence against women' with their analysis of the current situation and case activities. The summaries of group meetings and plenary sessions are also attached. Reports of the experts are published in their own original manuscripts while case reports for the keynote report and literacy education were prepared from the daily reports and reviewed subsequently by the reporters.

The report is prepared in Japanese and English languages with the manuscripts of the Japanese experts translated into English and those of the non-Japanese experts translated into Japanese.

Outlines of the 1991 and 1992 Forums conducted under the same theme are also presented for your reference. Separate reports have been published for the two Forums.

Any opinion and question regarding the above should be addressed to International Exchange Unit, Information and International Exchange Division, National Women's Education Centre.

CONTENTS

1. Prospectus of International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1993

1. The Purpose

The National Women's Education Centre has held International Forums on Intercultural Exchange on Women in Development since 1991. This year the third Forum will be held with the object of expanding of grass-roots networking. For this purpose, discussion will take place about the present condition where women are seeking for social change as agents and as beneficiaries of development. Emphasis will be laid upon literacy education, environmental protection, economic activities and violence against women which are especially important issues in developing countries.

2. Theme

'Women in Development - we as agents of social change'

3. Period and Venue

Wednesday, 17 - Friday, 19 November 1993 (two nights' stay)
National Women's Education Centre

4. Summary of Programmes

(1) Keynote speech

Dr. Hiroko HARA
Professor, Ochanomizu University

(2) Case Session I: Analysis of the present condition

1) "Literacy and Status of Women"

Mr. Akihiro CHIBA
Professor, International Christian University

2) "Women's Participation in Social Forestry - A Case Study in Nepal"

Ms. Yumiko TANAKA

Development Specialist, Institute for International Cooperation, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

3) "Mainstreaming Women's Economic Activities in Development Policy Making, Planning and Programming"
Dr. Lorraine CORNER
Research Fellow, National Centre for Development Studies, Graduate Programme in Demography, Australian National University (based in Australia)

4) "Development - Human Rights: Violence against Women"
Ms. E. S. Nimalka FERNANDO
Regional Coordinator, Asian Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) (based in Malaysia)

(3) Case Session II: Report on cases of activities

1) "Violence against Women - Endeavours Made by Women in Japan"
Ms. Yoko HAYASHI
Legal Advisor, HELP Asian Women's Shelter

2) "Women's Role in Natural Resource Management in Africa"
Dr. Eva M. RATHGEBER
Regional Director, Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa, International Development and Research Centre (IDRC) (based in Kenya)

3) "Economic Activities of Women in Rural Communities: Some Cases and Problems"
Mr. Hideki YOSHINO
Researcher, Rural Life Research Institute

4) "Tackling the Literacy Issues"
Mr. Akihiro CHIBA
Professor, International Christian University

5) "Education System in Nigeria with Special Reference to Women and Girls' Literacy Situation"
Ms. Teresa Ebuzaju CHUKUMA
Executive Chairman, National Commission for Women (based in Nigeria)

(4) Group Meetings

1) Meeting 1: Literacy education
Coordinator: Mr. Akihiro CHIBA

2) Meeting 2: Environmental protection: women and forests
Coordinator: Ms. Yumiko TANAKA
Advisor: Dr. Eva M. RATHGEBER

3) Meeting 3: Economic activities
Coordinator: Mr. Hideki YOSHINO
Advisor: Dr. Lorraine CORNER

4) Meeting 4: Violence against women
Coordinator: Ms. Yoko HAYASHI
Advisor: Ms. E. S. Nimalka FERNANDO

(5) Report Session of Group Meetings

Reports of the four group meetings were made.

(6) Plenary Session

With Ms. Yumiko TANAKA as chairperson, experts and participants discussed issues including "the need to adopt WID and gender perspective in Japan's ODA projects" and "Is development really needed?"

5. Participants

(1) Number of participants: 178

(2) Sex: Female: 172 / Male: 6

(3) Breakdown by generation

Twenties	37 (20.9%)	Thirties	29 (16.2%)
Forties	35 (19.4%)	Fifties	38 (21.5%)
Sixties	23 (13.1%)	Older than 70	2 (1.0%)
No answer	14 (7.9%)		

(4) Breakdown by occupation

Organization worker	26.1%	Housewife	19.6%
Civil servant	10.9%	Teacher	8.6%
Company employee	8.7%	Specialist	8.7%
Self-employed	8.6%	Student	2.2%
Not employed	2.2%	Unknown	4.4%

(5) Participants from foreign countries

25 persons from 19 countries (the United States, Canada, Australia, Malaysia, Cameroon, Egypt, Fiji, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Senegal, Sri Lanka,Tanzania and Turkey. Among them, 15 participants from 15 countries, excluding the United States, Canada, Australia and Malaysia, are participants of 1993 Seminar for Senior Officers of National Machineries for the Advancement of Women.)

2. Proceedings of International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1993

< Keynote Speech >

Women in Development

- Who are Agents of Social Change? -

Dr. Hiroko Hara
Professor
Institute for Women's Studies
Ochanomizu University

This is the third in our series of annual International Forums focusing on 'Women in Development', and this year we are focusing on 'Women in Development - We As Agents of Social Change'. The themes for the previous two meetings were 'Towards Global Networking' and 'Towards Development Making Women Visible'. The latter treated women as a somewhat passive component of society but this year, we will be thinking 'women as agents for change', and of women's active participation in resolving problems.

I was not present at the first International Forum, but during last year's meeting I was struck by how very concerned Japanese women had become over the issues concerning 'Women in Development'. I also now feel there has been a great surge of interest in what we, as women, can actually do. But unfortunately Japanese women, and men for that matter, do not always have a very accurate or appropriate understanding of the real situation in developing countries, and what those countries actually need and do not need.

At this Forum, we are going to spend three days and two evenings together hearing about a variety of actual situations, and I strongly hope that this opportunity should be used effectively. For our participants from overseas, I would like them to understand what of Japanese women, and men, are concerned and perplexed.

Now, besides our expert speakers, we have with us senior officials from 15 countries who are staying here at the National Women's Education Centre. They have been participating in the Seminar for Senior Officers of National Machineries for the Advancement of Women sponsored by the Prime Minister's Office, and are also having discussions at the JICA Research Institute in Ichigaya, Tokyo. Their presence with us, I believe, is a truly fortuitous opportunity for both sides, and I look forward to our working together over the next three days.

This year we have specialists giving lectures on four issues: literacy education; environmental preservation, which will deal with women's participation in social forestry; economic activities; and violence against women. We will be able to hear an extremely wide range of information - from various parts of Africa, case studies in Nepal, and the problems of violence against women that occur in Asian countries, as well as among women living in Japan from abroad. I do not know

whether I can draw any fundamental points or any sort of essential common framework to help us to consider these issues together, but here I would like to mention what I have been contemplating.

The second point on my resume is titled Various Types of Literacy. The fundamental meaning of the word 'literacy' is being able to read and write. Professor Chiba will be talking to us himself later, but let me just explain that Professor Chiba refers to this most basic ability of being able to read letters or characters as basic literacy. But it goes without saying that real literacy is not just a matter of being able to read A B C or write simple letters or characters. It is essential to be able to understand the meaning of what is written.

For instance I could probably read aloud to you from a computer manual without any difficulty, but I would hardly understand a word of what I said. In other words, it is possible to be able to read without being able to use that skill to gain useful information. Through reading we master a skill and our imagination is stimulated, but at the same time, if this cannot be used as a tool to benefit our daily life, it is not real literacy. So we can see how very important this sort of functional literacy, which Professor Chiba refers to as post literacy, is.

To give you an example of this: in one Japanese government official development assistance (ODA) project, people living in a particular area agreed to start cultivating new varieties of rice and vegetables in an attempt to boost agricultural productivity. In many such cases more mechanization of agriculture may be suggested, or chemical fertilizer may be substituted for commonly used natural fertilizer such as animal dung or human manure. The new fertilizer arrives packed in sacks. The fertilizer sacks have writing on them. All sorts of information is printed on the sacks for guidance on how to use the fertilizer, what it contains, and various warnings about not using too much and so on. Later on, if the crops do not develop as well as expected when using the fertilizer, what should be done? This will not be printed on the fertilizer sacks, but some sort of manual must be referred to. (Also at times, this may generate the need to exercise one's own ingenuity.)

So manuals may have to be read to find out how to deal with particular situations, the use of new equipment and/or new

fertilizer. Otherwise, the introduction of new varieties will never be effective in boosting productivity.

In such cases, all too often it is the men who achieve functional literacy and start making use of it, while women get left behind. (This is not to suggest that women are at all inferior in intelligence.) Women have always made an enormous contribution to agricultural production, and yet women get left behind when new technology is introduced, even sometimes in cultures where women are heard and their voices are well respected. This is not something seen only in developing countries, for it can frequently be observed in rural communities in Japan. However in Japan's case, changes in the industrial structure have meant more and more women taking on the responsibilities of the farm as men move to other jobs, and so women can now be seen doing the planning aspects of farming, thinking out how and where to cultivate new crops. Nevertheless, women can still get left behind as technology advances. I will give you one instance of this from research I have done in rural communities in Japan.

Years ago, tractors were introduced for the first time to a rural community. One person from each farming household was obliged to obtain a licence to drive a tractor to be used for farming. In one particular household, the husband was busy spending long periods of time working in the city to earn extra cash income, and he did not get round to getting the driving licence, so they decided the wife should study for three months in preparation for the driving test. But just when she was about to take the test, the firm the husband worked for in the city went bankrupt and he came back to the farm. The wife then thought it might not be such a good idea for her to be licenced to drive the tractor before her husband was. She said she wanted to restore her husband's sense of self respect after the humiliation of losing his work in the city, so although she could have got the licence almost immediately, the husband started the three month's study needed to take the test instead. The wife helped him with his studies and at the end of three more months it was the husband who got the licence to drive the tractor. I asked why they did not both get driving licences at the same time, as it was not particularly expensive. The wife said that in practice it was her husband who met and negotiated with people at the agricultural cooperative and the local government offices, and if the two of them got licences together she felt it might reflect negatively on her husband. As it was necessary for only one person in the household to

drive the tractor, she decided not to get a licence.

This story goes back 25 years. The 70-year-old woman who had this experience told me every last detail with an enormous sense of regret. Such things often happen here in Japan.

This is a common experience of people throughout the world, not only in agriculture but in all fields of human endeavour. And being functionally literate is one thing, but once functionally literate, the issue becomes what needs to be done to be able to put this new skill to effective use. In cases such as the one I have just described, in rural communities in Japan 25 years ago, or even in the present day, how one goes about working over periods of time to change these attitudes of assumed male superiority becomes all the more pressing once people are literate.

The next title is 'technical literacy' written in English, and this is something related to functional literacy. For example, in the case of someone like me, for all my ability to read a computer manual, it is only after having had plenty of experience actually trying out different sorts of word processors or computers, that I am really able to learn how to use one. Moreover, without being able to use the word processor, if I am going to get my resume printed out when I need it, I will have to enlist the help of someone else. This skill I am talking about is not simply knowing how to use machines, it also includes knowledge of the many and varied skills we need for our everyday lives. Each one of us here has had experience of the gender gap that develops when such skills are not evenly spread among both men and women.

Again, before the introduction of modern technology, in certain fields or particular places, women had more specialized knowledge and know-how with respect to certain types of skills than men. Nevertheless, as I said just now, as various changes occur in the economic structure and in the use of technology through the process of modernization, women can easily lose this advantage. Consideration of what to do about this particular problem is extremely important in any discussion of 'Women in Development'. It is an issue that is likely to come up in our discussions over the next three days.

A further extremely important factor is knowledge of the law. All countries of the world now have constitutional governments, and under the laws of the land ownership are

placed on our lives and in particular situations our rights are guaranteed. But how exactly are our lives affected by the law? As citizens living under the law how can we make use of the law to protect ourselves? And furthermore, when a conflict occurs between our rights and those of someone else, can the issue be settled through the law? People on the whole know very little about issues such as these.

In many countries around the world, including Japan, very few women enter the academic fields of politics, economics and law. In Japan, the numbers of women students in law and economics faculties has recently begun to increase, but only in the last five or six years. The number of women active in the fields of politics, economics and law in Japan is extremely scarce, and in this sense Japan lags behind many other countries. Thus, when we come to think, for example, about problems relating to marriage, divorce, different forms of conflict, and--one of our subjects for today--violence against women, we find there are very few women lawyers working to assist Japanese women or foreign women in Japan. Ms. Hayashi is a legal adviser to the HELP Women's Shelter, and it is not difficult to imagine how very busy she must be all the time.

Here we come up against another problem. Relatively few women enter the field of law, and as a consequence, those who do have to work three times as hard as men just to earn such back-handed compliments as "she's a woman but she's very good" or "she does a proper job even though she's only a woman". In their struggle to succeed despite this sort of prejudice, women lawyers sometimes themselves swallow whole the attitudes of male-dominated society. People who go to a woman lawyer for advice, expecting more consideration for a woman's situation, or a more sympathetic understanding of the situation of foreigners, both men and women, living in Japan, may find in some cases the woman lawyer has strongly held views moulded entirely by the male-dominated society in which she works. This depends a lot on the individual, of course, but from time to time we can observe situations in male-dominated fields where we cannot assume the professional woman working there will have any greater understanding of other women than a man would.

So what can be done to improve matters? For instance, to resolve problems of sexual abuse, or the many sorts of cruel or unfair treatment that stop short of sexual abuse, women will

need to seek the cooperation of men to think out together what new laws may be necessary or how existing laws should be revised. In this sense, these types of problems are extremely important. Such things should not simply be left to specialist lawyers or judges. It is important for ordinary people like ourselves to have so-called legal literacy, or knowledge about the law. Instead of simply regarding the law as awesome or hard to understand, we need to acquire the skill to deal with legal matters for ourselves.

Turning next to political literacy. To change the law for a better and fairer world, it is not enough just to appeal for changes to the law. We have to campaign for changes, and to do this the issues we need to consider are what sort of procedures are necessary and what sort of networks should be built up. A major issue during the UN Decade for Women, and also at the 1995 World Conference for Women to be held in Beijing, is how to get more women participating in politics. This does not mean merely having more women in parliament. Of course, there need to be more women members, but aside from that, how can we get women more politically involved in the affairs of the local community? This is an issue not only for Japan but for many countries around the globe.

When thinking about these issues surrounding 'Women in Development', the similar kinds of problems crop up in all sorts of different areas of human activity. The theme for this year's Forum is 'Women as agents of social change', and I believe the key to becoming agents of social change lies in the word 'empowerment'. This word 'empowerment' was first used in connection with 'Women in Development' by DAWN, and is now widely applied in many different fields. It has the meaning of inputting power or strength, but this is not simply on the part of individuals. When promoting changes and reforms in society, a number of central figures -- what we might call 'stars' -- tend to appear, but that in itself achieves nothing. Rather than the handful of stars, it is vital for people at the grass roots level to join hands and work together to generate this power. This has been widely recognized at various women's conferences over the past 20 years, and it seems to me that empowerment has become the keyword of a new consciousness. (See Figure 1) There is, of course, still a need for stars. On such occasions, applying the political literacy I mentioned before, we need to think about how those stars can be made use of and how we at the grass roots level can consolidate and coordinate our activities.

Now the next issue is how to carry through social change and effect new development. Figure 2 is a chart with letters from A to G down the left hand side. A indicates women's and men's roles in the local community, B indicates women's and men's roles working as volunteers or in community NGOs, and C is women's and men's roles within the local government structure. Local government structure may cover a wide range of institutions, but here it has the slightly higher level meaning of the administration for each separate locality. From the standpoint of the individual, the community is the area covered by one's networks, but this applies to an administrative unit of central government or local government. Next D indicates women's and men's roles in the central government or at national level, E indicates women's and men's roles in international organizations including aid organizations, and F indicates women's and men's roles as volunteers of an external NGO coming into a particular locality from outside the country. Throughout Japan there are all sorts of NGO groups working in different ways to help many different areas, such as a group helping to support literacy campaigns in Thailand by sending pencils and paper to Thai children. Now we are also seeing groups of volunteer doctors going to work overseas. F covers these sorts of activities. G is for any others.

Now please look at the top of the chart, where you will find the letters P to S. These letters indicate what sort of issues are taken up and how those issues are handled to promote social change and development. P refers to specific issues relevant to specific communities. From the various standpoints of A to G how should such issues be taken up? Q means that in building solidarity in a particular community, what form of solidarity should the people with the standpoints from A to G promote? R covers solidarity between different communities. If the skills and resources available in one's own community are insufficient to resolve the issue at hand, one can look outside to garner different types of information. S covers solidarity restricted to particular issues. In one particular locality, if people are working for example to eliminate sexual abuse, or raise the literacy rate, or promote more desirable ways of utilizing forest resources, those people may not only maintain a network within their locality, but also build up a wider network by contacting others around the world involved with the same issues.

Now please look at Figure 3. I guess this will be common sense knowledge for everyone here, but at the end of the day what is most important is to have knowledge of the real situation. For example, if the World Bank, or the government of some country, or some international organization states that something or other should be like this, we do not take action based purely and simply on what they say, but instead we find out what the actual situation is in the particular region under discussion, or where social change and development are being promoted. This course of action may sound like common sense, but in reality it is often not followed. This is one reason why Japan's official development assistance is criticized: the fact that those involved in Japan's ODA do not take enough time to acquaint themselves with the actual situation on the ground is all too often the target for criticism. However, the criticism seems to have hit the mark, and now some of the people involved, though still only a few, are seeking to identify issues on the basis of prior examination of the actual situation. This can be seen reflected to some extent in actual projects. Nevertheless, Japanese organizations have yet to adopt procedures for spending time and money to this end. So if we turn instead to some Japanese NGO to take some action, the NGO may find it difficult to get involved because Japanese ODA procedures create a bottleneck. I always think that this sort of thing is again something that has to be changed through the action of people like ourselves.

The second point is about ascertaining the relative importance of various issues. Wherever we are, there are bound to be several issues at hand. This is also common sense, but it is important to sort out the different understandings that different people in the locality may have of the issues, and the relationships and possible discord between these people. Then it has to be decided what should be done first and how the limited resources of money, people, space and so on can best be used. This takes us on to the third point of considering which issues take precedence when it comes to implementation. At the same time the course that implementation should follow must also be considered. This is the fourth point. This does not mean doing things according to a prescribed programme, but thinking about the issues in the best order by which to achieve results.

It is desirable for all these four to be pursued in parallel. With no clear understanding of the actual situation, it is no good simply wondering what might be going on there. You

have some concrete idea of what sort of project you expect to introduce to a particular area, and at that point it is essential to go and see the proposed project site. But unfortunately, in the case of many Japanese NGOs, before thinking about which issue should take precedence in the area they are handling, they have specific projects they want to go in and implement. Then they become extremely concerned about such matters as who should take the initiative, and who gets to be in the spotlight, for example who shakes the hand of the official representing the local community at ceremonies. Because of this, if we get involved with such Japanese NGOs, we need to keep a little distance, and to do something really worthwhile we should not let our egos interfere with our performance.

At the level of international cooperation between governments there is the problem of not losing face, but when working at the individual level, we have to discard this sort of thing and work in a really flexible and practical way. There are some groups among NGOs in both developing countries and western countries which are remarkably good at doing this, and there is much that we Japanese should learn from them.

At the implementation stage, we need to think how much we should handle ourselves and how much to leave to others. (Figure 4) Japanese tend to be perfectionists and want to do everything for themselves, but once things reach a certain point, it seems to me it is important to leave the rest to someone else, particularly someone local. In the reverse situation, if we imagine a situation of learning something in some form from someone else, it is sometimes hard to bring ourselves to say "From this point I can do it myself" We go on listening to the advice halfheartedly and then in practice do not follow it. Many Japanese behave like this, but in such circumstances we really have to learn to say "We will carry on by ourselves now, so that's enough, thank you".

Next to consider is how to utilize resources, and when new technology is introduced, to decide whether the supervision and maintenance work should be done by the NGO, or whether local people should be trained to do it. If we leave it to local people it is important that they have negotiating and regulating skills.

Japanese often appear not to know how to deal with mistakes and failures, and particularly in 'Women in Development' issues, when people from different cultural backgrounds and

with a wide range of pre-conceived ideas all work together, there is bound to be a certain amount of disagreement and mistakes will occur. Knowing how to overcome such situations is also an extremely important issue. Furthermore, dealing with failure is one thing, but what is most important, especially for Japanese, is finding what can be learnt from mistakes and failures. In many instances, and not only in Japan, failed projects are not known about because no-one wants them to be made public. In literature about 'Women in Development', the success stories become very well-known, but if failed projects were to be made public, there might be such repercussions as loss of budgets, so failures tend to be covered up. So it is necessary, particularly in Japan, to make a conscious effort to learn everything we can from mistakes and failures.

Finally, I would like to think about how we, as men and women, can take part in these sorts of activities. (See Figure 5) At this Forum we have two brave men who have agreed to be speakers, and we also have some gentlemen among the senior officers. But in 'Women in Development' issues, working together in a cooperative way can sometimes be difficult, and there may be problems.

The issues surrounding 'Women in Development' are not exclusively women's issues, but ultimately concern both men and women. It is of vital importance that this point is not only understood intellectually, but in a practical sense. I told the story just now of the woman who gave up getting a licence to drive a tractor. Only now, after the passage of 25 years, is she able to speak in front of her husband about the bitterness of that experience. Nothing can be achieved overnight, but we have to make progress one step at a time, without haste but without giving up, taking time but being persistent. I am sure we will hear more about this sort of approach in actual cases from our expert speakers, and I am happy to be able to share this opportunity with you all to examine these issues a little further.

Thank you very much.

Figure 1

What is EMPOWERMENT?

Empowerment at the individual level.

REAL EMPOWERMENT

Increasing power through solidarity
Increasing power through networking

Figure 2.

			P	Q	R	S
			Specific issues in specific communities	Building solidarity within the community	Building solidarity between community	Building solidarity for specific issues
A	As residents in the local community	women/men	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?
B	As volunteers/ in community NGO's	women/men	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?
C	In local government	women/men	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?
D	In central government	women/men	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?
E	In international/aid organizations	women/men	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?
F	As volunteers/ in external NGO's	women/men	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?
G	Others	women/men	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?	What sort of action?

Note: 'Action' means 'participation in the decision-making process'

Figure 3.

The Practice of Development and Social Change

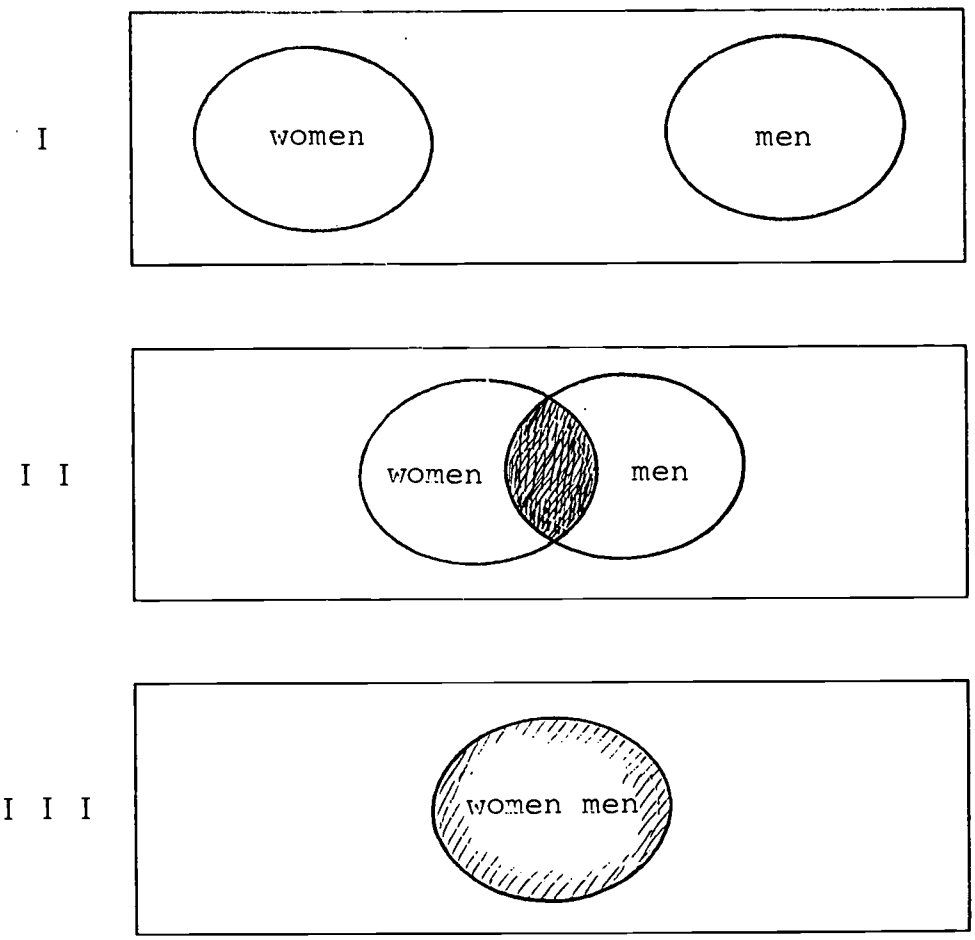
1. Finding out the real situation
2. Ascertaining the relative importance of various issues
3. Considering which issues take precedence inimplementation
4. Considering the best method of implementation
5. Sharing the experience with others

Figure 4.

4. Methods of Implementation
4-1 How much should we handle ourselves?
4-2 What resources should be utilized?
4-3 Deciding a policy for supervision and maintenance
4-4 Improving negotiating and regulating skills
4-5 Learning how to deal with failure
4-6 Regarding failure as a learning experience

Figure 5.

Changing Gender Attitudes
Steadily, optimistically, persistently, flexibly



< Literacy Education >

Literacy and Status of Women

Mr. Akihiro Chiba
Professor
International Christian University

Although efforts made by national governments and non-governmental organizations during the 1980s succeeded in bringing down illiteracy rates to some extent, rapid population growth worldwide has nevertheless been accompanied by an ongoing increase in the total number of illiterate people. Unesco projections, however, suggest that from 1990, which was International Literacy Year, not only illiteracy rates but also the absolute numbers of illiterate people have, for the first time ever, started to decline. Literacy statistics contain some highly inaccurate factors, and future predictions cannot be made with any certainty, but we can say tentatively that in 1990, about 948 million people, or 26.5% of the world's population aged 15 and above were illiterate. Illiteracy rates were 19.4% for men and 33.6% for women. Projections suggest that by the year 2000, the overall illiteracy rate will have fallen to 21.8% (15.4% for men and 28.2% for women), or 935 million people.

The wider provision of primary education has resulted in growing percentages of children up to age 14 enrolled in school, and thus a worldwide decline in illiteracy rates in this age-group, however the quality and effectiveness of primary education continues to be inadequate, and in many developing countries large numbers soon drop out of school, so school enrollment rates are not necessarily indicative of literacy rates for children of 14 and below. Furthermore, illiteracy is seen as a problem largely affecting developing countries, but in recent years the numbers of illiterate people in advanced countries have been increasing, and now almost all countries are taking measures to deal with this problem. In Japan, official figures put literacy at 100%, but the problem of illiteracy still exists in some areas which have suffered social ostracism, and is said to affect 300,000 people.

Worldwide, the regions where illiteracy is most serious are Sub Saharan Africa and South Asia, with literacy rates in 1990 of 47.3% and 46.1% respectively, and only 36.1% and 32.2% respectively among women. In the Arab countries, literacy rates for women, at 38%, are also low. In Africa there are only 61 literate women for every 100 literate men, and the equivalent figure is 59 women in the Arab countries and only 54 women in South Asia. More than 700 million of the total worldwide population of 948 million illiterate people are concentrated in the following 10 countries:

Table 1 Countries with the Greatest Numbers of Illiterate People

India	281 million	Indonesia	27 million
China	224 million	Brazil	18 million
Pakistan	43 million	Egypt	16 million
Bangladesh	42 million	Iran	15 million
Nigeria	29 million	Sudan	10 million

If literacy education were to produce dramatic results in these countries, the literacy map of the world would look entirely different, but unfortunately, the situation in these countries is showing no improvement at all. Unesco projections identify the countries where literacy rates are not likely to reach 50% by the year 2000: there are 11 such countries in Africa, and five in Asia. Literacy rates are expected to improve to somewhere between 50 and 74% in 17 countries in Africa, two in Central America, and four in the Asia-Pacific region. It needs to be said that these projections are for countries which provide some statistics, and a significant number of countries provide no statistics at all, so we cannot really say that these statistics give a fair representation of the real situation worldwide.

Let us now group countries according to their prospects for improving literacy by the year 2000, and make comparisons with some other educational indices. Group A consists of 17 countries that are not expected to achieve 50% literacy, Group B consists of 23 countries expected to reach between 50 and 74% literacy, Group C contains 40 countries expected to achieve over 75% literacy, and a sample of 10 advanced countries form Group D.

Average GNP for the countries in each group, and their recent economic performance is shown in Table 2.

Table 2 GNP and GNP Growth between 1980 - 1989

	A	B	C	D
GNP (1989)	$273.6	$612.7	$2,011.0	$19,016.6
No. of countries with				
Plus GNP growth	5	8	12	9
Minus GNP growth	7	12	25	-
Zero GNP growth	-	1	-	-
No figures	3	1	3	1*

* former Soviet Union

The lowest GNPs in Group A are around $80, and all countries in Africa bar two showed minus growth during the 1980-89 period. Groups B and C show higher average levels of GNP, although many countries in these groups experienced negative economic growth, testifying to the difficulties faced by developing countries.

I would now like to compare illiteracy rates with other educational indicators. Illiteracy rates in 1990 in the countries of Group A were 72.8% for the12 African countries and 67.9% for the five Asian countries. A further serious issue is the discrepancy between rates for men and women. These countries are not expected to achieve literacy rates of more than 50% by the year 2000, and the main reason for this is undoubtedly the problem of women's literacy. Most of the countries in this group have illiteracy rates among women of 76-91%, and a breakdown by country is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Illiteracy Rates among Women

Burkina Faso	91.1%	Chad	82.1%	Nepal	86.8%
Sierra Leone	88.7%	Niger	83.2%	Afghanistan	86.1%
Sudan	88.3%	Mozambique	78.7%	Pakistan	78.9%
Guinea	86.6%	Mauritania	78.6%	Bangladesh	78.0%
Somalia	86.0%	Guinea-Bissau	76.0%	Cambodia	77.6%
Benin	84.4%				
Gambia	84.0%				

The average illiteracy rate among women in Group A countries is 83.2%. These countries have no reading and writing culture except among a part of urban population and a small educated class. Only six countries answered that they have public libraries, and newspapers are reported to reach 24 per thousand people in the country with the highest circulation, and only 0.3 per thousand people in the country with the lowest. Even if literacy campaigns teach people to write their own names and learn a few letters, with no tradition of reading and writing to provide encouragement, and a lack of reading material available locally, these people will quickly become illiterate again. It is evident that the children of educated mothers attend school and learn to read and write, but in cultures without a reading and writing tradition, people will not recognize the need for literacy, and closed, conservative societies will never generate a demand for literacy.

Seven of the 17 countries in Group A report statistics for pre-primary education, but in these countries kindergartens are

limited to the children of the political leadership or the economically affluent. In five of the seven countries kindergarten enrollment rates are only between 1-3%. But surprisingly, figures for kindergarten enrollments show no discrepancies between boys and girls. This may mean that amongst these countries' elite there is no difference in the treatment of boys and girls. But as kindergarten enrollment rates increase, so the discrepancy between enrollments of boys and girls becomes noticeable, and enrollment rates for primary education are significantly different for boys and girls.

In Group A, three countries claim over 70% of boys enrolled in primary education, and four more have reached at least 50%. However, only one country has over 50% of girls enrolled in primary education. The rate is only 10-20% in four countries, between 20-30% in six countries, and 40-50% in three countries. On average, for every 100 boys enrolled at primary school, there are only 59 girls. When it comes to enrollments in secondary education, the rate for girls of 48.5% sinks even further behind that for boys, and there are only 25% as many girls as boys enrolled in higher education.

Most of the countries in Group A are suffering internal conflict or civil war, and where citizens are unable to lead normal lives, education cannot be adequately conducted. In such circumstances it is difficult to find teachers, and women bear a double handicap. The first necessity for spreading literacy and improving education is peace. Furthermore, in the conditions of absolute poverty in these countries, there may be little interest or motivation, especially among women, to learn, even where someone is ready to teach. Until they begin to feel a desire for improved living standards, increased income and education to provide work skills, which are the only means of releasing them from their current levels of poverty, it is impossible to keep these women in literacy classes long enough for them to learn to read and write. In regions with no reading and writing tradition, illiterate people feel no handicap in going about their daily affairs, and there is no particular social stigma attached to being unable to read. However, as society changes little by little, these people will be left behind and will suffer loss in social status. As economies are modernized, and new work opportunities and new technology are introduced, men, and particularly literate men, will take priority in filling the available jobs, and illiterate women will be increasingly shut out of benefiting from such changes. What is more, even the remotest regions have been

penetrated by goods used in daily life, such as medicines, agricultural chemicals, fertilizers, food products, and so on. Frequently, due to the inability to read, agricultural chemicals may be mistaken for medicines causing danger to life, people may fail in farming or be swindled by dishonest tradesmen, and so on. In these countries the greatest need is the creation at state level of a clear vision and policies for the future, and for this strong political leadership is essential.

The 23 countries in Group B, which are expected to reach literacy rates of between 50 and 74% by the year 2000, include 17 from Africa, two from Central America and four from the Asia-Pacific region. All these countries apart from two, Mali and Liberia, saw illiteracy rates for men fall to the 30-40% level in 1990, but rates for women continue as high as 60.5%. Only one of these countries has an illiteracy rate for women lower than 50%; in most of them it is between 60 and 70%. The countries in Group B have a much more developed culture of literacy compared with Group A, and there are more public libraries, and indices for newspaper readership average 17.5 per 1,000 people, compared with 5.7 per 1,000 people in Group A.

Countries in this group have more kindergartens, but they continue to be only for a minority section of society. Here too, apart from two countries, there is no discrepancy between the numbers of boys and girls enrolled.

In some countries the enrollment of boys for primary education has grown from around 25% to almost 100%, and while two countries have only 10-20% of girls enrolled in primary education, most of them have rates for girls of over 50%. The average difference between girls' and boys' primary school enrollment has shrunk a little, to 79.8 girls for every 100 boys, and there are two countries which have equal or higher enrollment rates for girls. Secondary education reaches anywhere between 6 and 90% of boys, but only 4 to 73% of girls. Although there are some extreme cases such as Bhutan (29 : 100) or Togo (34 : 100), on average there are 63 girls enrolled in secondary education for every 100 boys, a slight improvement on Group A countries. At the higher education level, enrollment of boys is mostly about 1% of the relevant age group, and the rate for girls is less than 1% in most countries. The average difference between boys' and girls' enrollment is 100 : 26, almost the same as in Group A.

Many countries in Group B are making steady progress in

national development, and they have relatively modernized and urbanized societies. Their literacy and primary school enrollment rates are, on average, higher than those of Group A, and the discrepancies between rates for boys and girls are also smaller. It should be remembered, however, that statistics are only averages, and conceal considerable variation. Within Group B countries there are many places, such as remote coastal or mountain villages, areas populated by minority tribes, or slum areas, which are as impoverished and economically backward as any of the Group A countries. However in this group, there are indications of a growing desire for education and literacy among women, and future success depends to a large extent on the outcome of technical projects and programmes to carry out literacy education effectively, linking it with other development projects, and to cut the numbers of drop-outs from primar school.

When literacy rates reach levels of 70% or 80%, most societies adopt positive attitudes towards literacy, and in the urban areas and over large parts of the country basic literacy education is replaced by continuous education in the form of functional literacy or 'post-literacy'. Although it comes under literacy, education at this stage is not just reading and writing, but the education to upgrade people's lives, which may include social education, adult education and training in technical skills. However the remaining 10-20% illiterate people living in the slums or mountainous regions, as well as the minorities, the elderly, and the handicapped, are often beyond the reach of normal administrative functions, and literacy activities for these people require a strategy, a content and a method different in character from the usual programmes. As far as women are concerned, some countries still have illiteracy rates as high as 60 to 70%, and so many problems will have to be resolved in the future, such as generating effective literacy activities designed to reach women, bringing about the necessary change in women's attitudes, and promoting structural change in society and the family system that will allow women to take part in the mainstream of social life. Until these countries solve their problems of illiteracy among women, they are unlikely to see any great leaps forward in social and economic development.

The countries of Group C are close to solving their basic literacy problems. Now they need to turn their attention to regions left behind or particular groups within the population, and then the transfer to post literacy education. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that women's literacy problems have been

solved, as 20 out of a total of 40 countries still have illiteracy rates for women higher than 20%. Illiteracy rates for men have largely fallen in these countries to the 10%-20% level, and so the greatest issue in the run-up to the year 2000 is creating specific policies, and providing the funds, to solve the problem of illiteracy among women. In the 12 Arab and African countries in this group, there is a discrepancy of close to 20% between literacy rates for men and women, although in Asian countries, this gap has been reduced to 12%. But in Central and South America, with the exception of Bolivia, Brazil and Peru, the discrepancy is on average only 1% to 2%, and in Jamaica and Venezuela, women's literacy rates are actually higher. Group C countries also have better provision of public libraries, and a much more developed reading and writing culture than in the countries of Groups A and B. Newspaper readership also jumps to 75.8 per 1,000 people--much higher than in Groups A and B. But if this is compared to the corresponding figure of 334 per 1,000 people for the advanced countries, it is evident that some issues remain in the creation of a strong reading and writing culture. This may be related as much to the problem of purchasing power as to the formation of good reading habits among the people.

Statistics on kindergartens are provided by 21 out of the 40 countries. Kindergartens are particularly common in Central and South America, and although it is only a matter of 1% or 2%, in no less than 10 countries, enrollment rates for girls are higher than for boys. The majority of the Asian, African and Arab countries do not provide any statistics, but China and Malaysia report kindergarten enrollments at 20% to 30% and neither country identifies any discrepancy between enrollments of girls and boys. For primary education, 27 of the 40 countries claim enrollments of over 90%, and in more than 30 countries there is no significant difference between girls and boys, enrollments of girls in fact exceeding that of boys in more than 15 countries. In secondary education, enrollment rates exceeding 50% are reported by 17 countries for boys, but only 14 countries for girls, although in many of the countries, secondary school enrollment rates are the same for boys and girls, or sometimes higher for girls. At the higher education level, a gap does appear between girls and boys overall, but in Central and South America, six out of the 19 countries show higher rates for girls, and there is little discrepancy in the others.

The sample of 10 advanced countries shows little difference with the Group C countries in terms of enrollment rates for

primary education. But in kindergartens, secondary and particularly higher education levels there are distinct differences between the two groups. In most of the advanced countries, enrollment at kindergartens is between 60% and 100%, secondary school enrollments are closing on 100%, and no disparity between boys and girls is apparent at any level. However in higher education, Japan and Korea have rather low enrollment rates for girls, reaching only 50% to 60% of boys, whereas the West European countries showed in general a trend towards higher rates for girls. There are various possible explanations for this. It attests to a strong inclination towards studying on the part of girls, and suggests that in socially developed countries, equality of the sexes is reflected in school enrollments, but it also suggests that in higher education and in ongoing education, girls will eventually outnumber boys.

In this paper I have looked at the literacy issue at the macro level, and indicated some problem areas while comparing literacy rates with other educational indices. However, the problems of women's literacy will have to be dealt with at national and regional levels, or even through a micro approach at the grass roots level. In particular, aspects such as level of awareness in households, families and neighbourhoods, the socio-economic structure, local customs and traditions, and people's biases need to be studied to determine a strategy to resolve problems related to individual circumstances. These problems will require discussions, and for the purposes of such discussions, I would like to point out the issues at each level:

Central and local government level
-- Policies and plans for education emphasizing literacy, and the securing of necessary funds for this; needs assessment
-- Plans to train specialists and volunteers
<-- Setting up administration, and institution development
<-- Coordination and cooperation of related government and local agencies
<-- Decentralization
-- Linkage to socio-economic development programmes
-- Design, implementation and evaluation of campaigns and programmes
-- Creating a curriculum and teaching materials closely linked to upgrading people's lives
-- Encouraging participatory approach and generating interest and motivation
-- Support for NGOs, and establishing a cooperative system

-- Cooperation with aid organizations

Educational vision, together with policies and legislation at the national level, especially in basic literacy, functional literacy, post literacy, linkage with school education, continuing education, lifelong education, are issues for all the countries in A, B, C, and D Groups, as we approach the new century.

The problem of women's literacy is not something that should be left to central governments. It needs to be raised at the grassroots level, such as at the individual or family/household level, or in the local community. Despite all manner of difficulties, NGOs, volunteers, and leaders working at these levels have been making definite progress, so a great deal needs to be learned from their experience and the views they have developed, to mobilize individuals at the grassroots level.

In regions of extreme poverty, economic aspects of raising household and individual incomes, and gaining the new skills by which to do this, are much more pressing, but even so problems should not be seen only in material and economic terms, but also involving increasingly intricate and complex human relations within the household or the community, community life and status, and people's mental frame of mind. The ultimate objective is the development of women's individuality, the establishment and activation of their sense of identity, and thus a willingness to participate in social cooperation. The process of changing from a passive to an active identity gives all people, not only women, a sense of individual fulfillment, self confidence, and it leads to greater status for women. The first step in this direction, I believe, is literacy education.

Table 4 Projected adult literacy rates in the year 2000, by gender

	1990		2000	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Developing countries	74.9	55.0	80.3	63.2
Africa	59.0	36.1	70.2	49.6
Arab countries	64.3	38.0	73.1	50.6
Central/South America	86.4	83.0	89.7	87.3
East Asia	85.7	66.4	90.0	75.4
South West Asia	59.1	32.2	60.2	41.2
Least developed countries	51.4	27.9	60.8	37.3

Note: Statistics are all taken from 1991 World Education Report published by Unesco.

Tackling the Literacy Issues

Mr. Akihiro Chiba
Professor
International Christian University

Good morning. Time is short, and we have a unique opportunity to hear a very interesting talk about Nigeria from Ms Chukuma, so I will be very brief.

I think that yesterday's video will have given you a more realistic idea of what literacy is all about.

The literacy issue has recently been attracting a lot of attention all round the world, but in fact literacy never featured very much as an issue in the past. In Europe in the Middle Ages, the literacy rate was extremely low, and records indicate that around the 13th century, many members of the aristocracy, and even monarchs themselves, were not able to write.

This situation led to the appearance of people whose profession was to read and write, such as the clergy who controlled religious activities, and secretaries who wrote on behalf of others, and history shows that these people garnered for themselves considerable social status.

Of the factors that encouraged the spread of literacy throughout European society, Protestantism, or the Reformation, was the first to play a highly significant role. This was because up till that time the Bible had only ever been written in Latin, but the Protestant movement permitted the Bible to be translated into local languages.

But real progress in literacy is said to have occurred from the 19th century onwards. Literacy rates climbed swiftly in America, Europe and adjacent societies. For example, in what was then the Soviet Union, Vladimir Ilich Lenin drew up a law to eradicate illiteracy, and sponsored literacy education throughout the whole country. Other socialist countries also began seriously tackling the literacy problem: China in 1949, Burma (now Myammar) in 1960, and Cuba in 1961. Yet despite the passage in 1919 of Lenin's legislation to eradicate illiteracy, it is said to have taken until the Second World War to eliminate illiteracy completely.

Thus, socialist countries have been running literacy campaigns for many years, and the socialist and communist countries have in general achieved impressive results through literacy education.

The non-socialist countries, however, have not on the whole had much success with literacy campaigns. Some reasons are given: the lack of clear political will, problems of

administrative organization, or else timing, or the very low possibility of mobilizing large numbers of people in non-socialist countries.

In Japan we had the *terakoya*, or private basic education, system. These schools were first set up between 1469 and 1500, and were dispersed widely throughout the population. There are said to have been 800 such schools in 1722. They not only taught boys - quite a number were set up for girls.

The literacy problem did not become prominent in the international arena until the postwar period, and even then, many Third World countries did not enter the international community until around 1960, and so it was only really after 1960 that literacy came to be regarded as an important issue.

I will not go into great detail here, but let me just say that the first world-wide conference to be held on literacy issues was in Teheran in 1965.

In 1965 Iran, to its credit, took an active lead by setting up three task forces as an alternative to military service: a literacy corps, a women's corps, and a public health corps, which were sent to work in Iran's remote rural and desert regions. Furthermore, Iran proposed to the rest of the world that each country's military spending for one day should be diverted to the cause of literacy. But unfortunately, not one country followed Iran's lead in this.

Initially, literacy issues and school education found no common ground, and even in UNESCO, the two were dealt with separately. During the 70s, however, the concept of life-long education became universally accepted, literacy was combined with primary education, and this developed into so-called 'education for all'. Finally, growing concern culminated in the declaration of 1990 as International Literacy Year.

The international community is currently putting great effort into improving levels of literacy. The conference held in Jomtian was attended by Japanese representative, and problems of literacy and primary education were discussed. Unfortunately, people sometimes feel that they have fulfilled their responsibilities merely by attending the conference, and they subsequently tend to lose interest. But the literacy issue is fundamental, and to try and maintain the momentum, a non-governmental sector is currently working very hard, promoting and organizing a World Terakoya Movement.

There are many different concepts of literacy, and the approach people use very much depends on the concept they have.

For example, some countries take a sort of social work or social welfare type of approach, and other countries see literacy as a matter for 'conscientization', to use Paulo Freire's expression.

Currently many countries are adopting a technical approach, which may link literacy, for example, to socio-economic development or to bettering one's way of life.

In multi-ethnic countries, there is the political approach: for instance, in what language or languages should one teach literacy? or how can literacy be used to bring the people together as one national family? In other words the top-down political approach, or else the bottom-up social-reformist type of approach.

A new approach that has appeared recently is based on awareness of human rights or human sensitivities. Particularly in countries such as the Philippines, literacy is linked to the concept 'empowerment', and this is likely to make the issue of women's literacy a very influential one in the future.

If I talk much longer, I will not leave sufficient time for our next speaker, so I will close at this point. If there were more time, I wanted to talk about the international cooperation activities in the literacy field now being undertaken by Japanese governmental and non-governmental organizations. But I can talk in detail about this in our group discussions later on, so I will stop at this point and give Ms Chukuma plenty of time.

One last point - I would like to leave with you an example of a curriculum or module for promoting literacy for women. It links the issue of providing education for women to that of literacy, and deals with attitudes on girls going to school. Currently being undertaken are analyses of social issues provided at the same time through literacy programs to raise the awareness. Books on this issue called [Self-reliant Women Series] are available. I will leave these books with the National Women's Education Centre, so if you are interested, please take a look at them.

Thank you very much.

(Book list)
Banana co-operatives
Can women lead?
Cashing in on corn leaves
Cattle grazing for cash
Chicken care
Expanding mumu business
Food Marketing
Goat raising-cash key to choices
New Weaving Loom
Organize to Lead
Planning Bananas, Planning Money
Poultry Keeping for Cash
Sharing Responsibilities - Sharing Happiness
Together we sell
Ways to earn more
Why not educate girls?
Women in Gardening

(Self-reliant women series) Bangkok, UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, 1992.

Education System in Nigeria with Special Reference to Women and Girls' Literacy Situation

Ms. Teresa Ebuzaju Chukuma
Executive Chairman
National Commission for Women

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, it was only yesterday that I was asked to present this paper. So please forgive that it was prepared rather in a hurry.

I am to talk about the education system in Nigeria with particular reference to women and girls.

To start with, my name as you heard is Mrs. Chukuma. I am the Executive Chairman of the National Commission for Women. The Women's Commission is one of the large establishments under the office of the president.

But before I took up office last year, I spent all of my working life in education. My discipline is Geography, and I studied in the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, University of London and University of Iowa in the U.S.A. Teaching Geography in secondary schools was therefore my main occupation. And I have been privileged to be the principal of two schools: one a co-educational boarding school in Lagos and the other one an all-girls boarding school also in Lagos.

I also spent about twelve years in educational administration, being a director in charge of schools. And during the last four years before I retired from active service last September, I was the director charged with organizing the inspection and supervision of all schools in Nigeria below the university level, including the non-formal education centres in the country.

Nigeria as you know, has a large population, though not as much as Japan. But we have a population of 88.5 million people, nearly 50% of these being women. The education system before independence varied from one region to the other. Some regions had eight years of primary education; that is, combining the last two years of nursery with primary. And some had seven years. But most regions had six years of primary, five years of secondary, two years of higher school, and then three years of university or higher education.

In 1973, a new educational system came into being in Nigeria which we call in brief the 6-3-3-4 system. This system harmonized the education system in the whole country. And so we now have six years of primary, three years of junior secondary, three years of senior secondary, and four years of higher education. And primary education begins at the age of six.

In 1976, the Nigerian government made all children who were six to go to school and made it free.

In September 1992, that is just a year ago, the government passed a law making education not only free, but also compulsory for the first nine years of schooling.

At the moment, however, monitoring the implementation of the policy has been a problem. This is because not all parents want their children to go to school. Some prefer to send mainly boys. Others, if they can afford it, send one or two girls. And some of them want to send their children to school, but do not want to send them beyond the primary stage. Meanwhile, the government has not started providing all the facilities and necessities for education free of charge. In some districts, therefore, children are asked to pay costs for improving physical facilities, and also costs of their books, and pay the costs of transportation to and from school.

So the dilemma is "can the government really force all children to go to school if parents can't pay such costs?"

The result is that it is still children of the middle class who have the advantage of going to school.

Now I will talk about female enrollment in primary schools. At the independence in 1960, the total enrollment of childresn was about 2.9 million in primary schools, and female enrollment was 1.1 million giving a percentage of about 37.

In 1976, enrollment increased to 6.2 million for both boys and girls in primary schools. And the girls increased slightly to 2.6 million giving an average per cent of about 42.

By 1982, with the free primary education that had come into full force, enrollment increased to 14.3 million in primary schools. The girls were now 6.1 million that is about 43%.

And by last year, enrollment stood at 14.8 million in primary schools. And the girls were 6.5 million, that is about 44%.

Next, I will talk about teachers' employment. About 30 per cent of all teachers in primary schools are female. In secondary schools in Nigeria we are also beginning to notice that more girls are enrolled in secondary schools than boys, especially in the southern part of the country. This is because many of the boys after primary school now go into trading.

The main problem has been that of unemployment. Children come out of secondary schools and cannot get jobs. Some even come out of universities and don't have enough jobs. So parents begin to ask, "what is the use if we spend our money to send our children to school and they have no jobs?" And so some parents prefer to send their children, especially boys, to training schools and to places where they can be apprentices or can learn to trade.

Again, you find, as I said, in primary schools that you have about 30% of teachers being female. In fact, in secondary schools, almost 60 per cent of all teachers are female. And what we noticed when we tried to analyze this is that, firstly, men looked down on teaching and secondly, we found that there are many other things for men to do than teaching. They only do teaching if they have nothing else to do whereas the women prefer to teach, because tearchers work at certain time and go back to their family early in the day. So you'll find that more women are now going into teaching for thier convinience.

Now for university enrollment; the figures I have here are 1988 statistics. I tried to get some for 1992 but I didn't succeed. Looking at enrollment in faculties in universities; more women are enrolled in education naturally. We have about 31.2% of female enrollment in education. In the arts 30.5%, social sciences 30.4%, administration 8.2%, medicine 5.5%, law 4.2%, engineering and technology 5%, agriculture 5.7% and natural sciences 9.0%.

What is noticable is that the government has been trying over the years to make special efforts to get women interested in science, because, as you can see, the enrollment in science are much lower than the arts and the humanities. And so some state governments have been giving scholarships for girls to do science and mathematics. Last year, it was reported that the admission into universities in September 1992 in natural sciences had 27% being girls who were admitted into various universities. So it looks as if something is coming out of the encouragement efforts that government is making.

Are there any barriers to women's education? Yes. These include early marriage. In some parts of the country, girls of 13-15 years are married off. And this one can attribute to either their religious or traditional background.

In the northern part of Nigeria they have the tradition of marrying the girls earlier. But in the southern part where they are mostly Christians, girls are allowed to go to school for as long as they want especially if the family can afford it.

As far as the traditional culture is concerned, there are quite a number of people, male in particular, who still believe that the women's place is in the kitchen.

So the school curriculum adopted by the 6-3-3-4 system in 1982 started making Home Economics, for instance, compulsory for both boys and girls. So since 1982 all boys and all girls do Home Economics compulsorily in the first three years of secondary school. And the interesting thing we have discovered is that there are some boys who are better in home economics than girls, whereas we also found that there are some girls who have excelled in technical drawing, for instance, than boys. So the main thing is to give all children the opportunity and they will be able to prove themselves.

Another problem that has affected girl's education is child labour. Some families, especially the lower and poorer-class families believe that children have to help to bring income into the family. And so they give their children away to the upper class where they work as servants to the richer families.

Some of them, as young as seven, eight or ten years, go into other households to help. Whatever they are paid, it is sent back to their families.

Also some people who allow their children to go to school only allow them to go part-time, while in the afternoon, they do some hawking. They carry foodstuff and fruits, and go around the streets, selling them and bringing money to the family.

We've now discovered that hawking is posing a lot of danger for the girl child, because some of the children get abused by men.

The national machineries have introduced counselling units for parents, not only of those engaged in child labour, but also they try to make parents aware of the importance of allowing their girls in particular, to go to school. This is because if the girls' education is improved, then the condition of the whole family would be improved.

With regards to the informal sector: this is handled by different agencies in Nigeria. At government level it is handled by the federal, state and local governments. Literacy classes are organized in many places. They are combined with basic literacy, functional literacy and skill acquisition.

The Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also play a very important roll in literacy activities in Nigeria. For example, in my club which is ZONTA International Club of Lagos, we have day-care centres in major working areas in Lagos. And we use part of the buildings to teach women who are cleaners in offices around how to read and write. We also have literacy classes in some market places, for market women. So that during the afternoon when the sun is hot and they are not selling so much, a lot of them do come around and learn to read and write.

The NGOs have organized themselves to assist those who are in purda in the Moslem areas where such women express their wish to learn but cannot come out to the literacy centres.

One may ask; what is the literacy rate now in Nigeria? The rate varies from state to state, and from one region to the other. In general, the southern part has a lot of awareness of the benefits of education, so in the southern states literacy rate ranges between 65% and 85%.

Indeed, in Lagos and in some cities in the south, it is as high as 90%. But in contrast, in the northern states where they are predominately Moslems, the rate is much lower. The rate is about 25% in some areas and where there are Moslems and Christians, it rises to about 45%. This naturally brings down the national average to about between 45% and 65%. The task that the government is facing now is to reach at least 80% as national average by the year 2000.

We were lucky to have had a dynamic first lady, by name Mrs. Maryam Babangida who used all her resources and energy to improve the condition of the women in Nigeria during her husband's tenure of office from 1987 to 1993. She founded the Better Life Programme for Rural Women which has spread like wild fire into all the villages of the country. The rural women are now very active in many areas, for example, in literacy and income-generating activities. These women engage in mat-weaving, rice and grain-milling with small scale machinery, mostly fabricated locally. The women have been taught also to use the machines and to do minor repairs themselves.

The Better Life Programme has recorded tremendous successes in many areas for the past six years it has been in existence. For instance, before the Better Life Programme was introduced, we had 378 Co-operative Societies nation-wide. But by December 1991, we had 7,203 Co-operative Societies managed by women. Also cottage industries were very few, but by December 1991, we had 1,062 cottage industries dotted all over Nigeria.

There were not so many farm gardens but now the women have established at least 1,751 farm gardens.

As for Better Life Shops, we had none before 1987, but we now have 511 better life shops where they sell all the useful items needed by women.

Better Life Markets: we did not have any markets before, but by December 1991 we had 178 markets. Most of them meet twice a week where they sell the foodstuff from the interior or the rural areas, bring them near the cities and sell them at a reasonable price.

Women Centers: we did not have any women's centres, but now we have 428 women's centres all over the country.

Social service centres: we had 28 before the Better Life Programme was introduced, but we now have 198.

Educational projects: we had about 85, but now we have 323.

So the Better Life Programme, apart from helping women, more especially the rural women, gave the women of Nigeria, especially those living in rural areas, some form of economic independence.

I'll wait for questions.

Thank you very much.

< Environmental Protection:
Women and Forests >

Women's Participation in Social Forestry

- A Case Study in Nepal -

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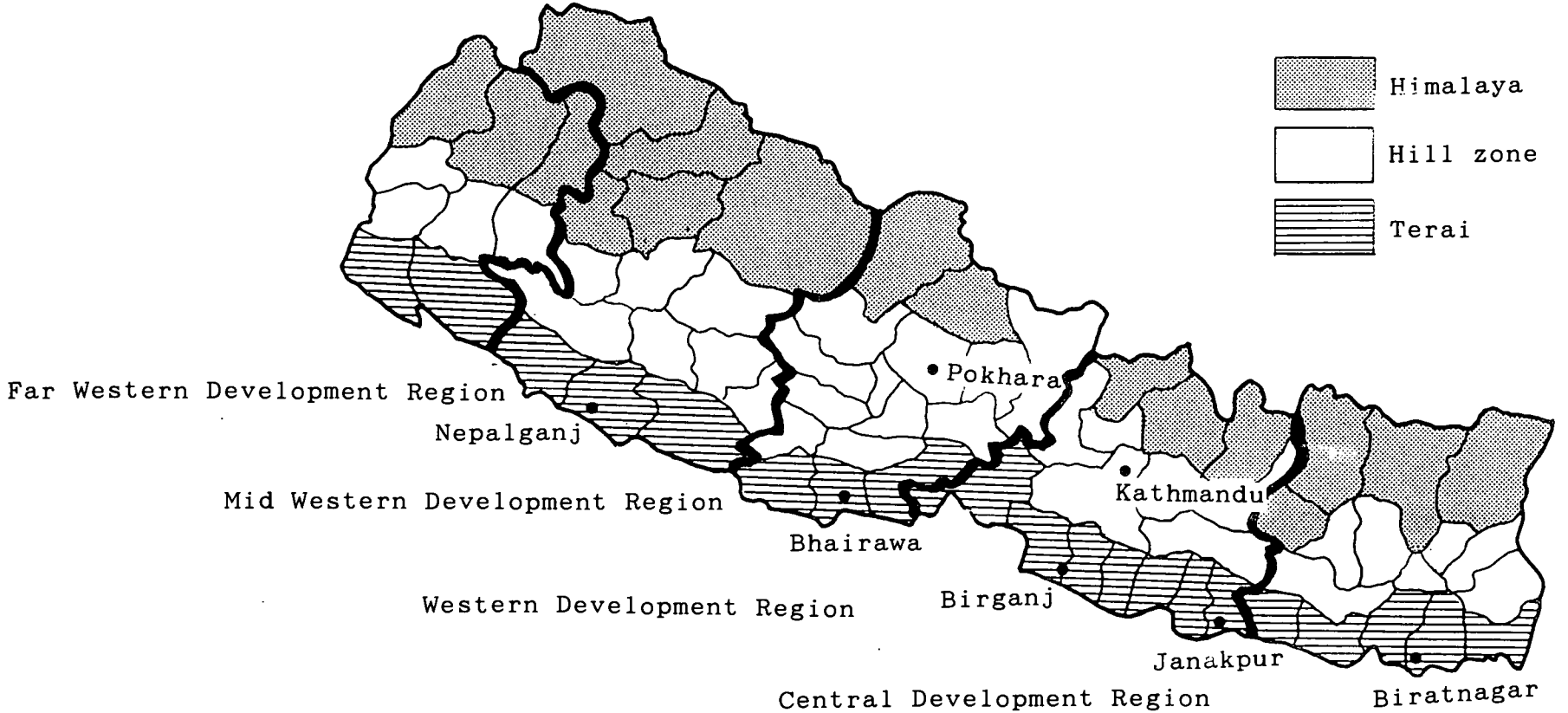
Regions in Nepal: 1. Terai, Hill zone, Himalaya
2. Present economic development regions



Note: Thick lines are boundaries between development regions, thin lines are district boundaries

Source: JICA 1993 *Report of Research Group on Ais to Nepal*

Introduction

The problem of environmental degradation in the Himalayas is not new. The depletion of the forests brings about soil erosion leading to the loss of the soil cover, the drying up of water sources and changes to the ecosystem which affect not only Nepal in the foothills of the Himalayas, but also India, where the overspilling of silt-laden rivers causes flooding and other damage. A range of forestry conservation and river basin management projects have been put in place to combat this, and although they have had some effect locally, for Nepal as a whole, they have not produced the results that were expected.

Apart from naturally occurring fires, the major causes of environmental destruction are the extending of areas under cultivation, the cutting of wood for fuel and animal feed, and overgrazing as a result of population growth. Most of the farming population lead a hand-to-mouth existence and are heavily reliant on forest resources for firewood and animal fodder. Increasing population pressure has destroyed the balance between the competing uses of the land, livestock rearing, forestry and cultivating crops.

Another theory lays the blame for environmental destruction largely at the door of the central government's nationalization of the forests in 1957, which has excluded local people from the forests. In the hill regions, where large numbers of farming households live at the very limits of subsistence, forest resources are essential to their livelihood. Shutting people out of the forests has destroyed their conventional ways of forest management, which have been replaced by more and more uncontrolled and illegal felling.

In response to these problems the government has drafted a 'Forest Sector Master Plan (1990-2010)' to provide for the population's basic needs for forest products. It is promoting 'social forestry' with the participation of local people, and has worked out policies for the maintenance and management of common forest land in village communities by the local population. However Nepal's bureaucratic system, and its 'top down' style of decision-making based in the capital, have meant that there has been little actual implementation of these policies, despite the availability of assistance from international agencies and NGOs.

This paper looks at how the Nepali people's daily lives are related to the forests, and how social forestry involving local

people is working. It is based on field studies undertaken on two occasions: in December, 1992, and from August to October 1993. Between the field studies and the International Forum, there has not been sufficient time to prepare a detailed analysis of the field studies data, which will appear later in a different format.

1. Outline of Field Studies

The first survey was undertaken as part of a Survey on Social Forestry and Gender run by JICA's Institute for International Cooperation. For 10 days during the dry season, in December 1992, the survey team was based in the town of Pokhara, about 200km west of Kathmandu, and studied measures being undertaken as part of the forestry projects in the surrounding areas. In the area around Pokhara there are three lakes: Phewa Tal, Begnas Tal, and Rupa Tal. Trees are sparse on the surrounding mountain slopes, and in places eroded soil has filled in parts of the lakes. In order to secure water sources and preserve the local ecosystems the government of Nepal has been promoting reforestation and river basin management using aid provided by the government of Finland, and international NGOs such as CARE. JICA also started a Forestry Promotion Planning Project in the area in 1991, to encourage forest conservation through the participation of local people, and has been surveying the area.

The second survey was undertaken during the wet season, for three months from August to October 1993, and was centred on the same mountain villages in the area around Pokhara. The survey formed part of the Forestry Promotion Planning Project and collected information on the local population's development needs, particularly relating to forests, and how the women's lifestyle is related to the forests. Two JICA forestry specialists resident in Pokhara had undertaken a basic survey in about 50 villages. Seven of these were selected for visits for the present survey.

2. Nepal's Forests and Forestry Policies

According to government statistics about 58% of Nepal is forest-covered, but the recent rapid depletion of forests has brought about landslides, soil erosion, floods and desertification. A 1980 UN report stated that Nepal's forests were disappearing at the rate of 4.3% a year, the fastest rate of destruction in the world, and 570,000 hectares of virgin forest are said to have been lost between 1964 and 1985.

The view from the air shows terraced fields continuing right up to the crests of the mountains, and very patchy forest cover. Walking to the mountain villages in the Pokhara region, woodland is extremely sparse on the flatter land, and in many areas the terraced fields have been abandoned and the land has reverted to scrub. Expanding cultivation means that the people (largely the Bahun and Chhetri) who once lived on the flatter land are cultivating crops and grazing animals higher and higher up the mountains, while the people (largely the Magar and Gurung) who once lived only at higher altitudes are gradually moving down and also turning more and more land over to crops; thus depleting the forests.

As for the Terai plains, people from the hill and mountain regions have steadily migrated to this region since the eradication of malaria in the1960s, and the cultivation of more and more land has caused rapid loss of forests. Indeed, the highest rate of forest destruction is in the Terai. To conserve the forests for timber production, the government nationalized all forests in 1957 and restricted the access of the general population. Forest wardens are armed and behave like police, and have long had bad relations with the local people. Nevertheless, in the mountain villages, large numbers of poor subsistence farmers are forced to rely heavily on forest resources in their daily lives. Pressure on forests has been further exacerbated by population growth, and under government management, it has become impossible to advance forest conservation. In an attempt to prevent the total destruction of forests, the government has switched its policy to one of 'social forestry' or 'people's forestry', entrusting the people with the right to use and manage virgin forest and other wooded land themselves.

Social forestry or people's forestry can be defined in a variety of ways. What it does not mean is the commercial planting of forest for timber production. Rather, it is a forest management method that takes the form of the maintenance and management of common woodlands by the people themselves, the planting of new woodland to supply people's basic needs for firewood, fodder and timber, and where appropriate, the felling and clearing of forest land. In Nepal, local people form themselves into groups and submit their forest-use plan for approval by the Forestry Agency and earn the right to use and manage their forests. The government continues to own the land, but the local people have the right to utilize planted trees. By entrusting people with the management of the forests the

government is trying to prevent uncontrolled and illegal cutting, support the livelihood of poor farming families and promote the local conservation of forests.

3. The Relation between Forests and People's Livelihood

In the mountain regions, the people in farming communities rely on the forests not only for vital resources for agricultural production, but also for a wide range of essential resources for their daily lives. For example, timber is needed to build community facilities such as houses and schools, and to make farm implements and other tools, firewood is needed for preparing food and keeping warm, and fodder and bedding are needed for livestock. Medicinal plants, vegetables such as mushrooms, nuts, materials to make baskets and mats, and small animals are all collected from the forest. Thus, the people's way of life is closely tied to the forests. Furthermore, many villages preserve areas of sacred forest, called 'ban devi', which play an important role in the people's religious beliefs.

Women are closely involved with the forest on a daily basis, and it is the women who are most easily affected by the depletion of forests. Gender roles and division of labour vary according to region, tribe and caste, but cooking, collecting firewood, fetching water and washing clothes are invariably women's tasks. Where there are abundant forest resources nearby, women's workload and hours of labour are not so long, but in places where woodland is distant and sparse, their work becomes very long and hard. As forests disappear and women's hours of labour increase, their health is affected, but few areas have adequate medical and health services. Many villages have no doctor. The poorest women who own no land rely particularly heavily on forest resources for their food, medicines and materials for making the baskets and mats necessary for their livelihood.

Women who do not have the means to feed themselves through farming activities, sometimes support themselves by collecting and selling firewood or fodder taken illegally from the forests. In the mountainous regions around Pokhara, in the early mornings large numbers of women carrying great bundles of firewood can be seen coming out of forests where entry is officially prohibited. Such activities are frequently criticized as spurring the depletion of the forests, but levying fines on these impoverished women will never resolve the underlying problems.

I would now like to turn to the three uses of wood (firewood, fodder and timber) which are most needed to support people's livelihood.

3.1 Firewood

In the mountain villages, firewood is the major source of fuel. Overall, Nepal relies on firewood for 75% of its fuel needs. Collecting firewood from the forest is largely the task of women and girls. Trees are cut during January and February in the dry season, the wood is left to dry for about a month and then carried to individual households. Recently, bio-gas made from livestock dung has started to be used as fuel, but its price puts it out of the reach of most farming families.

In areas where forests have been severely depleted there is a shortage of firewood and women have to walk long distances to forested areas. Some reports say that even after reaching forests, collecting wood is time-consuming because of the scarcity of wood. It is rare for the men to collect firewood, and so children are often pressed into helping. When children, and particularly girls, have to spend long periods of time collecting firewood, their attendance at school suffers. This sort of situation also applies to water resources. Loss of forests has caused depletion of water resources. As water is only available at a limited number of places, the time spent collecting water increases. In the dry season, many regions suffer a shortage of water, and women and children are forced to make repeated journeys to collect water for family and livestock.

As electricity and gas are not used for household fuel purposes in the vast majority of villages, when firewood becomes scarce the husks of corn cobs and millet are used instead, but this means that this material cannot then be used for animal feed or fertilizing the soil. As a result, in communities which cannot buy alternative forms of fertilizer, there is a drop in agricultural productivity.

3.2 Fodder

In the rural communities of the hill zone, the cultivation of cereals such as rice, maize and millet is the main activity, but water buffalo, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens are also kept, and foliage and grass from woodland are used for fodder. Cattle and water buffaloes are mainly kept as draught animals and for milk, and sheep and goats provide wool, milk and

meat, and so livestock plays an important role in supporting people's lives.

Collecting foliage and fresh grass for fodder for the livestock is usually the task of women and girls. In the wet season fodder can often be found relatively close at hand, but in the dry season the women may be forced to go to distant woodland.

In the Pokhara region, foliage and grass from nearby woodland or patches of trees growing around the houses are used as fodder for livestock. Fodder is often in short supply in the dry season, and there are only small areas of trees and shrubs around the houses, so the depletion of forests makes shortages of fodder more likely. In some regions, programs are being implemented to protect forests by encouraging people to keep their livestock in sheds for stall feeding, rather than allowing them to graze freely. This, however, may require an even greater time of women to collect fodder.

Bedding is spread in livestock sheds, and later is mixed with dung and used as compost, thus making an important contribution to maintaining the productivity of the land. Hardly any of the farming households in the Pokhara region use chemical fertilizers.

Ways in which Forest Resources are Used in Mountain Villages

Forests

Firewood
Cooking food, preparing animal feed, smoking food, providing warmth, as fuel for an occupation (blacksmith, potter etc.)

Fodder
Feed for livestock, bedding for livestock, and mixed with animal dung to make farm compost

Timber
Construction and repair of houses and community facilities, furniture, agricultural tools, telegraph poles, bridges (log bridges, suspension bridges etc.)

Food
Mountain vegetables, mushrooms, nuts, medicinal plants, paper-making, sericulture, bee-keeping, small animals, leaves etc. used in ceremonies

Environmental component
Functions to retain water, functions to prevent landslides and protect cultivated fields, etc.

3.3 Timber

Timber is needed largely for house construction or repair, for bridge supports and so on. Only trees with thick branches and trunks in relatively close woodlands are suitable. Buying wood from individual suppliers or from the market in Pokhara is a very great expense for farming households.

4. Women's Participation in Social Forestry

In spite of these very complex links that the Nepali people, and particularly the women, have with the forests, there is virtually no consideration given to the role of women in the government's 'Forest Sector Master Plan'. One would expect to find guidelines or even actual programmes promoting the participation of women in social forestry or people's forestry, but those do not appear in the Plan.

In certain districts there are several women committee members of forest-users groups, chosen to reflect the views of women. In most of these cases, however, international organizations have required their participation, and unfortunately women on committees often will not or cannot speak out and express their views, due to social conventions. Some training and other forest-related programmes being implemented allow women to take part, largely due to pressure from aid organizations, but women nevertheless have very few opportunities compared to men.

The training of women forest wardens or foresters has already begun, but even if a woman were lucky enough to find a job in the Forestry Agency after graduating from such a course, social circumstances would make it difficult for a woman to make frequent trips alone to remote districts, and so there are said to be restrictions currently imposed on the employment of women specialists.

One project in which women are actively encouraged to take part is the Phewa Tal river basin management project, a project promoted by the Forestry Agency with assistance from the government of Finland. However the importance of women's participation was not acknowledged from the

beginning. Only through a process of trial and error did it become clear that women's participation was vital, and then a way of actively involving women was introduced. The major feature of this project is that it recognizes the necessity of improving the lot of the poorest people in order to protect the environment. It not only promotes reforestation, but seeks to make more comprehensive provision for people's needs, such as electricity, drinking water, roads, increased food production, and health and medical services. As a result, river basin management is being more actively implemented.

In this project, so-called 'women motivators' are selected in each of six regions and stationed with the village development committee for that region. The motivators set up women's groups in the villages in their region and hold meetings once a month. Very active groups have become involved in preparing food and providing singing and dancing for religious festivals or weddings in the village, thereby collecting funds which are used for repairing paths, building bridges, small shrines, etc. When expensive materials are needed that they are unable to afford, the groups can get financial help from the project management as long as they can cover 50% of the cost themselves through their own earnings. Large scale undertakings have included setting up a piped supply of drinking water with a tank, digging ponds for watering livestock or irrigating land, constructing supporting walls to prevent landslides and planting trees and growing saplings for the surrounding area. The Sapling Centre managed by the project employs numbers of local women and so provides job opportunities. In some places small scale sapling orchards are located next to primary schools for the added purpose of teaching children the importance of protecting the environment. Additionally, two women are chosen from each 'ward' in the project region for training in Pokhara on encouraging the use of modified cooking stoves with chimneys which save on firewood, vegetable cultivation, making compost and so on. Some women's groups are cultivating mushrooms to generate a cash income.

But of course there are some problems. The women motivators and women committee members do not appear to be very active in forest management in the region. Interviews with women revealed that they felt there were social restrictions on women expressing their views at this sort of forum. Amongst the Bahun and Chhetri people, where women lead particularly restricted lives, in general it continues to be thought undesirable for women to be well educated and become active

in society. Interviews also revealed that some women feel it inappropriate to take part in forest management committees because of the political nature of such activities. Other women felt they were too busy to undertake the committee work. Even among the Gurung people, where women are relatively free to speak their minds, the view was expressed that the men can say what needs to be said, and so women do not need to attend committee meetings. Six women motivators had been selected by the project organizers, and were thus not accepted by either the men or the women in the villages, and therefore, not effective in promoting activities. On the other hand, women motivators are paid according to the number of modified cooking stoves installed in their regions, and this element of coercion on the part of the project organizers casts doubts on the value of the women motivators' activities.

5. Environmental Protection through Better Lives for Men and Women

In some of the Gurung villages studied, the men had gone overseas or to cities to find work, leaving women, children and the elderly to look after the village. Perhaps because everything was left to them, the women were extremely active and cooperative, but their working hours were long and life was hard. Even in Bahun Chhetri villages, where in general restrictions on women are said to be the strongest, women's working hours are long and their workload is excessive. In one village surveyed, the women get up at 4 a.m., and are busy all day preparing food, collecting water, and then doing agricultural work. They are always the last to eat, and finally get to bed at 9 or 10 p.m. after clearing up, but they do not have a moment's rest during the day.

Under such circumstances, it is just not possible to ignore the need for easier and better lives and concentrate solely on environmental protection as the number one priority. In a survey of needs that was undertaken, people placed the greatest importance on drinking water, electricity, access roads, health posts, increased production of food, and securing a source of cash income, and in only three out of seven villages were forest-related needs (getting firewood, fodder and timber, preventing landslides and illegal felling etc.) included in the top five of their most urgent priorities. In a separate survey of women, forest-related needs were put in the top five in only two villages.

This can be interpreted as showing that although the people are

aware of the depletion of the forests, they have no clear understanding of causes and effects, and because survival is tough, all their worries are directed to supporting their lives from one day to the next. However, by the time they can no longer ignore the effects of damage to the forests, it will be too late. So there is an urgent need for both men and women in the local population to encourage people to develop a more comprehensive understanding of environmental protection, and at the same time take the lead in starting activities that will improve people's lives.

Women's Role in Natural Resource Management

in Africa

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In Africa there is an immense need for better understanding of the relationship between development and environment. Research on environment has tended to focus on issues of technology development and transfer with little attention to the roles of the men, women and children who live in and interact with the environment. The linking of gender and environment is still at an early stage but it is clear that this is an area that allows for a great deal of innovative conceptual work and practical interventions (Rathgeber forthcoming 1994).

In the context of environmental degradation and deforestation, forestry management has become an issue of concern for African governments, NGOs, researchers and donor agencies. Africa's tropical moist forests are concentrated primarily in Zaire/Congo although there are smaller growths in Tanzania, Uganda and Madagascar. However, about three-quarters of Africa is arid or semi-arid with savannas and dry forests. These are found in bands across the continent with concentrations in Ethiopia, Angola, southern Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and northern Botswana (Timberlake 1991). However, smallholder tree production probably has the greatest potential for easing of the fuelwood crisis and for sustainable natural resource management.

"Fuelwood" used for domestic purposes in Africa normally includes not only logs but also twigs, leaves, brushwood, grass, straw and animal dung. In short, it encompasses any materials that can be used to sustain fires which are necessary for cooking, boiling drinking water, smoking fish and meat, light at night, warmth, heat to dry wet harvests, repell insects, cure tobacco, boil herbs for medicine, etc. Per capita consumption of fuelwood in the developing countries is about 1 ton per year with 50 percent being used for cooking (Sunny 1992). Fuelwood provides more than 90 percent of the total energy in most African countries.

Although sub-Saharan Africa is the most rapidly urbanizing region of the world, more than half of the population (except in South Africa) still lives in the rural areas. Migration of both sexes to towns and cities is common but there is a tendency for women to be disproportionately represented in the rural areas as a result of more frequent male migration to seek employment in urban or peri-urban areas. Commonly women and children remain behind, farming small plots of land. Often men come back for short periods annually to oversee their farms, sometimes instigating new agricultural practices to be carried on by their wives in their absence, placing an even greater burden on them.

1. Land Tenure

Even when men migrate to urban areas, they usually remain official heads of households and and hold legal rights of control over the use of property (Rocheleau 1993). When individual ownership rights to land exist at all, it is invariably in the name of male heads of households. In fact, in some parts of Africa it is illegal for men to sell their land to women. This practice, which traces its origins to the colonial period, places severe limitations on women's decision-making with respect to utilization of agricultural and forest land. It also limits their ability to obtain credit to purchase tools or inputs to help them improve their agricultural practices.

In many African societies, neither men nor women hold clear land ownership. Land is allocated by village chiefs and there is sometimes reluctance among local elites to assign land to tree planting since this effectively makes it unavailable for allocation on a short-term basis and erodes a major source of their influence (Hoskins in Timberlake 1991). In some cases, land is assigned for nurseries but not for actual tree planting. As will be discussed later, in examining the potential for improving forestry practices in Africa there is a need to understand local relations of power and to analyse the extent to which these will influence environmental choices.

2. Women's Work

In some cases, women compete with men for forest resources. Melissa Leach found that among the Mende in Sierra Leone women use and rely on forest resources more heavily than do men (Leach 1991). Leach presents evidence that delineates clearly the gendered power relations inherent in forest utilization by Mende women and men. she suggests that in the final analysis women's relationship with the environment is based both on negotiations with men and on a juggling of responsibilities and opportunities to take best advantage of those natural resources which are available to them.
Another example of gender differences is related to the widespread practice of bushland burning. Research has shown that while men tend to burn fields to clear them or promote the growth of grass for pasture, women often burn to stimulate the fruit and nut production of trees (Leach and Mearns 1988).

Collection of fuelwood is considered women's work in virtually all African societies. One Kenyan study estimated that women spend from five to six hours weekly engaged in fuelwood collection (Sunny 1992), however Mary Omosa found that in the Bura district of Kenya, fuelwood collection took from seven to nine hours per day and that all members of the family, including children were regularly involved. They walked an average of more than 12 km. in each firewood-searching foray (Omosa 1992). It is clear that there are great variations in the amount of time and effort required for fuelwood collection, depending on local environmental conditions and levels of deforestation.

Even when wood is relatively easily available, women frequently lack adequate tools to fell entire (dead) trees and may spend hours hacking through branches. Tools for women's work tend to be low on the list of household priorities and it is rare for scarce cash reserves to be spent for this purpose. Because women themselves seldome have access to credit they are unable to purchase tools and inputs to make their work easier.

Although it is rare for women to collect fuelwood expressly for commercial activities there are some cases, as in Ethiopia, where this is a female activity. For example, each day large groups of Ethiopian women climb into the hills surrounding the capital city of Addis Ababa to collect wood in the hillside forests. They carry loads ranging from 15 - 50 kgms. back down into the city (10-15 km.) and sell it to slum dwellers for small profits. It is physically exhausting work, carried out in hot sun or cold rain and it has led to serious health problems among the women, including back strain, headaches, nausea and dizziness (Haile 1989). Returns are small, barely enough to provide a subsistence living, and the work is precarious since women are often forced to steal the wood from guarded forest preserves and suffer rape or other assault when caught by guards.

As fuelwood becomes more difficult to find or more costly to purchase, poor women tend to switch to cooking less often or to cooking foods which require less fuel. In this way, women are the first victims of local wood shortages because their reproductive roles (including cooking of family meals) place them in a situation where they are sometimes held responsible for inadequate meals. Omosa found that in Bura district in Kenya, people often did without meals during periods of great fuelwood scarcity (1992). This has long term negative nutritional effects on families, especially young children and pregnant women.

When wood is gathered as a larger-scale commercial venture (i.e. for sale), it is usually undertaken by men. Exploitation of existing wood resources is more systematic and vehicles (animal-drawn carts or even trucks) are used for transport purposes. Environmental protection and tree planting usually is not a priority for commercial wood dealers but even for local communities, struggling to survive in hostile environments, environmental concerns are often of secondary importance.

Because rural women's needs for wood are constant, they have a vested interest in ensuring that the forest areas in their regions are preserved to ensure a continuing supply of wood. However, in the context of dwindling forests due to the dual effects of excessive clearing of land for agricultural purposes and population pressure, women increasingly have been forced to impose their own poverty on the environment. Although shortage of fuelwood is often a serious problem for women, it is not their only problem and they are sometimes more concerned with other issues, e.g. shortage of water or of food. There is evidence however, that rural women tend to be more environmentally conscious than their male relations and to think in terms of preserving forest resources for future generations.

3. Women's Knowledge

Local knowledge about natural resources is usually specific to regions or areas and focussed on livelihood strategies and management of risk. Increasingly, research is showing that rural African women have immense instrumental knowledge bases. For example, Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf (1993) found that in northern Ghana women collected different kinds of fuelwood for specific functions or purposes and their knowledge of tree species and of the properties (intensity of heat, length of burning, etc.) of different types of fuelwood was often very detailed. However, Ardayfio-Schandorf also found that if such knowledge was not used fairly regularly, it tended to be forgotten.

Rural women often collect tree products, sometimes from non-forest areas, as important sources of family protein and income. Ardayfio Schandorf found that Ghanaian women routinely collect leafy vegetables, honey, fruits, nuts, medicinal plants, fodder, and wood for household utensils and building materials. Some of these products are for domestic consumption but a large proportion are sold and are signifcant sources of income for the poorest women. A study in Zambia found that of more than 70 traditional vegetable species that were consumed, more than half were gathered in the wild. They formed an important part of household food security. The leaves and pods of dryland trees such as the acacia can contain up to 15 percent pure protein, which makes it a rich source of animal fodder. A study by Ruvimbo Chimedza in Zimbabwe

found that women routinely incorporated small wildlife (caterpillers, mopani worms, etc.) into the diets of their families and that these were recognized as having a high nutritional value (1993).

Frequently, rural women also have extensive knowledge of the medicinal properties of local flora and fauna, especially ones used in pregnancy, childbirth and the care of young children. Another area of knowledge often dominated by women relates to use of forest products for handicrafts, both for domestic use and for income-generating activities.

Rural women's knowledge also extends to forest and agricultural management. In some cultures women are responsible for looking after small livestock, which graze on forest products. They assume responsibility for teaching children how to protect small seedlings to ensure that they are not eaten by the animals (Williams 1992a).
In most African societies, intercropping of trees and shrubs with food crops has been a common practice. Traditionally, intercropping, coupled with crop rotation, has been an important means of building up soil nutrients. Frequently, drought or pest-resistant species have been interspersed with food crops.

However, cultural factors can pose important constraints on women's ability to utilize forest resources. Ardafayo-Schandorf (1993) found taboos against women planting or harvesting certain types of trees in northern Ghana. Similary, Wangu Mwangi and Irungu Houghton (1993) note that in western Kenya taboos prevent married women from planting trees for the construction of houses although they are permitted to grow trees for fuelwood or fodder.

Unfortunately, development planners have often seen women as victims of their environment and overlooked their strong potential to be active managers and preservers of the environment.
Moreover, foresters and forestry researchers have routinely ignored traditional knowledge of forest resource managment. Such officers tend to be predominantly male. For example by 1986 Kenya had only 9 female forestry officers, out of a total of 570 positions and Mali had 16 out of a total of 778 (Williams 1991a).

4. Social Forestry

Social forestry is an general term for projects that attempt to improve the access of all sectors of the community to forest resources (Evans 1989). Women are key actors in social forestry projects because of their immediate and specific forest needs.

Social forestry projects usually begin with tree planting in communal woodlots, and then with the development of hedges, windbreaks and agroforestry. However, such approaches while well-intentioned and technically sound, have often suffered from a lack of sufficient cultural and socioeconomic analysis. Projects have been developed from a technical perspective, focusing on the types of trees and agricultural practices that are appropriate for a particular area but giving little attention to the specific perceptions and interests of individuals and groups within communities, especially women. Success has been measured by numbers of trees planted or hectares reforested rather than by the benefits accrued to participants themselves. Moreover, female participation is commonly expected to be on a voluntary basis. Social forestry projects

seldom encourage women to plant timber for commercial purposes. Instead they are encouraged to think in terms of small-scale domestic consumption, thus reinforcing traditional gender stereotypes (Mwangi and Houghton 1993).

Tree growing projects require community concensus. Often villagers have been asked to participate without being given a clear picutre of how the ultimate benefits will be shared. Obviously this has reduced motivation to participate. It is clear that there must be concensus around the issue of planting trees at all, of how the work of planting and tending the young trees will be done, and of how the wood eventually will be divided.

In the drier parts of Africa there often is little incentive for men or women to engage in tree planting. According to Margaret Evans (1989) rural people usually lack extension advice on species choice, seed, water, tools, insecticides and other infrastructural necessities. Time is another demotivating factor, especially for women who may already be fully occupied with activities more immediately linked to survival for their families. Moreover, commuity forestry projects have often been established by governments to provide domestic fuel supply for urban areas. This usually does not provide a strong motivation for people in drier areas to plant trees, particularly when the returns are likely to be small.

Margaret Evans (1989) found in research in Kenya that various species of trees have different values for different ethnic groups or groups of people, therefore it is difficult to generalize about what types of social forestry projects should be developed. Evans argues that rural people usually have a good idea of their own needs and contends that forestry departments and policymakers would be well-advised to take this into account and stop trying to introduce exotic species that are neither adaptable over the long term nor meet the preferences of local people. In general, multipurpose trees seem to be most attractive as they provide timber, fodder, fruit, mulch, hedging or windbreaks as well as improving the supply of firewood from prunings, deadwood or waste (Sunny 1992).

Tree planting projects work best in areas where people have the expectation of remaining over the long-term. Forestry projects in resettlement areas have sometimes failed because of uncertainty about length of tenure. For example, Mary Omosa found in Bura district of Kenya that a majority of farmers wanted their children to migrate out of the area and they therefore were reluctant to waste time and energy in tree planting activities (1992). Similarly, a study in the Sahel found that if infrastructural services (water, education, health) were not available in an area, residents were less willing to make long-term commitments. This underscores the inherent logic in the choices made by African farmers, both men and women.

Frequently villages have been considered as a homogenous group without the recognition of of different needs, priorities and perceptions among individuals and groups. Commonly, men have been the village contact points for interaction with forestry officials and donor groups and women's views have not necessarily been reflected in the programs that have been established. To some extent this is because donors and forest extension agents want quick results and begin programs without full consultation but it also reflects a tendency to assume that men's and women's interests were identical. Social forestry project planners are only beginning to recognize that men's and women's interests are sometimes in direct conflict and that a key factor in the

success of projects is the assurance that the viewpoints of all major groups are taken into account.

In some cases, gender roles are strictly delineated with respect to type of agricultural work undertaken or type of crops being grown and the interests of men and women may consequently be very different with respect to what kinds of trees should be planted, the uses of trees and indeed, whether trees should be planted at all. For example, one study among the Yoruba in Nigeria showed that men tended to be farmers while women cared for livestock. In this case, men were interested in cutting tree branches for mulch while women preferred to use them for fodder (Mwangi and Houghton 1993). In other cases, there may be cultural or other reasons that make cooperation between men and women unlikely to be smooth. Deborah Kasente's (1992) study of Ugandan women's tree planting efforts has shown clearly that rural women often prefer to do projects without the participation of men since they fear male dominance and proprietorship of the results of their work. On the other hand, men sometimes resent "women only" projects and forbid their wives from participating.

Williams (1991a) notes that if women are to be involved in forestry projects there is a need to ensure i) they receive training to enhance their technical knowledge; ii) they are given opportunities for income generation and short-term benefits; and iii) they are also given an opportunity to participate in commercial forestry. In short, participation in forestry projects should present potential for growth and personal development, and new income opportunities.

5. Women's Groups

African women have a long history of group cooperation. In many societies, women organized along the lines of clans or age groups traditionally worked together on specific chores. However, in some cases women's groups fail to reach the poorest women who lack the time and resources to become involved. It has also been argued that social forestry projects have tended to exploit African women's organizational ability, expecting them to work as a group for long periods and for little return. Certainly, in most parts of Africa, women have been an important source of forestry labour but rarely have they been in supervisory or managerial positions (Mwangi and Houghton 1993).

Williams (1991a) has identified the major types of forestry activities in Africa in which women and women's groups tend to be involved. Most commonly, the impetus for women's involvement comes from outside, i.e. from government or from NGOs and this may be a factor in the frequent failure of women's forestry projects.

1. Work in forest reserves and forest plantations including paid labour in nurseries, seed collection, tree planting, weeding, clearing firebreaks and labour in exchange for resources.

2. Efforts to address fuelwood problems through fuelwood plantations, agroforestry fuelwood species and improved (fuel-efficient) cookstoves.

3. Agroforestry and farm foresty, i.e producing trees with crops or livestock.

4. Income-generating activities such as pole and fuelwood plantations; production of fruit tree seedlings; cultivation and sale of vegetables and fruits; production of improved cookstoves; and diversification into non-forestry activities.

Women's groups have had both successes and failures with social forestry. A recent study concluded that the Uganda Women Tree Planting Movement was not a success (Kasente 1992). Started in 1985, the main objective of the group was to engage in tree planting at grassroots on a voluntary basis. Kasente notes that there was a difference between national forest policy objectives and local realities. While official statements focussed on issues of environmental degradation and effective resource management, local people were primarily concerned with meeting immediate fuelwood needs for both domestic purposes and income-generation. Kasente attributes part of the reason for the Movement's failure to the fact that it was started by well-educated urban women who imposed their vision of needs on grassroots women. Rural women were not involved in the definition of the problem or of possible solutions (tree planting).

In contrast, Kenya's Green Belt Movement, started in the late 1970s under the auspices of the National Council of Women, has been extremely successful. The Movement has created more than 600 nurseries around Kenya and about 7 million trees currently growing in the country were planted by members. More than 50,000 Kenyans, mostly women have been or are active members of the Green Belt Movement. The Movement tries to meet the needs of communities by using local capabilities, expertise and resources. It has deliberately discouraged the participation of technical experts and the utilization of expensive, imported technologies. The Movement has focused on the specific needs and interests of women, thus making it attractive for them to participate. Some of these needs include:

i) the provision of fuelwood;
ii) the prevention of soil erosion and desertification;
iii) the generation of income from tree-planting activities; and
iv) the promotion and protection of indigenous species of trees.

The Green Belt Movement has developed specific guidelines for community groups wishing to participate in tree planting activities and it has succeeded in making it a financially attractive undertaking for rural women's groups who are able to sell the seedlings that they grow at the nurseries they establish.

6. Women's Roles as Natural Resource Managers

At the present time. although lip service is often paid to gender issues and the importance of women's roles, women's capacities are insufficiently recognized and utilized by most African governments. Women must be seen as active participants, decision-makers, and negotiators in resource management. However, it must also be understood that women have different interests, objectives and goals. Their relationships with men are not necessarily acrimonious but they frequently are based on strategization and manipulation to achieve the best possible conditions for themselves and their children. In understanding what constitutes a "best possible condition" non-economic considerations must also be taken into consideration. Thus the underlying

dynamics of male-female relationships must be given consideration, including the cultural context within which women operate.

It is clear that more women should be involved as forestry extension officers. Women's knowledge should be recognized and they should be given opportunities for technical training and higher level forestry work. However, women should also receive clear benefits from their involvement in forestry activities.
In designing projects that have the potential to better integrate women's concerns it is useful to ask the following questions (Feldstein with Jiggins 1993):

* Who does what, when and where?
* Who has access to and control of resources?
* Who has access to and control of benefits?

To gather such information, it is necessary to include women farmers in surveys. Both men and women should be asked to identify priorities, constraints and problems. Although forestry projects may initially be delayed by undertaking such surveys, the long-term benefits will be extremely high if people's responses become a basis for project design. As has been discussed above, many factors can mitigate against successful implementation of a social forestry project including lack of long-term commitment of villagers to remaining in the district, lack of clarity about who will benefit from the trees produced, a reliance on voluntary female labour, lack of understanding about the different needs of male and female farmers, etc.

There are a number of guidelines that can be kept in mind in the design of social forestry and other environment-related projects to ensure that they more effectively meet the needs of women. These include the following:

* Women should participate in the selection, design, implementation, control and evaluation of the project.

* There should be direct benefits for rural women and their families in terms of income-generation, community and self-help development.

* The project should encourage and facilitate sharing of conservation practices between and among women and their organizations.

* The project should involve the extension of appropriate environmental technologies to women and their organizations.

* It should lead to training of trainers and extension workers in natural resource management activities (Rhodda 1991).

In conclusion, it is clear that women have the potential to contribute a great deal to social forestry activities. However their participation must be recognized and valued much more highly by NGOs, donors and governments. Most rural women already are involved in more activities,

including both reproductive and productive labour, than they can comfortably handle. If they are to be drawn into forestry projects there must be clear benefits in terms of income, training, and further opportunities.

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Mainstreaming Women's Economic Activities in Development Policy Making, Planning and Programming

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This paper examines the different patterns of work of women and men in relation to the process of development. It argues that conventional definitions and measures of national income and economic activity are intrinsically biased against women, and that the course of development initially and inevitably tends to marginalise women and women's activities. As development proceeds, the importance of incorporating women into the development process is recognised, both because of the need for an additional supply of labour and because of the high social returns associated with increased female labour force participation. However, the previous marginalisation and exclusion of women places them at a major disadvantage. In addition to the burden of their domestic and reproductive roles, women entering the labour force are disadvantaged by their lower levels of education, training and experience. They also face gender-biased practices in the work place and, in many developing countries, strong conservative social sanctions against women's work outside the household. In such circumstances, a specific, broadly-based strategy is required to take into account the special needs and situation of women so that they can be fully incorporated into the development process as both active participants and equal beneficiaries. Mainstreaming of women in development policy-formulation, planning and programming, as advocated by UNIFEM and other international agencies, provides a model of such a strategy. The paper concludes by briefly describing the principles of mainstreaming and the role of increased economic activity for women in attaining the objectives of mainstreaming.

Measures to increase women's participation in economic activity are an important component of efforts to integrate women more fully into all aspects of social, political and economic development. In developed countries, these efforts have sometimes been driven by a growing market demand for female labour and pressure from female voters. By contrast,

developing countries seek the wider benefits that accrue to society as a whole from women's greater access to income and control over resources[1]. Increased economic activity for women provides potential returns to parental investments in the education of daughters, motivating parents to educate girls, as well as encouraging young women to continue their education. These incentives raise the educational level of the next generation of women, producing significant benefits for the women, their families and the nation as a whole. In developing countries, higher education for women is associated with higher levels of education for their children, lower infant and child mortality, increased use of contraception, and lower fertility (Caldwell, 1986). Conversely, countries with the lowest levels of female labour force participation tend to have low levels of education, particularly for women, high infant and child mortality and high fertility. Individual families also benefit from these trends, as well as from the increased income that women are able to bring to their households. Thus, increased female labour force participation offers both private benefits and very high social returns in developing countries.

In all countries, regardless of the level of development, women and men have rather different patterns and levels of economic activity. In most societies, all men who are neither in full-time education nor retired are expected to be active in the full-time labour force. Because "work" is the norm for men, male labour force participation rates are generally high and rise sharply to over 90 per cent in the peak working ages between 30 and 50 years. By contrast, social norms regarding economic activity for women vary considerably. In some societies, such as those of the Middle East, strong social pressures accompanied by institutional barriers discourage women from working outside the household, and few women

[1]in addition to responding to pressure from international agencies.

of reproductive age are active in the labour force. In others, such as Thailand and China, work outside the household is quite acceptable, even for women with young children, and rates of labour force activity are high. However, although labour force participation rates for women therefore vary, from below 10 per cent to over 70 per cent, they are almost universally well below comparable rates for men.

This raises a number of interesting and important questions. Why are women's levels of economic activity low, and do women really work less than men? Are the differences between women's and men's patterns of work fixed and immutable, or are they related to particular stages and processes in development? Why are "women in development" considered to be a "problem"? - there is no comparable "men in development" problem. The answers to these questions are complex, and are to found in an understanding of the interactions among biology, history and economics.

Women's pattern of work differs from that of men primarily because of a division of labour between women and men that originates in biological differences between the sexes. The principal responsibilities of most women in all societies are biological reproduction (pregnancy, child-bearing and lactation) and child rearing. Although child rearing can be shared between women and men, women's biological reproductive functions cannot be shared, and the strong links and complementarity between child-bearing and child rearing lead to the two being generally combined as the responsibility of women.

This sex-based division of labour does not necessarily lead to major differences in the status of women and men in traditional subsistence-oriented agricultural societies, where other

explanations may be more important in accounting for differences in the status of women and men. There is much evidence that, in traditional societies where agriculture was largely self-sufficient and home-based, both women and men were economically active in meeting household needs for food and shelter. The conflict between women's child-bearing and child care activities and their work in agriculture was minimal, particularly in societies where the unit of residence was an extended family group or where communal ties were strong.

However, development has brought about radical changes in the relationship between women, men and work in ways that tend to institutionalise status differences between women and men. Development involves increased specialisation, the exchange of goods and services for money, and the inevitable transfer of a large part of production out of the household and into the market. Thus, monetisation and the expansion of the market economy relocated "work" to sites that were increasingly distant from the household[2], and significantly increased the potential conflict between child care and work for women. During the course of development, men have followed the increasingly monetised economic activity away from the household and into the market, eventually becoming commuters and, in some cases in developing countries, circulating migrants. However, as long as women spent most of their adult lives pregnant, breastfeeding or caring for small children, most women of child-bearing age remained tied to the household. With the average women giving birth to around six children, all of whom would have been breastfed for 18 months to two years or longer, the average woman would have spent (allowing for miscarriages) approximately five years in pregnancy, 12 years breastfeeding, and perhaps 25 years of her life between the ages of 15

[2]At the same time, urbanisation has also increasingly relocated households into specialised residential areas that are distant from most places of work.

and 50 caring for children under the age of six. Although most women also continued to engage in economic production for household use, this became an increasingly smaller part of the households' total real income, and the activity tended to be marginalised. As a result, the term "work" became associated with activity carried out for payment outside the household. Men became involved in and identified with "development", while women tended to be excluded and their authority and control over household resources was inevitably reduced.

A generation or two later, further changes associated with development have led to pressures to [re-]integrate women into the development process. Economic growth has markedly increased life expectancy, and has also led to a substantial fertility decline. As a result, women are no longer tied to the household by reproduction or child care for most of their working-age lives. As fertility approaches replacement level, women are likely to spend less than two years in pregnancy, less than one year breastfeeding, and to compress their child-bearing and child rearing activities into only eight years or less of their working lives[3]. Development, monetisation and rising standards of living have also increased the proportion of household needs that can only be satisfied in the market through access to cash. Many men, especially those with limited education and skills, consequently find their earnings insufficient to meet family requirements for cash income. In some developed countries, the ageing of the population has restricted the supply of adult labour, encouraging women to enter the labour force. Thus, women in both developed and developing countries face increased pressures to *become* more economically active. However, while men have become

[3]The expansion of childcare and pre-school education has the potential to considerably reduce even this for those educated women whose higher productivity provides them with access to such facilities.

"developed", educated and trained to function effectively in the modern work environment, many women, particularly those in developing countries, have remained "undeveloped", poorly educated and untrained.

The view of the "problem" of women in[4] development as an integral part of the process of development itself provides answers to a number of the questions raised above. Women's pattern of work differs from that of men because most women have to combine work with biological reproduction for at least part of their lives. Women's levels of economic activity in developing countries are not as low as the measured rates suggest because women's unpaid economic activity is generally unrecognised, even by the women themselves, and is thus underenumerated in the official statistics.

The definition and measurement of economic activity, and the definition and measurement of the national income on which it is based, are seriously biased against women. Economic activity is defined to include activities associated with the production of all goods and services included in the national income. However, the definition and measurement of the national income is biased against women, first because of practical measurement problems associated with the valuation of goods, and second, because of the definition of the service component of national income. In theory, the national income includes the value of all goods produced, whether they are sold in the market or consumed directly by the producer. By contrast, only those services that are sold in the market are considered to be part of the national income.

[4] The problem is actually that women are not in development!

In practice, many goods produced in households for subsistence are not included because of difficulties in obtaining accurate information about them and in determining an appropriate price to measure their value. The bulk of such goods, particularly in developing countries, are produced by women, including the output of home gardens, small-scale livestock production in house compounds and some informal sector and home-based production. Since the concept of work has become closely identified with working for payment and working outside the household, survey enumerators, heads of households and even women themselves do not consider such activities to be "work".

Whereas most services provided by men are included in the national income because they are performed for payment, those provided by women are excluded merely because they are unpaid (Waring, 1988). Thus, services formerly provided in the household by women that would not have been counted in the national income because they were not provided for payment, *are* included when transferred to the market - where they are typically carried out by men. For example, water fetched and fuel gathered by women is not considered as part of the national income, but water sold (by men) from a water cart would be included, as would firewood sold by a (usually male) timber merchant. Thus, neither the work women do to produce much of the subsistence production so vital to poor families nor the output they provide are measured or counted in the national accounts on which governments, economists and planners base development plans and policies.

Two important consequences flow from the intrinsic bias against women of the basic measures of development. The first is that a simple transfer of activities from women in the household to men in the market, without any actual increase in amount or the welfare created,

would result in a measured increase in national income[5]. Similarly, when activities formerly carried out in the market for payment are carried out by women in the household without payment, costs appear to have been cut and savings made in the economy. Thus, governments have tended to see unpaid voluntary work by women, particularly in the field of health services, as a means of cutting the high costs of public (monetised) provision of the equivalent services. In the private sector, a recent study has shown that the growth of the self-service sector in the retail industry in developed countries similarly transfers costs from the market to women. The second consequence of this inherent bias is that, since the transfer of activity and production from the household to specialisation in the market is the essence of development, women are almost inevitably marginalised during the initial stages of development.

The impact of development has affected women in different socio-economic classes in different ways. It has been argued that full-time housewives and mothers who do not work outside the household and are not economically active in terms of the conventional economic definitions are a middle-class phenomenon created by the Industrial Revolution in Europe. As the wives of government officials, businessmen and other prominent men, the lives of such women were romanticised and popularised in the mass media and have become an ideal for all women. Although representing a minority, they have become a stereotype for women as a gender. Similarly in the developing countries of Asia, this middle-class and western ideal of women as full-time wives and mothers has been widely promoted as typical of the "traditional" Asian woman. Nevertheless, historical and ethnological evidence indicates that prior to development, most traditional non-elite Asian women, particularly those in rural areas,

[5]I have referred to this elsewhere (Corner 1993) as the "boundary problem".

were active in both economic and domestic production. It was only as a result of development that women whose husbands' incomes are sufficient to meet family needs have been able to attain the "ideal" status of full-time housewife and mother. Most women, particularly those from poorer families, continue to be active in all spheres, although their economic activity is often both unrewarded and unrecognised[6]. As the share of family needs that can only be met in the market increases, the pressure on these women (and, eventually, on all women) to increase their income-generating activities increases.

Thus, women are not an un-utilised resource, as some of the development literature on the integration of women into development seems to imply. Women do not work less than men because they continue to carry the very substantial burden of their reproductive and domestic roles. The majority of women who *are* economically active in practice, whether or not this is recognised in the formal definitions of the national income, carry the double burden of both household and family responsibilities and market work. This burden is particularly heavy for poor women. Time allocation studies in both developed and developing countries show that, on average, women are fully occupied in economic activity and family responsibilities for more hours per day than men.

Women not only work longer, but their roles typically require them to perform more than one activity at a time, making it quite difficult to obtain comparable measures of the work done by women and men. The simultaneity of women's various tasks is facilitated by the fact that all can be carried on in the same location, namely the household. Thus, a rural woman in Java may be simultaneously weeding the vegetables growing in the house

[6]even by themselves.

compound, cooking rice for a meal, minding a three-year old child and discussing with a neighbour her voluntary work at the integrated health post to be held the following day. An important consequence of this pattern of women's work is that an increase in women's formal labour force participation away from the household is likely to have an impact on other tasks that were formerly compatible with household-based activities. For example, alternative arrangements for child care must be made when mothers of young children work away from home, and much volunteer labour for community activities is lost when women join the labour force.

The "problem" of women in development arises from sex-based differences in female and male roles that have been greatly compounded by socially and culturally defined gender differences between women and men. Women have different roles and responsibilities from men. In particular, women's primary reproductive role influences all of women's other roles and gives rise to the multiplicity of roles that distinguishes women's pattern of work from men's. As a consequence, development tended to marginalise women. It also generated a stereotype of the ideal woman as a full-time housewife and mother who did not work outside the household which, although not describing the reality of the vast majority of women, particularly of poor women, had a very strong influence on the expectations of the middle-class males who have dominated public and private-sector decision-making. Thus, in addition to their poorer human resources, women entering the work force have been seriously disadvantaged by gender-biased work practices arising from traditional gender assumptions in the work place. For example, the assumption that women will not accept assignments that require travel or take training courses because of family responsibilities or husbands'

objections may not[7] reflect the situation of many women, but acts as a barrier to all women. Women are also disadvantaged by structural arrangements that are adapted to the needs and situations of the male majority. The absence of female role models and sponsors at senior levels or the importance of networks that centre on male social activities or sporting groups and automatically exclude women inevitably disadvantage women. Despite strong economic pressures to work, women are often hampered by traditional values and conservative social norms and perceptions that impose strong social sanctions against those who work outside the home. These work practices and social and cultural perceptions relate to gender differences rather than to differences in sex roles. Although they change slowly to reflect social change, traditional norms and values may constitute major direct or, through their effect on expectations, indirect obstacles to women's participation in economic activity.

Since women's patterns of work are quite different from those of men, and women face gender-bias in both the work place and the wider society, specific provision must be made to address the special situation of women in order to integrate them in the development process. In the past, development policies, plans, and programmes have not explicitly recognised such gender differences. Directed toward an ungendered "people" but almost invariably designed by men and thus based on men's experiences of the world, they are almost inevitably adapted to the situation of men. Thus, the marginalisation of women will continue as long as development policy-formulation, planning and programming are formulated largely by men and conceived of as gender-neutral processes.

[7]and increasingly do not

The "mainstreaming" strategy advocated by UNIFEM and other international agencies is specifically directed toward incorporating explicit recognition of gender differences into development policy-formulation, planning and programming. A number of approaches and tools have been developed to implement mainstreaming programmes. The first, and possibly the most crucial, is advocacy, which involves ensuring that governments, policy-makers, administrators and individual women and men understand the nature of the problem of women in development and the importance of increasing women's participation in all aspects of development. Advocacy provides an intellectual understanding of the issues, but intensive gender training is required to achieve the capacity to put this into effective practice. The objective of gender training is to enable male (and female) decision-makers to identify the role of gender and the different interests and needs of women and men in their particular areas of concern. In areas such as planning, more specialised tools for gender analysis have been developed for policy-makers, planners, and development programmers.

These tools and approaches focus largely on men, since most decision-makers, particularly in developing countries, are men. Given the past marginalisation of women, current strategies must rely on educating men to understand and implement a women's perspective in development policy, planning and programs and on technical tools such as gender analysis to assist men to identify the different gender interests of women and men. However, ultimately, increasing female participation in economic activity will enable mainstreaming programmes to achieve their objectives. Men's interests and concerns dominate development decision-making only because most of the decision-makers *are* men. Only when half of development policy-makers, planners and programmers are women will the different interests and situation of women be fully and automatically incorporated in

development. Thus, women's equal participation in economic activity in all fields and at all levels is necessary to ensure that women are fully and effectively integrated into development as active participants and equal beneficiaries.

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Economic Activities of Women in Rural Communities:

Some Cases and Problems

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1. Introduction

• Personal Background

My name is Hideki Yoshino, from the Rural Life Research Institute (RLRI). The Institute, which is a non-profit organization, was set up in 1975 as an external research organ of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. Its founding maxim reads "The vitality of rural communities reflects the potential power of nation". With these words engraved in our minds, we pursue research activities for the improvement of life for rural people in an attempt to maintain that essential vitality which nourishes the roots of rural life in a period of radical social change.

This makes us sound like a splendid organization of lofty ideals. In reality we are a very small outfit with a staff of 12 and a budget that is not over-generous. High ideals but few resources. A large amount of work but a small staff. Just like any NGO. Throughout the year we visit rural communities in all parts of the country. This is my fourth year in the Institute, and I have already carried out surveys in 17 prefectures. I have also accompanied a group of women from Iidate, a village in Fukushima Prefecture, on a two-week study tour of Europe, sharing both in their excitement and bewilderment. The fruits of the Institute's research activities are mainly distributed to technical specialists in the relevant departments, or to rural life improvement officers attached to agricultural improvement stations, in prefectures all over the country.

• Agricultural Extension Offices and Extension Advisors

Although I am sure you are aware of the existence of health centers and public health nurses all over Japan, very few people outside the agricultural world know about agricultural extension offices and extension advisors. There are about 600 of these offices throughout Japan, acting as bases for activities jointly promoted by the central government (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries) and prefectural governments, for upgrading rural life. There are in fact four offices in Tokyo, and the site here of the National Women's Education Centre, Ranzan Town in Saitama, comes under the jurisdiction of the Higashi Matsuyama Agricultural Extension Office.

About 10,000 extension advisors are working around the country to upgrade agricultural know-how and improve the

lives of farming families. They have gained specific qualifications for this job and are qualified regional public servants. Like most people, I knew nothing of this until I started my present work. The number of people employed in agriculture in Japan has now fallen below 4 million, so it is hardly surprising that few people have ever heard of the agricultural extension office or, indeed, of the Rural Life Research Institute, which provides the stations with research data.

• All-round upgrading of rural life

However, opportunities I have had to work in developing countries, implementing JICA's 'Basic survey for planning of women's living standard improvement in the rural area' last year, and a survey conducted for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 'Gender analysis in development projects', have made me realize the importance of agricultural improvement stations. What is important for the development of the rural sector in developing countries is not so much agricultural technology or boosting production efficiency, but the all-round upgrading of rural life, through improvements in hygiene, nutrition, housing, management of household accounts, and so on. For this purpose we have to communicate skills and pass on knowledge to all members of rural communities, men and women alike. This is precisely the issue that the agricultural improvement stations have been tackling in Japan since the end of World War II. Of course some aspects will need to be adapted, but I have come to feel that efforts are needed to make wider use in the international arena of this system and its activities, as well as the results of our research work.

My introduction has become rather lengthy, and I will now move on to my subject: Economic Activities of Women in Rural Communities in Developing Countries: Some Cases and Problems. My experience is limited, but from my viewpoint of having been involved in rural life both in Japan and in developing countries, I will now talk about women's economic activities in rural communities.

2. Women's Participation in Economic Activities

• What do we mean by economic activities?

Before looking at actual examples, let me clarify what I mean by 'economic activities'. In general, the term 'economic activities' refers to all human activities related to the exchange of assets or services. In rural communities, the biggest economic activities are the production and marketing of

agricultural produce and of handicrafts or other local products made out of agricultural products. There is also the marketing of services, as in the provision of accommodation and recreation facilities. Also included are activities which do not involve cash dealings, such as consumption of one's own agricultural produce, bartering of goods, and lending and borrowing of labour.

Here, I would like to divide economic activities into three aspects: production, distribution and allocation. I will explain each of these in detail, so please refer to the simple chart on the summary paper. (See the attached chart.)

• Production

Production, the making of goods or creating of services, is fundamental to any economic activity. For rural communities, this means essentially the production of agricultural produce, but it also includes the provision of services such as for tourism. The resources utilized are raw materials. For agricultural production they include plant varieties, soil, machinery, fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, labour, knowledge and skills related to production, and so on. For tourism they include facilities and equipment, labour, the quality of service and so on.

Japan has provided considerable assistance to developing countries in the agricultural sector, mostly in the form of building infrastructure and technical development. In Japan too, the production base has been actively built up through structural improvement projects in the agriculture sector, and the introduction of agricultural machinery. Through these measures, both productivity and the volume of production have improved significantly. But from the viewpoint of economic activity, the production of goods and services alone is not enough, so next we move on to the issue of distribution.

• Distribution

Distribution is used here to mean the delivery of goods and services that have been produced to the people and places where they are needed. The goods that have been produced have to be consumed, otherwise there is no point in producing them. The resources that are utilized are products, which could be called commercial goods, except that the consumption of one's own production, as well as regional self sufficiency are included in distribution, so here I will stick to the term 'products'.

In distribution many things have to be decided, such as quantity, price, customers, delivery period, delivery method etc., and the parties concerned in the transaction have to reach agreement. This is what is meant by the term 'negotiation' used on the summary paper. Distribution is inevitably accompanied by negotiation, in the form of discussions between separate units of production--either households or producers, discussions between producers and dealers, and between producers and consumers. Of particular importance is price setting, and developing and maintaining sales outlets. So now our products are distributed, but this still does not conclude the economic activity--the sales profit has to be returned to the producer. So here we complete the picture with the issue of allocation.

• Allocation

Allocation here means the process by which the profit made out of selling the products, as well as the capital needed for the economic activity, are apportioned, and to and by whom. The production and distribution of goods and services do not constitute a complete economic activity until the proceeds gained are returned to the people involved in production and distribution. Besides this there are other issues, such as who should be provided the capital required for the activity, and who is allocated the rights associated with running the activity, such as the inheritance of the property and management rights.

The allocation of income, rights and capital covers many issues. In a situation where employees are involved, wage scales must be agreed between management and the work force and set by law, though this may not always be rigorously undertaken in developing countries. The manager of the enterprise may well borrow capital from a financial institution. However, this cannot be done in the agricultural sector as management units in agriculture are usually small: households or small groups. There are examples of corporate management funded by capitalists in this sector, but they are limited to highly profitable commercial crops. In most cases, the position of women with regard to economic activities is determined by gender roles or authority structure in the family, or else the gender roles that are usual in the locality.

• Group Activities and Women's Participation

Any economic activity must guarantee a certain production volume, and so is almost impossible for single individuals to undertake. Almost all economic activities are therefore based on groups. In Japan the national organization of agricultural

production groups is the National Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives. And in each place of production there are small economic groups such as the tomato production sector, the strawberry shippers' union, and so on. In aid activities in developing countries, these groups are called target groups. They may be already existing informal production groups, or newly formed groups. Members are encouraged to keep the group activity going even after the aid project has been concluded, by running the group themselves. Exactly the same can be said for the groups formed in Japan for subsidized projects. In either case, such projects have to be adapted so that a cut-off of money, whether subsidies or aid, would not mean the end of the activity.

Men's and women's roles in agricultural activities are restricted, as I have mentioned, by the social customs and cultural norms of the country, region or family. So we have to consider from the analytical viewpoint of gender how women can take part in economic activities. It is also important to analyze from what aspects of economic activities women are excluded, in order to work towards setting up conditions that will allow women to play their part. Let us look now at some cases where women have started to play a part in economic activities.

3. Reports of Cases

• Bolivia

First I would like to talk about the activities of women's groups among the Aymara people, an indigenous tribe in the highlands of Bolivia, in Latin America. Living in the foothills of the lofty Andes mountains, which exceed 3,000m in height, these people subsist on small scale agricultural production of potatoes, maize and quinua largely for their own consumption. They also often keep sheep, alpaca goats and llamas, all to provide wool for making sweaters, and cows for milk.

Between 1985 and 1991, in the Tiwanacu region inhabited by the Aymara people, funds were provided by UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women), FAO (UN Food and Agricultural Organization), regional public organizations and Bolivian NGOs for the implementation of a milk production project. Keeping livestock has always been women's work, and this project aimed to improve women's technical skills for milk production, and also to organize the women into groups, in order to achieve more consistent production volumes while lowering costs, and to concentrate more effort on marketing.

In practice, target groups of women were given technical training, help in organizing themselves for production and marketing, and instruction on how to grow better pasture, and a publicly run milk marketing corporation was set up, through which marketing routes were secured. The end result is that the women's groups have been able to maintain milk production after the assistance period was completed.

Among the Aymara people the keeping of livestock, as women's work, was in general regarded as supplementary rather than as a meaningful productive activity. The men sold the livestock at the market and pocketed the income. The women were responsible for producing and selling dairy products such as milk and cheese, but they had little processing technology and could not increase productivity, so they never achieved any sizeable income.

What are regarded as 'productive activities' are those activities sanctioned as such by local society, and in this context the women's labour had never received recognition as a 'productive activity'. Although boosting production volumes through improved technology was important, the really significant feature of this project was the setting up of a marketing organization and securing of sales outlets for the milk they produced. This meant that the women who kept the cows received recognition as agricultural producers. For an economic activity to succeed, not only are the productive aspects important, but channels for distribution need to be set up at the same time.

An issue for the future for these women's groups is for members to correct their tendency to concentrate too much on securing a cash income and pay little attention to their own immediate needs. For example, family members would receive better nutrition if any surplus milk were kept for family consumption, but in reality all the surplus seems to be sold for cash. The reason for this may be that although guidance was given on how to increase milk volumes, there was no specialist to teach that keeping some production of food for one's own consumption has, in fact, some economic value. Giving guidance in rural communities on the importance of providing for one's own needs is, in Japan, the work of home living improvement extension workers.

• Thailand

Next, the scene changes to South East Asia and a case from a rural community in north east Thailand. Although Thailand is

currently experiencing rapid development, it still has regions of very poor agricultural communities. In such regions UNICEF has set up a low interest financing system exclusively for women. It was started in 1988 through the Thai Ministry of Interior. For each village recommended by the Ministry, UNICEF provided a fund of 25,000 bahts (1 baht = approx. 5 yen), and with this as base capital, money is lent to anyone in the village at an interest rate of 1% per month. The system is managed by a committee of women in each village, who keep accounts and supervise the lending. Twenty provinces out of the total seventy two have introduced this system, and in Khon Kaen province in the north it has been extended to forty seven villages. When women borrow money, their husbands' signatures are required, but no husband has refused to sign, and for women without husbands, a committee member can sign instead.

Money is borrowed to purchase production resources, such as raw materials for silk weaving, fertilizer, and so on. Between 1,000 and 3,000 bahts may be borrowed at one time, and the loan is repaid after the finished goods or agricultural produce is sold. The commercial interest rate is 12-16%, so this system with its 1% interest rate is greatly welcomed by the women.

The system is run entirely by the women's committees, who receive advice from a 'social development advisor' for the region. The women's committees have grown out of the leadership of former women's groups. Organizing groups of this type is not particularly difficult, but it is not always easy to keep the activities going. The most valuable outcome from this UNICEF funding project is ensuring day-to-day work for these women's groups. Although the amounts are very small, experience in book-keeping and management of the funds provides training for women who may in the future go on to control much larger funds. The two objectives of the UNICEF fund--providing production capital to local people, and nurturing in women the management skills necessary for the responsible allocation and control of capital for economic activities--are being accomplished simultaneously.

An issue for the future is the development of sales outlets. Through the UNICEF fund, women can now easily obtain money to purchase supplies for weaving, allowing them to make use of existing skills, and thus involving them in economic activities. But the UNICEF fund ultimately only provides capital. In order for this money really to contribute

to the improvement of women's lives, it will be necessary to secure sales outlets--in other words, improve distribution. In our local survey, people pointed out that they had nowhere to sell their products. Production resources and processing skills are there, therefore, establishing routes for distribution is the key to the development of women's economic activities.

• Japan

Finally I would like to introduce a case from Japan. Miharu Town is a small town with a population of about 20,000 people, to the east of Koriyama City in Fukushima Prefecture, which is a mountainous region to the north of Tokyo on Honshu island. This small town has a rice production and marketing organization which is run by women. Between 1989 and 1991 Miharu Town launched a project 'to promote vitality in rural life' sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. This project was designed to invigorate life in rural communities by stimulating greater contact between the cities and the rural communities, and it was implemented by Tamura Agricultural Improvement Station and Miharu Town Hall. Local people were involved in both the planning and implementation of the project, and funds were provided by the central and local governments. In these respects it closely resembled aid projects in developing countries that are centred on the local population.

The most successful aspect of the project was the introduction of a special rice cultivation system, which had been mentioned in courses on invigorating rural life. The system had been devised seven years previously for the cultivation of rice with minimum or no use of agricultural chemicals for direct sale to consumers. To implement the system, a list of purchasers has first to be sent to the Office of Food Agency to gain approval. In other words, the activity's first step is securing firm sales outlets.

Nine rice producers in Miharu Town formed a group, held study sessions, and in fiscal 1990 started the system. The rice variety selected was Norin 21, which is not suited to cultivation using chemical fertilizers but needs to grow slowly using the goodness of the soil and organic fertilizer. This variety requires more attention but does not give higher yields than others, and so it is no longer cultivated very widely. It was given a new name: Miharu 21 Sakura rice, and in the 1990 season 2.4 hectares were planted and around six tons of rice were harvested and sold to about 100 consumers. The following year, the area planted was increased to 3.2 hectares,

and currently orders are arriving from all over the prefecture, and as far afield as Hokkaido, Tokyo and Osaka.

The leader of this production and marketing group is women. This is very unusual, and is due to the fact that the group grew out of a home living improvement practice group. These improvement practice groups are organized by women in rural areas, and they number about 10,900 all over the country. They seek to protect rural lifestyles by maintaining self sufficiency through greater processing of agricultural products, by checking household accounts, and so on. Advice and guidance are provided to the group by the home living improvement extension worker.

In Miharu Town, a group of people with no previous experience of marketing direct to consumers became the parent body of the production and marketing group. The main issue for the future is increasing incomes through this activity. Sales turnover in the first year was about ¥3 million and with nine persons in the group, this meant an income of only about ¥300,000 each. Expanding the number of members and the area under cultivation, and increasing the amount produced and the sales turnover, must surely be the way to turn a small-scale, localized activity into something more far-reaching.

4. Conclusion

• Balanced improvements

I have given several examples of women assuming responsibility in various forms of economic activity. Here, I would like to draw some conclusions. In production, first we have to create the sort of social atmosphere in which women's activities are recognized as economic activities. This is achieved by improving technology to secure stable production volumes and show good economic results. For distribution, it is vital to have direct contact with consumers. Production without sales does not make sense. It is important to secure sales outlets and obtain a steady sales turnover. In allocation, the money or rewards gained must be fairly divided, and women's accounting and management skills must be improved to secure capital. And to increase the effectiveness of economic activities, we should not concentrate on any one aspect--production, distribution or allocation--but work towards a good balance of the three.

• Agriculture is diverse in form but also universal

Most regions in developing countries are populated with farming communities, and although there are cases of large scale agri-businesses generating high incomes, there are also places where the severe climate or topography hardly support people's survival through subsistence agriculture. Agriculture may thus take many forms, but it remains a universal activity found in countries all over the world. Farm products are very familiar to all urban populations, making a daily appearance on city dining tables. Surprisingly, however, little information about agriculture and rural lifestyles reaches the cities. The know-how used in agriculture is almost all knowledge based in everyday life, and yet for most of the urban population it is something remote. At project sites in developing countries, knowledge about agriculture and rural life is considered essential. Thus, we have to make individual efforts to restore this basic knowledge and relearn these skills.

• Think locally and act globally

The slogan "Think globally and act locally" has been frequently used by local governments in attempts to mould development in towns and villages to revitalize rural communities. Here I would like to suggest the opposite "Think locally and act globally".

As an example, in 1991 Japan's overall rate of self sufficiency in food production was 65%, which means very roughly that one out of every three food items was produced overseas. Who produces the food that we eat every day; where and how is it produced? By men or women? When searching out ways for women to assume more responsibility in economic activities, it seems to me there is a need to take a fresh look at the lifestyles close to us, and use the accumulation of knowledge we have from our everyday lives, to pass information on to sites of economic activity around the globe.

This concludes my report. Thank you very much.

Chart Three Aspects of Economic Activity

Aspect	Resources Utilized	Types of Activity in Agricultural Field
Production	Material	Technical training; mechanization; land preparation
Negotiation	Products	Price setting; securing sales outlets; producer/consumer tie-ups
Distribution	Capital	Pay; credit provision; rights to manage/inherit

< Violence against Women >

Development - Human Rights: Violence against Women

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DEVELOPMENT-HUMAN RIGHTS: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Nimalka Fernando - Regional Coordinator

Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development

Introduction

Development today is a major theme before all movements working for social change and empowerment of people. For the past several years we have been engaged in a critique of the development paradigm implemented within the region for growth and progress. The critiques emerged from all sectors i.e. women's groups, human rights movements, indigenous movements, ethnic and national groups struggling for self-determination to name a few.

The promises of development never reached the people. For many of us in the Asian region, in fact for the millions of poor people residing in the least developed countries, this process has been only a nightmare.

In the pursuit of development the rulers subverted democratic institutions, repressed trade union and workers rights, introduced black laws to curb dissent and opposition. Asia has the worst record on human rights violations during the past few decades as our rulers raced behind the `dreams of development' which was based on liberalised investment and economic policies. After so many decades of development UN reports still proclaim that `there resides in the third world millions of men, women and children starving to death, malnourished/under nourished without a roof over their heads'. What happened to the millions of dollars we received for development? What happened to all the ODAs?

Let me illustrate this point by taking an example from Sri Lanka. I was in Sri Lanka a few days ago and happened to mention to a colleague that I will be going to Japan in few days time. This is what he

wanted me to convey to you. The Sri Lankan government together with a Japanese construction company is widening the road-way to the International Airport. Of course the Japanese companies need efficient infrastructure for investment. A new road is being constructed displacing an entire village and causing environmental hazards. There have been protests in the country but we are being told that this is being done as part of a development plan for Colombo? Who will benefit by this plan ? Definitely not the people in the area nor the poor people in Sri Lanka. It will be the multi-national companies who will benefit by the construction of this road. This is what development means for us in the poor countries in Asia.

This economic model had women as very cheap raw material. The major development strategies ie. the investment promotion zones (the industrial zones), tourist industry and migration policies in reality involved women in large scale as the labour force. While `women in development' became a catchy slogan to be used there never was a process to make women the decision makers. There was no democratisation which made it possible for women to have access to resources.

In fact the plight of women have worsened as the present development model has:

- totally destroyed the subsistence agricultural farming, thereby displacing women from the process and displacing rural communities.
- brought in a large number of women as workers into the industrial sector without proper labour laws to protect their rights.
- recruited thousands of women in the service sector in the tourist industry.
- permitted thousands of women to migrate as maids, dancers and bar tenders in search of foreign exchange
- encouraged sex industry and trafficking in women for such purposes
- increased militarisation resulting in the increase of violence against women

Despite all the statistical information which boasts about the growth patterns and economic gains, the emergence of `economic tigers' - the NIC countries we are compelled to raise the issue of quality of life of people? Specifically the women's movements need to review as to how these development strategies affect the status of women.

Violence Against Women

Development which is based on maximisation of profit has plundered humanity and our values making violence the order of the day. Societies in the Asia Pacific Region are characterised by immense power gaps between:

- The small percentage of the population belonging to the elite classes and the majority of the people,especially the basic masses who compromise the bulk of the population.
- Foreign interventionists and their local minions and the local population,especially the poor,deprived and oppressed masses
- Gender
- Ethnic, tribal and indigenous peoples

Such power gaps are continuously maintained, consolidated and widened to strengthen the advantage of the self-serving powerful to keep the relatively powerless in subjugation in an oppressive and exploitative situation.

In such a context the plight of women have worsened never before. There is no question of the fact that women have been used, plundered and discarded. The body of women is a commodity used to generate millions of dollars in the tourist industry. The labour of women is the cheapest raw material to be used in the investment promotion schemes of the Asian governments. The sex industry thrives with trafficking in women.

Historically, violence against women has been used by those in power to maintain and strengthen their position and the status quo that legitimises their rule. Today we can no longer categorise violence perpetrated against women as isolated acts committed by individuals, sex-crazed men and criminals. There can occur few such individual cases in our societies. But the large scale prevalence are those arising out of social, economic and political conditions.

Social:

- Domestic violence which refers to wife and child battering, marital rape and incest
- Rape and other forms of sexual abuse and molestation
- VAW as a result of violation of health and reproductive rights (unsafe population control policies)

Economic:

- Prostitution and sex traffic including sex tourism and mail order brides
- Pornography
- Dowry deaths
- Harassment of women workers

Political:

- Militarism and civil unrest leading to rape and sexual harassment of women in affected areas
- Rape and sexual assault on political prisoners
- Custodial rape referring to the rape and sexual abuse of women in police custody

The socio-economic and political impact of the development paradigm implemented in the Asia-Pacific region has had devastating effect on the lives of women. The issue of violence against women has become a political issue resulting immediate intervention by us.

Social

Women have suffered silently for thousands of years inside their `homes' for the sake of the family. If they dare come outside and complain the police have treated the incident as an internal matter. We have often come across situations where it has been recorded that `no reasonable evidence is available'. While rape, prostitution and other such criminal offenses get recorded, domestic violence is absent from official records. We have realised that mothers often suffered in silent as they had to protect the future of the children as she had no economic means to survive on her own.

Most women tend to think that they will not experience rape, or that they are sufficiently protected from it, but no woman can claim immunity from its lesser form: sexual harassment. Irrespective of age,class or dress, women are harassed on the streets, whilst travelling in buses or trains or at their workplaces.

During the past years thousands of women factory workers have faced sexual harassment at work places and outside. Several hundreds have been raped and murdered. Like street harassment, workplace sexual harassment is a display of power which is meant to coerce and degrade women. Depending on the organisational hierarchy women would face harassment from their bosses, supervisors or co-workers.

Economic

Many women migrant women workers have also faced a similar plight. Thousands of women are trafficked daily for the sex industry. The governments have turned a blind eye as hotels,bars, and tour agencies actively promote prostitution and sex games to attract foreign tourists. Tour operators in many countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, and Japan openly advertise fantasy vacations. This is a Thai reality.

Dowry or the exchange of wealth at the time of marriage is an age-old tradition practiced in the South Asian societies. Through the years it has spread to all communities and drastically changed its form. Statistics of dowry related murder has increased during the past years by several folds. In Delhi, on an average two women die of burns every day. The bridegroom's family would often demand for more money and send the bride back home. As she is unable to cope up with the social humiliation she is driven to commit suicide. On some other occasions we have situations where mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law have pushed her (near the gas-stove) and she had been burnt to death as a result of such accidents.

Political

In the Burmese borders, Kashmir, Chittagong hill tribal areas and in other parts of the world where ethnic and national conflicts continue women face sexual harassment at the hands of the armed forces. I am sure you do not want to listen to gruesome stories of the barbaric manner in which women have been treated during civil strifes and in war zones. I have to only mention Bosnia and you know what this means today. There are more refugees in the world today than actual citizens. Refugee women face rape multiple times during their flight to `safety'.

Experiences of violence in women's lives are all too personal a reality. The emotional and psychological scars remain deep and need to be understood and analysed within the socio-economic and political dimension. It is important to recognise that the specificity of violence against women involves an analysis of gender relations and its centrality to the family which reproduces gender inequalities. In the ongoing struggle against violence,we have to also recognise that the state is one of the main sources of violence and stands behind violence committed by men against women in the family, the workplace and community.

It should be very clear to us that none of the situations that I have discussed earlier can be resolved in a piecemeal fashion. Perhaps we can in the interim seek for reforms related to legislations,ratification of

the Convention Against All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, provision of shelters etc. But we have to begin to grapple with the root causes relating to violation and discrimination. This is our moral obligation today. For how long are we going to be contended with the production of statics of how many were killed? For how long are we going to be in despair?

Violence against women knows no boundaries today in our region. Women's groups all over the world have resolutely campaigned to bring the issue of violence against women into the human rights discourse during the past few years. There is no doubt that the violence committed against women have arisen considerably and we have to address this problem in a wholistic manner. This crime can no longer be limited to a private matter between a man and a woman. It is this new dimension that requires us to place the issue of violence against women within the broader political context requiring a human rights perspective.

For us, men and women concerned for social justice, equality and human rights the struggle should be imminent and real. Our work should begin once again in mobilising movements for change. We have been too comfortable with running programmes and projects for women's rights and negotiating for changes. The NGO mentality has crippled our spirit for dynamic changes within ourselves and in society. Women must come into the streets like in the old days when women workers marched on the streets of Chicago demanding 8 hours of work. This began the annual celebration of Labour Day. We cannot forget those historical struggles.

These struggles should continue to inspire us. Further, we should realise that our struggle for empowerment of women is not a struggle waged alone. Neither can we initiate these processes alone. Today we women must realise that the women's rights issue be it worker's rights or violence against women necessarily raises the issues which are political. So women and politics become a real issue to us. Everything our rulers does must come under our scrutiny. Every democratic struggle requires our

participation. Every space available should be utilised to declare that we need a world order based on gender equality,justice and peace. It is only women who would dare dream such dreams and struggle to make those dream come true.

We call upon our sisters in Japan to build solidarity links with your sisters in the Asia Pacific region in this quest. The Japanese women's movement have a significant role to play in the raising of the consciousness of the Japanese societies to the Asian realities. It is not only Japan that is existing in this world. You have an obligation to the millions in the third world that has made you rich. No doubt the Japanese people work hard. But from where do you find your resources to enmass the wealth that has given you high consumption level compared to other countries in Asia? The NGO movement in Japan has to build links with all the other third world movements struggling for empowerment of men, women and children. Japan has to develop a strong partnership with the Asian human rights groups and women's groups. The Japanese NGOs have this challenge before them.

Violence against Women - Endeavours Made by Women in Japan -

Ms. Yoko Hayashi
Legal Advisor
HELP Asian Women's Shelter

Today I have been asked to speak on the subject of 'violence against women', and I would like to approach this by looking at some specific examples of efforts being made in Japan to combat this problem.

First, we must clarify exactly what we mean by violence against women. In order to get a better understanding of this, I would initially like to talk about what women have themselves accomplished over the last 10 years or so in the international community, focussing on the UN. This is because the efforts made by Japanese women are certainly not unrelated to these international movements.

In 1985 I attended the United Nations World Conference on Women held in Nairobi, Kenya, in the last year of the UN Decade for Women, and I found women from many different countries holding a number of workshops on the subject of violence against women. At that time women in Japan were more concerned about equal opportunities in the workplace and in education, and only a very small number participated in campaigns about development assistance or the elimination of violence, so I was all the more struck by the fact that women from North and South were jointly raising this issue. The so-called Nairobi Strategies, the 'Forward-looking Strategies to the Year 2000' adopted by the conference contained an item on cruelty to women, and set out the measures taken by various countries for the protection of women suffering violence, assistance for their recovery, and the elimination of violence.

Since the Nairobi Strategies there have been various developments in the international community concerning violence against women, and I would like to introduce to you the three that are most important.

First, General Recommendation 19 on Violence Against Women, which was adopted by CEDAW, the United Nations Committee on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, in 1992. This is a CEDAW documant recommending the member states report to the United Nations data on violence against women and take necessary measures to eliminate violence.

Secondly, Report of the Conference of Specialists on Violence Against Women published by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) in 1991. In the report it was pointed out that existing human rights agreements (including those for the elimination of discrimination against women)

have not always dealt adequately with the problem of violence, and so the need was expressed for a new international instrument on women's rights.

Thirdly, the 'Vienna Declaration' adopted at the UN sponsored World Meeting on Human Rights held in Vienna in June, 1993. Many activists in the field of women's rights from all over the world, including Nimalka Fernando who is with us today, attended this conference. They brandished the slogan 'Women's rights are human rights', held some lively activities and succeeded in including an item on violence against women in the Declaration.

The violence against women referred to in these international documents is a much wider concept than that of mere physical assault. The types of violence mentioned in the CEDAW General Recommendation I have just mentioned can be compiled into the following list:

1. Domestic violence (violence perpetrated by husband, child or live-in partner)
2. Sexual abuse including rape, forced indecency, etc.
3. Sexual abuse of minors
4. Trafficking of women, prostitution and sex tours
5. Arranged marriages between women from developing countries and men from advanced countries.
6. Sexual harassment in the workplace
7. Pornography
8 Trafficking of women and forced prostitution in circumstances of war or armed conflict
9. Forced marriages and dowry murders
10. Measures endangering women's health, such as female circumcision, restricting the diet of pregnant women, etc.
11. Forced sterilization or abortion; lack of safe contraception and abortion services

These are the different forms that violence against women can take, according to the international documents of CEDAW and other organizations. I wonder whether Japanese readers of this list can continue to think that the problem of violence against women bears little relevance to the situation in Japan, and Japanese people's own experience. When I saw the list, I was unable to contain my surprise at the extent to which women the world over find themselves in very similar situations.

Next I would like to look at the sort of activities that have been pursued in Japan in response to some of these issues.

1. Sex tours, trafficking of women and the prostitution business

From the end of the 1960s, as the era of high speed economic growth turned Japan into a formidable economic power, many Asian countries began to denounce the behaviour of Japanese men travelling to other parts of Asia to buy sex. It was Asian women who took this stand, but many of the Asian governments, fearing a loss in the foreign currency earnings that tourism generates, took no direct action.

In 1973, at a meeting of the Japan-Korea Church Council, the women of the Korean Churchwomen's League released a statement to the effect that Japanese men were exploiting their economic superiority to turn Korean women into sex slaves. Taking up the cause, Japanese Christian women and members of a group tackling prostitution problems started the so-called 'Anti Kiisen Tourism' campaign. Their activities included visiting tourist organizations and requesting them to stop arranging visits to prostitutes, demanding that the Ministry of Transport withdraw the licenses of travel agencies arranging prostitution tours, and they ran solidarity campaign with the labour unions in the tourist industry in activities directed to cleaning up the travel business of prostitution tours and improving the status of accompanying travel agents.

The later years of the 1970s saw the start of the United Nations Decade for Women, and several new activist women's organizations were formed, among them the Asian Women's Association which was central in continuing the campaigns opposing sex tours. When the then prime minister Suzuki visited several ASEAN countries in 1981 he was everywhere confronted with women's demonstrations against tourism for prostitution, which finally prompted the Japanese government into action. In 1982 legislation controlling the tourist business was revised in order to solve this problem. This allowed for the suspension or withdrawal of the business license of any agency found arranging in overseas countries services such as prostitution that are illegal in that country. This was undoubtedly a successful achievement for the women's campaigns, but it was criticized on the grounds that the government was only controlling prostitution indirectly by means of travel agents' licenses, and failed adequately to condemn the behaviour of the men involved.

The movement against sex tours was particularly significant

because it was the first campaign in which Japanese women worked alongside their Asian sisters for a common goal. During the campaign, Japanese wives wrote letters to newspapers and to the campaign office revealing that their husbands' companies were arranging prostitution tours as company recreation. This behaviour drew attention to the plight of women who did not want their husbands to participate in such tours but felt unable to speak to them on the subject directly.

From about 1982, when the legislation was revised, the number of trips made by men to Asian countries dropped (of course, not all men were involved with prostitution), but another big problem developed instead--Asian girls began to come to Japan to work in jobs related to the sex industry. Government statistics estimated that in 1992 there were some 160,000 foreigners working illegally in Japan. Non-governmental groups providing assistance to foreign workers put the figure at something over 200,000, but whichever figure is right, about half of these workers were women. (Until the beginning of the 1980s most of the illegal workers discovered in Japan were women, but the subsequent arrival of large numbers of men quickly evened up the numbers.) Most of these women are said to be working in one way or another in the sex industry.

Japan Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been holding campaigns to eliminate prostitution since before the war. As part of their centenary celebrations in 1986 they set up a shelter for Asian women, called HELP, in Tokyo's Shinjuku ward. Since its foundation I have been responsible for legal counselling for the women who come to the HELP Center.

In the five years after it was opened in 1986, 1,010 foreign women came to the shelter. In terms of nationality, 673 were Thai and 273 were Filipino, these two accounting for more than 90% of the total. (The others came from Malaysia, Taiwan, Mexico, Colombia, the US etc.) Of the 335 admissions to the Center in 1991 (including 24 children) many complained of physical conditions including 11 cases of unusual bleeding, 7 pregnancies, 6 cases of mental abuse, as well as cases of malnutrition and venereal disease. 32 of them admitted when questioned that they had agreed to become prostitutes before they came to Japan, but all the others claimed that they had been promised work as waitresses (57), hostesses (24) household help (18) and so on, and came to Japan through the arrangement of employment agents known as recruiters.

For most of them, on arrival in Japan they were sold off to people running sex industry businesses, then told that they had to shoulder expenses amounting to as much as ¥3.5 million each, and forced into prostitution.

In April, 1991, the Asahi Shimbun newspaper, on its Weekend Economy page, reported that the sex industry in Japan had grown into a colossal business worth ¥4,200 billion, through the turnover generated by Turkish baths and strip joints, both hotbeds of prostitution, and pornography, and that this enormous figure matches Japan's defense expenditure, which is the sixth largest in the world. The women forced to work in this industry are those who come from Thailand and the Philippines to find work in Japan.

The Japanese government extends development assistance (ODA) to both the Philippines and Thailand. But the numbers of women leaving those countries to work in Japan, or being forced to come to Japan, has not fallen. Rather, the closer the economic ties with Japan become, the more girls come to Japan. Of course this is a problem for the Japanese side, with profits of ¥4,000 billion from the sex industry, but I think we also need to look at the issue from a different viewpoint, and consider whether development assistance is really benefiting the women in the countries that receive it.

If you ask whether Japanese law as it stands is powerless to stop the trafficking of Asian women in this way, the answer is no. In 1958 the Japanese government ratified a UN convention prohibiting prostitution, and an Anti-Prostitution Law exists which sets out the penalties for organizing prostitution etc. If the convention and the law were properly enforced, much of the harm caused by current practices of forced prostitution could be avoided, but in reality, the law is not sufficiently enforced. To reform the present state of affairs, police officers and prosecutors, people in the front line of enforcing the law, need to change their approach. They must recognize that not only the trafficking of women, but prostitution too, constitutes an infringement of basic human rights, and must grant foreign women the same rights as Japanese women.

2. Rape and sexual harassment

Next I would like to talk about Japanese women's campaigns relating to the most common forms of sexual abuse, rape and sexual harassment, two issues that have become the concern of

women the world over.

In 1985, the Japanese government ratified the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, and now has an obligation to report periodically to CEDAW on progress made in implementing the convention. Japan's second report has recently been sent to CEDAW, and will be examined in New York in January, 1994.

Most advanced countries report to what extent rape and sexual harassment occur in their countries, but the Japanese report does not contain a single line on either of these issues. This was pointed out by the CEDAW committee when the first report was examined in 1989, and Japan was asked to provide statistics. However, this second report again provides none of this information.

What this means is that there is currently no official information available on the subject of sexual abuse in Japan. The government's white paper on crime has on several occasions taken up the subject of 'women's crime', but under this title has always looked into the crimes that women perpetrate, and has not thrown any light on women's situation as the victims of crime. Of course, annual crime statistics include the number of rapes committed, but it is widely known that in the case of rape, the official statistics do not reflect the reality of the situation.

In 1983 the Tokyo Rape Crisis Center was set up through the efforts of a group of concerned women. The Center provides telephone counselling to women callers who are the victims of sexual abuse, and when necessary puts the caller in touch with a lawyer or doctor.

The information gained from this telephone counselling service is at the present time virtually the only information available on victims of sexual abuse. It was submitted to CEDAW as a 'counter report' and I would like to give you some of the details. (Counter reports provide information and views from the NGO viewpoint, which may be very different from that of the government. In recent years many human rights NGOs have been submitting such reports to the UN Commission on Human Rights etc.)

In the five years since the Rape Crisis Center was set up, 2,896 callers have received telephone counselling. This number includes 509 cases of rape and sexual assault which clearly

constitute criminal acts, but the police were informed in only 102 of these cases.

Illustrating the difference between the Center's and the government's statistics, the Center's information indicates that in more than 50% of these cases, the perpetrator and victim were known to each other, whereas in the government's white paper on crime, the figure given is only 26%. This suggests that cases of rape by someone known to the victim, so-called 'date rape', and cases of rape or sexual assault in the home are rarely reported to the police.

In rape cases it sometimes happens that the victim receives more condemnation than the perpetrator, and their privacy is abused with such intrusive questions as why did you not resist? why were you alone with a man so late at night? This has become a problem for women in all countries. During the 1970s and 1980s in Europe and America amendments were passed to make the law on rape more sympathetic to the women's point of view. However in Japan, the criminal law pertaining to rape has not been amended since it was established in 1907. At the very least, the practice of interrogating the victim to determine to what extent she resisted before declaring the crime a rape should be amended. More policewomen and women prosecutors should be appointed, and women should be trained in the necessary expertise to deal with cases of sexual abuse.

The Tokyo Rape Crisis Center may well be the only organization in Japan providing a telephone counselling service to victims of sexual abuse. As an advisor, I become involved in a number of cases every year, and I frequently hear women say how thankful they are that the Center exists, and that without it they would have had no alternative but to suffer in silence. The Center is thus fulfilling a very important role, but it has a very precarious financial situation as its entire support comes from the annual dues of ¥3,000 of its 400 or so members. No financial support has ever been offered by either central or local governments. The ten or so telephone counsellors are all volunteers, and with a chronic shortage of staff, the service can only be offered twice a week.

CEDAW's General Recommendation, that I mentioned earlier, is not meaningful simply as a listing of different types of sexual abuse. It requires the countries party to the convention to stop these crimes, and if such crimes are committed, to help the victims. I am not myself a supporter of the view that

everything should be financed by tax, but I do believe that the government has an obligation to provide assistance from public funds to activities such as those of the Center.

Whenever I travel abroad in connection with my work or to attend a conference, I often get the opportunity to visit facilities equivalent to the Rape Crisis Center and meet the staff. In advanced countries everywhere, shrinking public funds mean that social services budgets are being cut, but even so, in most countries and states, financial assistance is provided to cover personnel costs and office rent.

I heard that the Tokyo Rape Crisis Center was started by a women who spent some years studying overseas and was motivated by witnessing the women's movement in America. A Filipina from Gabriella (a coalition of women's groups in the Philippines) has now come to see the training of the staff at the Center in Japan. Dealing with such a universal issue as sexual abuse requires women to share their wisdom and experience widely, transcending national boundaries.

I would also like to mention a little about the problem of sexual harassment, an issue that has concerned many women in Japan over the last few years. Sexual harassment came to the fore at the end of the 1970s when American women declared it a form of sexual discrimination and began to file lawsuits. The feminist legal specialist Catherine Mackinnon, who had a hand in coining the phrase 'sexual harassment', claims that this was the first law ever designed from the women's viewpoint, and that it has benefited women considerably more than any other law, including that of equal pay.

At the end of the 1980s, a group of women in Japan translated the American legislation and guidelines on sexual harassment, to introduce this social development to Japan. In October 1989, the Second Tokyo Bar Association set up a one-day sexual harassment telephone hot-line, and gave advice on 137 cases. In 1991, the "Santama Association to Consider Work and Sex Discrimination" surveyed ten thousand people and published the results under the title "Women: 6,500 Testimonies". From about this time the consultation office of the Ministry of Labour started to deal actively with this issue. But the greatest impact was created by the 'Fukuoka Sexual Harassment' hearings in 1989. In this case, a woman employed in a publishing company had been driven to resign from her job by the unpleasant comments of a sexual nature (i.e., 'she is unfaithful', 'she is romantically involved with

others') made to her by a senior male colleague. She demanded compensation from the colleague and her former employer. In its ruling in April 1992, the Fukuoka District Court fully upheld the woman's complaint and ordered the colleague and the employer to pay ¥1.5 million in compensation and ¥150, 000 in costs. In the ruling, the colleague's allusions to the plaintiff's sex life made in the office and elsewhere were found to be unlawful as they damaged her 'benefits derived from working in a pleasant environment'.

This ruling greatly encouraged women all over Japan who were suffering in similar situations, and this case was followed by several other lawsuits.

In Japan there is no legal definition of sexual harassment. Currently, a commission under the Ministry of Labour has started deliberations reviewing the Equal Opportunity in Employment Law. (The commission on women's and minors' problems was reconvened in April 1993.) What we need is for labour unions and women to pool their resources and work towards revision of the laws relating to sexual harassment.

The problems of sexual harassment that Japanese women have suffered are problems that are bound to surface wherever Japanese business moves overseas. Japanese companies that have set up branches in America are aware that lawsuits are common there and awards for damages are high. So worried have they been about this problem that they have produced instructive videos and run seminars. But we hear very little about problems of sexual harassment or discrimination against women working for Japanese companies operating in Asia. Corporate activities have become more and more multinational these days and I would like to see working women from all over the world supporting each other and working together to resolve problems such as these that affect us all.

3. The Problem of the Wartime Comfort Women

Finally I would like to talk briefly about the comfort women issue, which Japanese and other Asian women are currently working on together.

During the World War II, the Japanese army set up 'comfort houses' in many places, where soldiers could satisfy their sexual urges. The intention was to prevent rapes and the spread of venereal disease. Somewhere between 80,000 and 200,000 women, mainly from the Korean Peninsula, were

drafted and forced into prostitution in these comfort houses. Former comfort women from Korea and the Philippines are currently claiming compensation from the Japanese government through legal proceedings. It is reported that Dutch and Indonesian women who were held in prison camps in Indonesia are also filing similar suits. Besides these, women from North Korea, China, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia have also come forward, claiming to be former comfort women, and exposing Japan's past brutality.

I am representing Filipino comfort women in their law suits, and am frequently asked by journalists why these women are coming forward now, fifty years after the end of the war. The answer I always give is this. First, what has encouraged these women and persuaded them to overcome their reluctance to speak out is the growth of women's movements in Asian countries. Without this support they would not have been able to do it. Secondly, the end of the Cold War and campaigns for democracy in several countries in Asia have made it possible for them to undertake an action such as suing the Japanese government. In countries where individual human rights are severely curtailed it would not be possible for such people to hire a Japanese lawyer to file a suit, for example, or travel to Japan to appear in court. It is only when human rights and democracy are respected to some extent, that it becomes possible for people to take action of this kind.

< Discussion >

Resume of Group Discussions

Discussion Meeting 1: Literacy Education

Following the introduction of participants and presentation of issues, reports were made on the current situation of literacy education. The main reports were as follows:

Mr. Akihiro CHIBA: There are five kinds of languages; mother tongue, lingua franca, school language, administrative language and national language. It may be difficult for Japanese to understand that there are multi-lingual countries. The choice of language for literacy education will depend on the circumstances of each nation.

Ms. CHUKUMA of Nigeria: There are 400 languages considered mother tongues in Nigeria. Three languages were chosen for literacy education, but they could not be carried out in parallel as concensus could not be reached. It was therefore decided to implement literacy education first in one language and then the others. Agreement could not be reached as to which language should first be used. As a compromise English is now used for communication.

Ms. KLESI of Pakistan: There is little enthusiasm for education in Pakistan and this goes for both men and women. Particularly in the rural area, because of abject poverty children are expected to work as labour and cannot receive school education. Girls have lower literacy rate compared to boys. Institutionally, elementary schooling is regarded as compulsory but children drop out due to poor quality of teaching staff.

There was discussion on the reasons for the high literacy rate in Japan.

1. Since the Edo period existence of temple schools, clan schools and academic institution of the shogunate laid the foundation for education in Japan.
2. Nation building was powerfully promoted by the national government after the Meiji Restoration and temple schools were converted into elementary schools.
3. There is cultural soil in Japan where people respect learning and have high preference for receiving education.

Discussion was also held on the expectation of the recipient countries.

1. The need for providing teaching materials and references.
2. Assistance for preparing programmes for women.
3. Exchange of experts and educations, particularly volunteers.
4. Develop ability to resolve one's own problems.

Lastly Japanese approach to assistance was discussed.

1. Some organizations contribute to literacy education by sending mimeograph machines. Others send money instead because of the enormous transportation cost and customs duties. Some dispatch leaders to assist with literacy movements while others build training institutions.
2. Japan should speak up to the world of the contribution of education to development of a country with little natural resources.
3. In aid giving Japan should not forget the concept of sharing the joy of living.

Discussion Meeting 2: Environmental Protection:
Women and Forests

Following the presentation of video film made by JICA featuring Nepal today, Ms. Yumiko TANAKA and Dr. Eva M. RATHGEBER gave supplementary explanation to the case reports.

1. JICA conducted a preliminary research for the cooperative project of Social Forestry in Nepal. Groups of village women were interviewed in order to understand the needs of women. Some of the women's groups sprung spontaneously while others were encouraged by donor agencies. Project is expected to commence in July 1994.
2. Africa is experiencing increased urbanization as well as desertification. Change of global climate is one of the causes for desertification but social phenomenon such as the dramatic increase of population is considered also to be a cause.
3. Agroforestry is gaining popularity recently because of the shortage of agricultural land. Afforestation is not acceptable to the local people unless there is farm land. This dictates the need to adopt policies that encourage production of agricultural products as well as trees that will directly benefit the local people.

The participants then broke up in four groups where discussion was continued.

1. Need for greater communication at the citizens' level.
2. Japan's wealth has been created partly by exploiting developing countries. Developing countries can learn from Japan's experience and not repeat.
3. Developed countries must not force their will on developing countries in their choice of village leaders and activities.
4. Women's participation in planning is defficult but necessary.
5. There are two types of social forestry: city type and village type. In either type individual and government attitudes must be changed. Each must develop conscious responsibility to resolving problems.
6. Environmental problem is too big for any one person to solve. Governments and NGOs must be involved.

7. Environmental destruction is a global issue requiring cooperation between developed and developing countries.

In summary Ms. Yumiko TANAKA and Dr. Eva M. RATHGEBER shared their thoughts:

1. Ms. Yumiko TANAKA
   Developed countries must not tell developing countries not to harvest wood. Because they cannot live without doing so. Ongoing projects involving cooperation of developed countries focus on afforestation after the environment has been destroyed.
2. Dr. Eva M. RATHGEBER
   Each one of us as a citizen responsible for global environment, should think of ways of protecting the environment.

Discussion Meeting 3: Economic Activities

After all participants introduced themselves and issues were presented, senior officers made reports on the economic activities of their countries.

Tanzania: Ms. Bardiana Kokubanza ARI
1. Economy is agriculture centered.
2. Women are involved in economic activities both in the urban areas and rural areas but on a small scale. They cannot produce surplus due to a shortage of operating fund as well as investment capital. Without security women are not able to borrow funds.
3. Women's Development Fund with low interest rate loan has been established. Projects for women are now under consideration.

Senegal: Ms. Haldiata Ro NDIAE
1. There are many women involved in the informal sector but very few who can be regarded as entrepreneurs.
2. Training courses are conducted to improve managerial ability of women. Lack of understanding of French, the official language poses a problem.

Fiji: Ms. Ratiletta Kitty MAKARARE
1. Most women are engaged in agriculture.
2. Experimental projects are being carried out with the objective of providing economic and social support for women.

Dr. Lorraine CORNER raised following issues.
1. Problems of developing counteis are not just their problems. As women we must discuss what we can do for women in other countries and learn from our sisters in developing countries.
2. Lack of appreciation for women's work and violence against women stem from fixation of relegating women to lower status. This fixed idea must be destroyed.

The group divided itself in seven sub-groups to address issues and methodology.

Issues: As agents of economic activities what activities are indicated and what must we do?

Strategy: Networking at grass-roots is needed. For example, distribution system must be changed between deveoping and developed countries, and between farmer producers and city dwelling consumers in Japan.

In summary Dr. CORNER shared her views:

1. Development aid for poor countries must be targetted to making women agents of social change.
2. Economic activities will be borne by independent women and independent men. Gaining independence is the fundamental condition and it must start with the family. It is important that we change ourselves, change our family and change our country.

Discussion Meeting 4: Violence against Women

After all present introduced themselves and issues were presented, Ms. AINO of Namibia reported on violence committed against women in her country.

1. Violence against women is a matter of daily occurrence. Nation-wide poverty, inflow of refugees and lack of information were cited as causes.
2. Women brought up in an environment where violence of men is taken for granted, do not feel they are mistreated.
3. Relief centres have been set up and educational activities are currently implemented but huge problems still remain.

Ms. E. S. Nimalka FERNANDO then presented a report as well as a recommendation.

1. We must recognise that there is violence against women in homes and the importance of family.
2. In order to root out violence against women, social system must be changed.
3. NGO is actively involved but governments must also be involved.
4. Women in Japan should consider their currnet situation and ways of changing it.

The group then broke up in four sub-groups for further discussion. Main points were as follows:

1. Abolishing disregard of human rights of foreign brides.
2. The need to establish relief centres and official organ to deal with sexual harassment etc.
3. Ending once and for all violence of husbands against their wives.
4. The need to change our own consciousness as women as well as changing that of men, government and media.
5. Lifting the forceful use of the same surname by the married couple.
6. Lessening acceptance of moral superiority of men.
7. Reducing social pressure that teaches patience as virute.
8. Ending violence of abusive words at work place.
9. The need for courses for men to learn about human rights of women.

Ms. Yoko HAYASHI summarized the session.

1. Lack of law in Japan that provides for violence by husband, tend to treat the problem as a private matter. Japanese women must have legal literacy.
2. Hope participants will talk about the forum in their homes and work place.

Resume of Plenary Session

1. Reports from the group meetings held on the previous day were presented by the following reporters:

   Meeting 1: Mr. Akihiro CHIBA
   Meeting 2: Ms. Grace FORGWEL, Senior Officer of Cameroon
   Meeting 3: Mr. Hideki YOSHINO
   Meeting 4: Ms. Yoko HAYASHI

2. Prior to the discussion at the penary session, Mr. M'HAMMED of Morocco, Ms. KARA of Turkey, Ms. MAKASLALE of Fiji and Ms. AINO of Namibia commented on their participation to the Forum.

3. Ms. MAKASLALE of Fiji asked a question regarding "Japanese government formula for allocating a certain amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Women in Development (WID)". The following information was provided by the participants.
   (1) The Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) which is the ODA granting institution of the Japanese government provides loans for building infrastructure. It grants ODA at the request of developing countries. There is at present no concrete guideline regarding WID. Its staff has just begun studying the issue of WID.
   (2) Japann International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is the other ODA granting institution of the Japanese government and carries out technical assistance and human resources training on grant basis. It undertakes two types of WID related projects. One making direct investment to WID and the other conducting staff training from the perspective of women in development projects.
   (3) In line with the commitment made to WID perspective in the First Revision of the New National Action Plan, Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries and Education are carrying out training from the WID perspective.
   (4) The Japanese people, not just the government, should also have the responsibility with regard to the way ODA money is disbursed. Women should make their appeal to the government to ensure that funds are provided for WID. Both the government and private sectors should consider the issue in preparation for the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing.

(5) In Canada staff involved in aid giving will receive training from gender perspective. In Japan it is not possible at present to provide the training due to the lack of instructors.

4. Views were exchanged with regard to the comment Ms. CHUKUMA of Nigeria had made suggesting that "higher educational background of women is becoming an obstacle for marriage".
   (1) In any society there is a gap between the ideal and the reality. If a university-graduate daughter, for example, wished to marry an illiterate person, parents should on principle approve their marriage but in their hearts are opposed. Men tend not to prefer women with higher educational background than their own. These feelings are common anywhere in the world and perhaps are most natural.
   (2) This is a question of attitude. What is needed is to review our attitude that considers it wrong to have such natural feelings and meekly surrender to what is to regarded as immutable human nature. There is a need to demand administrative authorities to implement staff training on gender issues at every possible opportunity.
   (3) There are simply many things that can be improved with women having higher educational background. For example, acquisition by women of knowledge of birth control would help mitigate population problem.
   (4) Men the world over are threatened by increasing power of women. Relationship between men and women should change. It is important to change the consciousness of both men and women and cooperation of men is essential.
   (5) Violence against women requires women to be in conditions in which they can decide for themselves. This requires women to be educated. In Japan while women enjoy higher levels of education, many after graduating from university cannot make decisions about their lives. This is because they do not receive education that will lead to their independence.
   (6) While educating women there is at the same time a need to educate men to be more democratic. Understanding of men is essential in resolving women's issues.

5. Views were exchanged on the question raised by Ms. TOMIYA of Development Education Council of Japan: "Is development really needed? Has not development made

victims of women and accompanied cultural aggression.?"

(1) The issue is big not only for developing countries but also for developed countries. The whole world is facing a crisis of development. There is a need to redefine the term "development" and think through what constitutes "sustainable development". In reality the Third World needs development. There is, therefore, a need for sufficient dialogue between developing and developed countries.

(2) If development is seen as a process of social evolution, there is no way we can avoid it. This does not mean that we cannot give it a direction. Development should not be a relationship of exploitation of developing countries by the developed. A new relationship must be built on mutual cooperation.

6. Experts gave the following comments:
   -- Networking in Japan has expanded. Hope we will have another of this kind of opportunity in the near future.
   -- I felt the importance of empowering women. I would like to do my best and contribute as a female lawyer.
   -- I hope people will recognise that the family should be the first agent of social change.
   -- "United Nations Decade of Women" is still not familiar in many Japanese rural areas. Life in rural areas in developing countries may be assumed from the circumstances of Japanese rural areas. There is a need to consider the problem of development as our own.
   -- There is a need for a global solidarity as humans going beyond the frame of women.
   -- Japan must make an appeal for the importance of literacy education.
   -- Even in the third year of the International Forum on Intercultural Exchange regarding Women in Development, there is too few participation of men. The Forum should be continued as a training opportunity for men as well.
   -- Each one of us should make the best of the Forum and take some action.

3. Reference Materials

Outline of
International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1991

1. The Purpose

The purpose of the Forum is to seek intercultural exchange and international cooperation serving global solidarity among women, by identifying from an international perspective the present status and the role of women in the socio-economic development, and by discussing the issue of development from the perspectives of women. The Forum is thus intended to help create, through the sharing of experiences and views on the subject, international networking for women in all of these important areas.

2. Theme

'Women in Development: towards global networking'

3. Period and Venue

Tuesday, 29 - Wednesday, 30 October 1991
National Women's Education Centre

4. Summary of the Programmes

(1) Address by Chairperson

Dr. Yoriko MEGURO
Professor, Sophia University

She introduced the concept of "WID: Women in Development" and activities emphasizing WID.

(2) Session I: Approaches to 'Women in Development'

The session was designed to learn about the perspectives and methodology regarding 'Women in Development' by sharing experiences of different countries.

1) "Theoretical Approaches to Understanding the Relative Positions of Women and Men in Societies Undergoing

Rapid Social Change"

Dr. Kate YOUNG

Executive Director, WOMANKIND (based in United Kingdom)

She explained three approaches of WID (Women in Development), GAD (Gender and Development) and WAD (Women and Development) in the field of "WID: Women in Development". She stated that there are practical approaches and strategic approaches for the empowerment of women. It will be important to look for things in common with consideration that each woman is different.

2) "Rural Women: Partners in Development"

Ms. Alexandra STEPHENS

Regional Sociologist and Women in Development Officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific (based in Thailand)

After talking briefly about the population increase in developing countries, she reported that women's works are not accurately evaluated because statistics and guidelines to measure their economic values are not yet established even though women are working longer than men in farming and housekeeping jobs. She stated that it is necessary to construct databases on unpaid work in order to recognize these kinds of work correctly and to make their social and economic contribution visible to everyone.

3) "Japan's Approach to 'Women in Development'
- from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology -"

Ms. Kyoko KIKUCHI

Associate Professor, Tsuda College

There are various cultures in the world and we must aim at the best development of each society with respect to its individuality. She also reported on the activities of the Japan Society for International Development which was established in 1990.

(3) Session II: Field Report on 'Women in Development'

The session was designated to learn from experience in the field, with a view to seeking better approaches to development which improve the status of women, and also to identify the present and future of global solidarity of women in this field.

1) "SEWA Experience"

Ms. Ela R. BHATT

General Secretary, Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (based in India)

She has organized SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) for Indian women workers and established the bank for its members and over the last twenty years offered various independence-supporting services such as housing, training, community health care and legal assistance. She also talked about the importance of fighting for organization.

2) "Women in Bureaucracy: The Philippine Case"

Ms. Patricia A. Sto. TOMAS

Chairperson, Civil Service Commission (CSC) (based in the Philippines)

She explained the female participation rate for the executive class of bureaucracy is small even though it is the

biggest employing institution of Filipina and reported on the measures taken to readdress these imbalances of Civil Service Commission. She concluded that the best development is to have many options and choices in our various life styles.

3) "The Path to Independence"

Ms. Mieko MAGAMI

Organizer, Comprehensive Cultural Exchange Programmes between Japan and Bangladesh

She explained the projects to improve the livelihood of women in which she was engaged in Bangladesh as a member of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, and reported the activities of the Comprehensive Cultural Exchange Programmes between Japan and Bangladesh which was established after she returned to Japan. Furthermore, cooperative activities with developing countries at the individual level should be active, not passive to enforce concrete actions.

(4) Session III: General Discussion

The session was designed for a discussion among panelists and participants regarding Women in Development, elaborating further on the results of the discussion during previous sessions. Opinions were exchanged on "How to put men into the framework", "How WID is taken into education", "What is the role of women in Japanese ODA", "What is the role of media" and "What do Japanese women want".

5. Participants

(1) Number of participants: 145

(2) Sex: Female: 137 / Male: 8

(3) Breakdown by generation

Teens	3 (2.1%)	Twenties	19 (13.1%)
Thirties	28 (19.3%)	Forties	36 (24.8%)
Fifties	17 (11.7%)	Older than 60	12 (8.3%)
No answer	30 (20.7%)		

(4) Breakdown by occupation

Civil servant	21.0%	Company employee	12.6%
Self-employed	8.4%	Student	7.8%
Not employed	29.2%	Other	21.0%

(5) Participants from foreign countries

One person each from 7 countries (Thailand, Philippines, India, United Kingdom, the United States, Germany and China)

Outline of
International Forum on Intercultural Exchange 1992

1. The Purpose

In reviewing international exchanges and cooperation from the perspective of Women in Development, it is important that we understand the condition of women's participation in socio-economic development and identify the factors that hamper their participation. This forum seeks to exchange views and share experiences in broad areas with specialists from abroad on development that contributes to the improvement of women's status.

2. Theme

'Women in Development' - towards the Development Making Women Visible

3. Period and Venue

Wednesday, 30 September - Friday, 2 October 1992 (two nights' stay)
National Women's Education Centre

4. Summary of Programmes

(1) Address by Chairperson

Dr. Hiroko HARA
Professor, Ochanomizu University

She mentioned that people in various parts of Japan have taken a great interest in women's status in society the world over as well as the ways to change the society for the better. She also mentioned that development aid is increasing not only the difference between men and women but also differences between the rich and the poor among men. Therefore, it is important to have continuous interest in "Women in Development".

(2) Case Session : 'From the field - Women in Development'

This session was set aside for presentation of studies and exchange of information on the contribution of women to socio-economic development to promote greater understanding on the subject.

1) "Making Women Count"

Ms. Margaret SHIELDS

Director, United Nations International Research and Training for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) (based in Dominican Republic)

While it was simply a historical matter that men were mainly making decisions, functional roles of men and women are becoming increasingly fixed, in the complex modern society as a result of the advancement of technology, development of monetary economy and industrial capitalism. She focused on the importance of recognizing the underestimated unpaid works of women. She also introduced the activities of INSTRAW regarding the evaluation of unpaid works of women and said that it was essential to adopt the perspectives of women in development.

2) "Making Women Visible in Development: The Role of DAWN"

Ms. Peggy ANTROBUS

General Co-ordinator, Development Alternative with Women for a New Era (DAWN) (based in Barbados)

After briefly introducing the history of the DAWN (a network of Third World feminists promoting "Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era") which was established to commemorate the "UN Decade for Women", she explained that the primary

purpose of DAWN is to analyze key development issues from the perspective of poor women living in the 'Economic South'. She then went on to say that DAWN is trying to work out new policy regarding the alternative economic frameworks with the cooperation of networks of women in developed countries and stated the importance of continuously adopting women and development issues at various levels.

3) "Japanese Women in Rural Areas and Activities for Home Living Improvement"

Ms. Hiroko TABE

Senior Training Officer, Home-Living Technique Training Institute, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

Reports were made of the various activities for democratization of farming village starting with activities for home living improvement brought in by GHQ after World War II which were continued through economic recovery period from mid 1940s, to rapid economic growth period and up to the present.
She also introduced the future tasks focusing on making a better environment for women to live and to act.

4) "Adolescent Health and Women in Central and South America"

Ms. Kiyoko IKEGAMI

Programme Officer, Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning, Inc. (JOICFP)

Current situation of unwanted pregnancies among teenagers which was becoming a social problem in Central and South Americas was presented. She said it was important to ensure adolescent health by introducing

sex education and educational materials to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

5) "UNESCAP and Women in Development"

Ms. Hiroko HASHIMOTO

Social Affairs Officer, Social Development Division, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) (based in Thailand)

Activities concerning women in the United Nations were reported including International Year of Women, World Conference on Women, Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Commission on the Status of Women, INSTRAW and UNIFEM. She then reported on the main issues of ESCAP such as constructing WINAP (Women's Information Network in Asia and Pacific), integration of women's perspective in development planning and promotion of legal knowledge on women's rights. She also called on the participants to take part in the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.

(3) Group Meetings

1) Meeting 1: Examination of Environment, Development and Women

Coordinator: Ms. Hiroko HASHIMOTO
Advisor: Dr. Govind KELKAR

2) Meeting 2: Study of development education to promote a sense of solidarity with women in developing countries

Coordinator: Ms. Kiyoko IKEGAMI
Advisor: Dr. Hiroko HARA

3) Meeting 3: Reviewing the evaluation of women's

contribution to society and economy

Coordinator: Ms. Hiroko TABE

Advisor: Ms. Margaret SHIELDS

4) Meeting 4: Women in Development for NGO activities

Coordinator: Ms. Terumasa AKIO

Advisor: Ms. Peggy ANTROBUS

5) Meeting 5: ODA from women's perspective

Coordinator: Ms. Yumiko TANAKA

Advisor: Dr. Thanh-Dam TRUONG

(3) Symposium: 'Let us join our hands - towards human-oriented global community'

Discussion was held on international cooperation with 'Women in Development' in view.

1) Address by Chairperson

Dr. Hiroko HARA

To realize the objectives of the symposium, there is a need to think of the next step by looking objectively at our actions and evaluating the circumstances surrounding us.

2) "Empowering Women: The Questions of Gender and Class in Women's Effective Access to Land / Poverty"

Dr. Govind KELKAR

Coordinator, Gender and Development Studies, Asian Institute of Technology (AIT) (based in Thailand)

She reported that although women actively participated in the land struggles in two districts of India, their role as harvestor and participation in decision making were denied. She then said that men and women should have equal rights and for that, power relationship of men and women in family should be accurately recognized.

3) "Human-oriented Development:

Theoretical and Practical Issues"

Dr. Thanh-Dam TRUONG

Senior Lecturer, Women and Development Programme, Institute of Social Studies (ISS) (based in the Netherlands)

The term "development" has various meanings depending on the perception and circumstances. When considering "development", it is important to consider human relationships, not just material wealth. She also introduced the five approaches of WID in the Netherlands; welfare approach, equity approach, anti-poverty approach, efficiency approach and empowerment approach.

4) "Tackling ODA from Women's Viewpoint"

Ms. Yumiko TANAKA

Development Specialist, Institute for International Cooperation, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

She said there is little information regarding ODA even though the Japanese ODA is the largest in the world. The Japanese people have more rights and responsibility to speak on ODA. She also emphasized the need to recognize the status of women in the power relationship of international politics between developing and developed countries.

5) "Women in Development (Resume)"

Mr. Terumasa AKIO

Executive Director, Minsai Center

After discussing the definition of NGO in Japan and the history of international exchange organizations, he talked of the importance of ensuring necessary funds for their volunteering activities. Legal institution

should recognize non-profit organizations as a category. He also emphasized the importance of NGO activities by women for women.

5. Participants

(1) Number of participants: 178

(2) Sex: Female: 173 / Male: 5

(3) Breakdown by generation

Twenties	27 (15.2%)	Thirties	26 (14.6%)
Forties	31 (17.4%)	Fifties	31 (17.4%)
Sixties	21 (11.8%)	Seventies	1 (0.6%)
No answer	41 (23.0%)		

(4) Breakdown by occupation

Civil servant	16.0%	Company employee	4.8%
Self-employed	9.6%	Student	7.4%
Not employed	26.6%	Other	35.6%

(5) Participants from foreign countries

7 persons from 6 countries (the Dominican Republic, the Barbados, India, the Netherland, Australia and Canada)

平成５年度国際交流フォーラム

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