UNICEF AND WOMEN

The Long Voyage

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

UNICEF HISTORY SERIES
MONOGRAPH VII

THE AUTHOR

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A Historical Perspective

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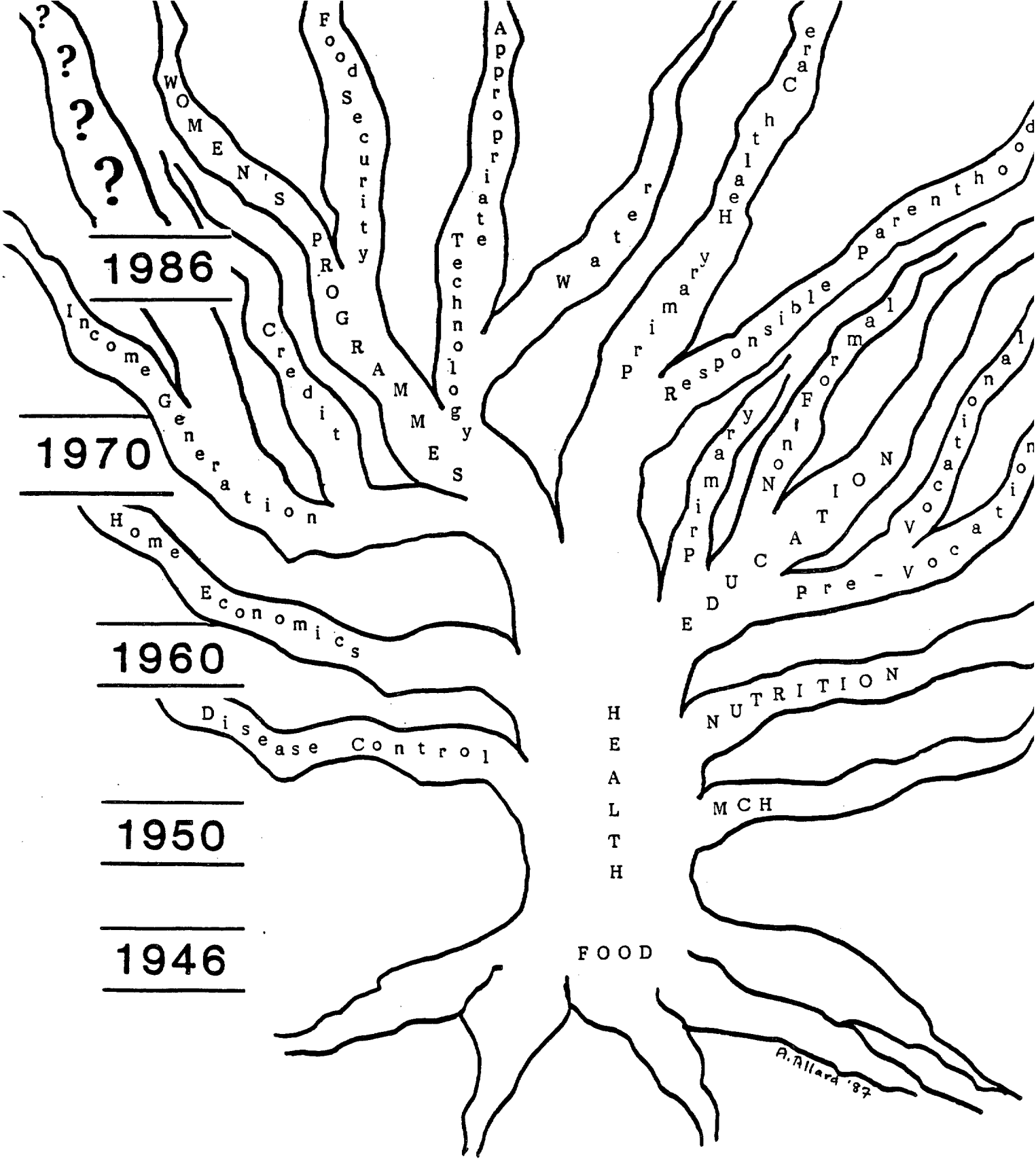

THE WOMAN TREE

A VALUABLE RESOURCE CONTINUES TO GROW

FOREWORD

The 40-year courtship of women by UNICEF was a hesitant and uncertain affair with a longer than usual engagement.

Countless factors have influenced UNICEF and other United Nations bodies in their attention to the needs of and contributions made by women. It is not the purpose of this paper to analyze all these factors, but rather to add more photographs to the global family album of the growth and development of UNICEF's interest in women during the period 1946 - 1986. Much that is positive has happened in that very short span of time - for after all, what is 40 years in any historical perspective? Perhaps infinitesimal overall, but for young girls and women a definite milestone has been marked, and the change from quiet acceptance of often unremarked responsibilities to world recognition of the critical role that they play in society has taken them from anonymity to a very visible spot in world events.

UNICEF with its Board, its staff, its National Committees and the NGOs associated with it has, over time become one of the important ingredients in the mixture of opinions that has produced a clearer recognition of the role played by women. It has embodied the acknowledgment that children's lives and futures are inextricably interwoven with that of their mothers, that benefits for children must in many cases come to them through their mothers. Improvements for the mother are as essential for the well-being of the child as is improvement of the extremely complex and interrelated set of elements that make up the life and culture of any nation - the environment of the child. For the young child, women have been and still are the primary figures on that stage where events are played out. As goes life for the mother, so goes it for the child.

The United Nations Charter, which was signed 26 June 1945 and came into force on the 24th of October 1945, was itself a milestone. In it the simple statement confirming the attainment of equality of men and women as a mandate has legitimatized a series of actions that are slowly, if painfully, moving countries to protect the human rights of over 50 percent of the world's population. Señora Minerva Bernardino from the Dominican Republic along with two other Latin American women had the vision and drive to make sure that women were specifically included in the Charter. Of the 51 member states (of which 31 came from the Third World) which signed the UN Charter in 1945, only one third had laws that permitted women to vote - a telling statistic from the so-called "developed" world nations who were to serve as models for the Third World [1/]. The signing was a courageous act, not because of what it has meant for women, but for its impact on world events.

A Human Rights Commission was from the beginning a part of the United Nations and as one of its active sub-groups, the Commission on the Status of Women, very early in its life - in 1948, pointed out that more women were needed in key UN posts and on government delegations if the UN were to see the world

with both eyes rather than have one covered and unused. That position was a preview of what was to be said about UNICEF staff at a much later date.

At the same time, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs was established to be responsible for the field of social welfare, which included families. Families and children were the clientele whose welfare they were designated to serve which meant women and children and working with governments to develop or improve policies that would affect their well being.

The Bureau of Social Affairs [2/] and the Commission on the Status of Women were, then, the two United Nations bodies that most specifically were mandated to look at women, and it took time to find ways of working with these two entities and other UN bodies whose expertise included agriculture, employment, environment and education.

Women as such were not part of UNICEF's mandate at this time, but the realities of focusing on children quickly drew the organization into the magnetic field of women. UNICEF has traveled a winding path through a forest of varying, firmly rooted opinions on how it should deal with the subject of women - both in planning and implementing programmes and in staffing policies and action. It has gone from no mention of the needs and concerns of women to incorporating them more fully into all aspects of the life of the organization. In the beginning there were children, then came children and pregnant and lactating mothers, then children and mothers, then children and women in all their roles. Other UN agencies have followed similar paths as have many nations, often for very different reasons, at differing speeds and with varying results. And, each has influenced the other. This monograph attempts to chronicle UNICEF's long voyage in this continuing story.

IN THE BEGINNING

1946, Children First

World War II had just ended. People's lives had been uprooted, families were separated and in disarray. Children, sometimes with their families, sometimes alone, were the most vulnerable, least able to speak for themselves and the most pathetic mirror of what wars can do to the innocent. Action needed to be taken rapidly to make sure that a generation was not totally lost and to prove that global humanity could be roused to work for something rather than against something. A world coming out of the negativism of war in Europe and Asia hungered for this chance.

Children and their needs stimulated the United Nations General Assembly to establish the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund in December 1946 with the mandate to serve "children and adolescents of countries which were the victims of aggression and to assist in their rehabilitation with supplies, material, services and technical assistance...and for child health purposes generally." Although the resolution did not specifically mention mothers, it was implicit that they were to be included in the work of the new agency.

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Expanding the clientele - 1947-1948

Children were the easily acceptable humanitarian target. But the early references to children only in programme reports and plans were rapidly augmented, as early as 1947, by the logical inclusion of assistance to pregnant and lactating mothers as a primary aspect of UNICEF' concern in its focus on children, especially the infant and the very young child. Supplying milk, nutritional supplements and basic foods was already part of UNICEF cooperation with countries in Europe so it was easy to extend the concept to include mothers. This emphasis increased once UNICEF's mandate was formally expanded by the UN General Assembly in December 1950 to include greater attention to the long-range needs of children and especially those in the developing world.

The request to UNICEF by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) on 29 March 1947 to alleviate malnutrition and disease and safeguard the health of "expectant and nursing mothers" was the document that "legitimized" or confirmed UNICEF's attention to mothers. A report in late 1947 on action taken in Europe stated that 3,715,000 children and expectant and nursing mothers were provided with food.

Improving the health of both the mother and child had already become an accepted UNICEF responsibility - a normal one, since it was basically the

mother who had the primary responsibility for the young child's health and education. For UNICEF, the health of children was the first priority, and soon training those who were to deliver those health services became a support to that primary task.

In Asia, also the scene of the human tragedies that wars leave in their wake, it was evident that getting food and health supplies to the children and mothers required at least minimally trained local personnel. The tasks these people were expected to do were not complicated, but people trained to carry them out were needed in considerable quantity - more than most countries could hope to train in their formal educational institutions in years - and children and mothers couldn't wait years. That meant trying to support countries around the world in their own attempts to build up basic facilities for delivering services and training nurses, midwives and auxiliary health workers on a massive scale in order to ensure that health supplies provided by UNICEF could reach the child as quickly as possible.

It was with that logical extension of the health delivery chain - UNICEF to government to health deliverer (usually a female nurse or female health worker), to child, or to mother then to child, that women, quietly and without a loud designation of gender, became an integral part of UNICEF programme attention.

The Commission on the Status of Women was also looking at training and the education of women and during that same period asked ECOSOC to request UNESCO to work toward improving the educational opportunities of women, toward changing school curriculums, offering day care for children, considering the use of labour-saving devices, attacking the illiteracy of so many of the world's women, arranging that time be available for mothers to nurse, and organizing advocacy that would let women take an active part in public and civic affairs.

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The formative years - 1949-1950

Supplementary feeding children, with a primary emphasis on milk for children and their mothers, continued through these years; preventive measures were to come later. Until 1960 the UNICEF logo was a child with a cup of milk. Today people still identify UNICEF with milk. UNICEF was, however, steadily enlarging its scope of responding to individual country needs, mostly in the Third World - in Asia and Latin America - in the broad field of health. WHO was its natural close colleague. WHO had primary responsibility in the United Nations system for technical advice on policies and practices in the field of health; UNICEF, with its supply and equipment capabilities, was invaluable in converting those policies and advice into functioning reality. People working without some basic equipment can be wasted; conversely, availability of basic equipment without skilled people to use it is also wasteful. The application of this fact plus innate pragmatism underlaid the close working relationship between UNICEF and WHO.

It was this same pragmatism that very early on brought women into the UNICEF picture as deliverers of health services. Supporting maternal and child health or welfare (MCH or MCW) services on a continuing basis was the early focus of UNICEF's attention and where women were most evident in those "formative years".

In the Eastern Mediterranean, feeding of Palestinian refugee mothers and children continued, using up the uncommitted UNRRA funds, transferred to UNICEF, but health in general was becoming more of a concern.

In Asia, UNICEF equipment and supplies helped re-establish and keep many MCH centres going and encouraged countries to set up more centres in order to serve a larger number of children and mothers particularly in the rural areas. But these centres all needed to be staffed and rapidly, so supplies and equipment were provided to special centres which would train nurses and nurse/midwife trainers as well as field level auxiliary health workers. Women in Malaya, Brunei, North Borneo, Sarawak , the Philippines, China, Indonesia, Pakistan, Thailand, Ceylon, India and Afghanistan took advantage of the opportunity to improve their skills and work in the human service field. A few fellowships were made available to nurses and other health professionals to study abroad, at the International Children's Centre in Paris, the post-graduate training at the All India Institute of Health and Public Hygiene in Calcutta, and other places.

At their request, European countries were helped to make a major effort to attack the problem of venereal disease, another aftermath of the war. Pregnant women with venereal diseases were at considerable risk and, through them their unborn children. Penicillin, the new miracle drug, was the cure. For a temporary period UNICEF supplied it for nationally run campaigns to wipe out syphilis in Italy, Poland, Finland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Later, similar campaigns were undertaken by countries in other parts of the world - Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

In 1950, when UNICEF began to turn its attention more specifically to the developing world, some of its first cooperation was with fifteen Latin American countries, and women again came to the fore in the field of delivery of services. Rural midwives were being trained in El Salvador, Colombia and Brazil, and UNICEF was supplying them with their basic midwifery kits. This activity also nudged UNICEF into a wider category of support by pointing up the need to carry out popular health education (mainly nutrition, linked to milk distribution) through women's or mother's clubs. Also MCH centres "where mothers can come for advice and help" were being established by countries and equipped by UNICEF. The language of UNICEF reports was beginning to show the realistic recognition of the inseparable
nature of the mother-child relationship and the need to consider both in order to help the child.

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Sending out roots- the 1950s

It seems unbelievable now that anyone could have doubted the need to keep alive and nurture a UN agency devoted to helping governments preserve in good condition their most valuable investment for the future - children. But there was. Some believed UNICEF's work for children had been completed once post-war Europe was on the way to recovery and that any further concern should be taken over by a variety of other UN bodies. Others thought this would dilute the attention now paid to children and that UNICEF's work should continue. Those countries on the Board who were from the Third World and who were among the most vocal, urged that UNICEF recognize that, although the emergency in Europe might be almost over, the children of the Third World were in a perpetual state of emergency and the world should turn its attention to them.

Since there was still indecision, the General Assembly of the United Nations on 1 December 1950 agreed to extend the life of UNICEF until 1953, at which time it would consider making it a permanent body.

The 1950 Resolution 417(V) did two things which set UNICEF off on another broader and longer journey. One, it asked UNICEF to continue its "action to relieve the sufferings of children, particularly in the under-developed countries and countries that have been subjected to the devastation of war and other calamities." That covered just about everything and did turn the spotlight on the Third World. Second, it urged member states (by then 60, of whom 37 were from the then-called underdeveloped world) to improve their child welfare services and incorporate such action in their regular budgets when possible. It further asked that UNICEF help governments meet not only emergency but long-range needs of children as well. "Long-range" was a key word since it implied an examination of the needs of children in countries beyond those responded to during emergency periods. Somewhat later children and mothers began to be equated as an essential part of social development.

Long-range planning and social development confronted UNICEF with a challenge very different from an emergency operation in Europe. In the emergency period, primarily in Europe, where the number of mouths to feed was easy to determine, and where government structures had been only temporarily interrupted, it was possible to use existing public facilities and public servants to provide direct emergency and temporary food and medical assistance to children. Basic staff and infrastructure still existed to provide ongoing services in most European countries, or the staff that did exist were able to train newcomers. That was Europe from 1947 to the early 1950s.

The situation in the developing world presented an entirely new set of problems, still to be identified, that would clutter the path of helping governments aid children within the framework of their own economic and social development. The emphasis was on taking a serious look at long-range improvements of the situation of children and their mothers - perhaps more on children since mothers were adults and, it was presumed, should be able to take care of themselves. It was another world from Europe, with its vastly different cultures and patterns of human interaction and dependence. It was not easy to transfer the skills and styles of problem solving from an

industrialized world, as development agencies and groups have come to learn. Providing equipment for setting up milk plants in Europe and ensuring their permanent viability was quite a different matter from trying to accomplish the same result in Third World countries at varying levels of development. It was a first step in UNICEF's move from a welfare approach to a development solution.

Providing a continuing supply of milk and food for children meant deciding who were the people in the long run who would need to be influenced and, possibly, trained. For food, it was the farmer. For most western-educated advisers the farmer was a man whether he be in Europe, the United States or in Africa. It took time to comprehend that in Africa the farmer was a woman, and considerably more creativity was required to develop programmes to assist her in her task of feeding her family. Action on that score was to come much later in UNICEF's stage of development.

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TRAINING, training!

In the transition from pure relief to longer-range assistance, UNICEF still needed to continue its then typical provision of health supplies and equipment to support governmental efforts in MCH centres; disease control, including immunization; etc., but it became ever more clear that trained staff or personnel who had received at least brief orientation were needed in considerable numbers to handle the growing number of health centres. If there was not the reserve of earlier trained local staff to fall back on, as there had been in Europe, there was a reasonable reservoir of paraprofessionals, aides, helpers, traditional midwives - all women who lacked the traditional formal education, but who were working either in health centres or in their neighborhoods. These women existed or were readily available and were generally anxious to learn or improve upon a skill (except in the Eastern Mediterranean where they may have been eager to learn, but where the culture frowned on women working outside of their homes or going away from home to school without some adult chaperon).

There was, then, a whole group in the Third World which needed a modicum of training in order to be able to deliver MCH services on a modest but quickly widening scale. UNICEF arranged jointly with governments to provide this training to women - not because they were commited to women's programmes, but because these women were there, readily available to be trained, and were the traditional nurturers of children. In this latter role there was no difference between the Third and First Worlds.

UNICEF-supported training continued and expanded, primarily in Asia and Latin America with the major focus on auxiliary women health workers. Countries were alert to the needs of their children, health predominating. UNICEF, with more and more of its staff located in Third World countries, was able to benefit from its first hand understanding and assessment of conditions facing these countries and could therefore respond positively.

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UNICEF mandated to continue and expand

With UN General Assembly Resolution 802 (VIII) of 6 October 1953 came recognition of UNICEF's role in performing social service tasks which helped create favourable conditions for the development of long-range economic and social programmes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, particularly the WHO and FAO. Its name was changed from the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund to the United Nations Children's Fund but it kept the UNICEF acronym and was asked to continue indefinitely. This meant looking more and more seriously at what action UNICEF should take, that would most expeditiously and economically help countries find long-term solutions, at that time to the health needs of their children.

Prevention was the logical answer. With the recognition that prevention was not only cheaper than curative services, but that an investment in this field also yielded better returns in terms of long-term human well-being, UNICEF and its advisers added to their focus ways to accomplish this. Education and training of government staff and those who delivered health services to children began to be more and more a part of country programmes. This inevitably led to more consideration of women as the key players in carrying out such a strategy.

As a result, women as mothers, in a broader sense than just being "pregnant or lactating women", began to receive some attention, though limited. For example, in Brazil, a suggestion by the Ministry of Health to take advantage of women's groups was taken up; UNICEF helped by providing educational materials for mothers' clubs and other information outlets that would help mothers learn about the benefits of milk in their children's daily diet, so that when milk provided by UNICEF was distributed they would see to it that their children drank it.

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Mothers' groups

In 1953 mothers' clubs in Brazil were looked upon as a channel for health education [3/]. Egypt also, set up under its national plan, social centres for the education of women in home economics, nutrition, adult education, etc. India was doing the same thing. UNICEF agreed to provide some of the basic teaching equipment. Long-term solutions were being sought, and proposals from colleagues in countries, advisers in other UN agencies and its own field staff offered potential solutions to be tested. This meant working with FAO staff in home economics, with WHO and others training nurses and other medical or auxiliary workers, and making contact with the Bureau of Social Affairs and its field advisers whose interest in the family and social development provided an additional team of knowledgeable people who could contribute to the coordinated approach required to find solutions.

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Food

Because of the knowledge that feeding programmes could only be temporary measures and could probably never reach the majority of those children and mothers in need who lived away from central distribution centers, UNICEF joined with FAO in examining long-term solutions to nutritional needs. The conclusion (one that seems self-evident in the wisdom of retrospection) was that local production of nutritious food was necessary. School gardens, and training primary school teachers (often young women) to manage them was the first and easiest step. Maybe not enough schools existed to make a major impact on the nutritional well-being of rural children, but using those that did, helped branch out from urban areas and was a step toward reaching mothers and families through their children. Household gardens and the women who managed them (all mothers, most likely) were not to become a focus until much later.

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Water

As time passed, it became clearer that the child and its mother could not be isolated from the community and its needs. The concept of health broadened, and rural environmental sanitation as well as the provision of safe water was recognized
as part of the closely knit package of factors in the community that affect the entire community, but most specifically the child and its mother. Instead of the mother trudging miles to and fro between home and her source of water (more often than not a polluted pond or stream rather than a safe well), UNICEF, FAO and countries began providing the equipment and the skills to drill wells. Burma was the first country to benefit but the idea spread rapidly. Women's role in the whole effort, however, was largely overlooked in the anxiety to make safe water available as soon as possible. This was true not just of UNICEF but of FAO, the countries involved, and even the villagers who took part in the decisions about the location of pumps and the selection of personnel to manage the pumps and wells.

Since then we have learned that the carrying pot and the storage jar which are tended by women are as important to keep clean as the water. It was not until the 1980s that it was perceived that it was important for women to be involved at all stages, especially in the maintenance of water pumps [4/]. After all, if the pump broke down, it was she and not the maintenance man who had to plod those additional miles for very questionable drinking water for her family.

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Co-operation with other United Nations bodies

The UN Bureau of Social Affairs initially perceived UNICEF mainly as a supply agency, basically doing child feeding, and tied to WHO, providing supplies for health. However, as UNICEF began to think in terms of social development it was possible for the Bureau of Social Affairs to begin working with UNICEF

more closely. It was interesting that the Bureau of Social Affairs' concern was that UNICEF viewed women only as mothers (the bearers of children) and that not enough attention was being given to the family and the community which made up the world of the child. It felt that, with such a narrow viewpoint, cooperation with UNICEF would not be too fruitful. This too, changed over time. And UNICEF was eager to take advantage of the technical advice available in the Bureau in order to be able to respond effectively to the requests coming from field staff scattered throughout Asia, Latin America and in some parts of Africa to train community development workers in simple health and child welfare care skills. As their interests began to merge, the two organizations began to draw together in mutual support 5/.

It was in 1957 that UNICEF, in determining its social policy, reiterated its position in more formal terms, saying that the "needs of children are not isolated and must be viewed within the context of their family and community environment and that one should act in a coordinated manner on as many factors as possible." 6/ Mothers were one of those factors, though not specifically mentioned at that time.

Concurrent with that closer association with the Bureau of Social Affairs was the exposure in the field to the rise of the community development movement in the early 50s and the enthusiasm it stirred up. It stimulated participation in local and rural level development and was another landmark in understanding the needs of the developing world and beginning to tackle them in a more comprehensive manner. For UNICEF it offered another avenue which could strengthen services to children on a broader scale and at minimal expense. Assisting in the training of a community development worker meant expanding UNICEF's clientele to mothers and families and to others in the community who could be reached. It was another whole network of trainers and organizers at ever more remote areas who could be trained and would be most apt to reach mothers.

Today one might wonder at UNICEF's lack of contact with the UN Commission on the Status of Women, which was at this time in the 50s, pressing UNESCO and its member states to work toward ensuring equal access of girls to all levels of education, to expand its literacy programmes, to undertake a study regarding the education of girls and to be sure that women and girls were equally included in all fundamental education courses. Fundamental education was a combination of literacy and community development and tried to both benefit and stimulate community participation. The probable explanation for this deficit of contact was that UNICEF was not yet looking at girls and women except as adjuncts to children. The Commission, which had no operational arm, also did not put pressure on UNESCO to focus on primary education for girls and thus did not operate in the arena in which UNICEF was to take action shortly - primary education. In essence it was regrettable that organizations that had some of the same concerns did not find each other and forge links until later 7/. As Julia Henderson, former Associate Commissioner and Director of Technical Cooperation for the UN and also the Director of the Division of Social Welfare (later the Bureau of Social Affairs) said, in reflecting on UNICEF's evolution, "educating young girls during the 50s and

60s was a missed opportunity. Since they were to be, by the 70s and 80s, the mothers of an increasing number of children, how useful it would have been when they began to bring up their own children if they had been exposed to some of the information on health, nutrition and education in general". Perhaps the fact that the UNICEF Board in those days rarely had representation from UNESCO, none from the Commission on the Status of Women, and there were no educational specialists on country delegations, played a role [8/], but fundamentally UNICEF had other priorities during that period.

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Broadening the field - 1957-1959

Several factors were coming together in the last few years of the 50s that slowly moved UNICEF closer to a broader vision of the tasks and needs of mothers, although still only in relation to their ability to care for and give direct services to children. This broader view had led to using the term "basic maternal and child welfare services" to indicate more adequately that UNICEF aid was not only for health activities but also for community development activities, village water supplies, handicapped children and the training of workers for delivering these services.

:Community development and social welfare

"The needs of children are not isolated." Adopting this philosophy stimulated UNICEF to examine the many factors that impacted on a child and led UNICEF to try to act in a coordinated fashion on as many of the factors as possible. What was considered "possible" continued to expand, and the package of support from UNICEF enlarged to include cooperation not only with Ministries of Health but also with Community Development and Social Welfare Departments, Ministries of Education, Agriculture and Water. There was, perhaps, a primary focus on the social development plans of a country but UNICEF was also moving toward looking at relationships with economic development as well.

Programming for women generally was the responsibility of departments of social affairs or welfare or community development. So, with UNICEF's closer collaboration with the UN Bureau of Social Affairs and the corresponding government departments, the interests of all began to converge [9/].

It was in 1955 in Kenya (at that time still a colony of Britain), that training stipends first included community development workers, both female and male. But, the female staff were busily organizing women's groups patterned after the British "Women's Institutes" movement. To UNICEF, these women's clubs were worth supporting as an ideal vehicle for reaching the child, since mothers could be trained how to improve child rearing, feeding, first aid, cooking, sewing, and gardening [10/]. In Western eyes, these were all the skills that every good mother should possess. These skills were soon to become labeled "Mothercraft/Homecraft."

Programmes that worked with women's clubs or groups were judged to give direct access to numbers of women and to be able to respond with information

needed by the African family. It was thought that such a system would permit the introduction of more effective ideas to both rural and urban women. Attracting young women and mothers to improve child rearing and family life, both as homemakers and "leaders in their villages" was the goal.

One needs to remember, however, that this was in 1956, when the colonial attitude still prevailed that "we, the outsiders, knew best and that women's role was as a housewife." Ones perception has since changed as we have learned to appreciate the fact that mothers in the developing world had been looking after children and families long before outside aid agencies came on the scene. Since then we have all learned much about what is suitable to other cultures and family patterns in different parts of the world.

The question that has, since 1957, been raised is: was it the most needy mothers who could benefit from knowledge about knitting, sewing, cooking, child care and embroidery? The answer is, probably not. But many women did benefit and it was a step toward improving their knowledge. The contribution of women was beginning to be seen on a slightly larger canvas. Changes in clientele over the following years have induced changes in the curriculum of home economics courses since that time.

Following directly on plans to work with women's clubs in Kenya in 1956, where Dorothy Sheppard, a member of the British Colonial Service, is remembered as being a pioneer who started the groups, based on the British Women's Institutes, came cooperation with the women's club movement in Uganda in 1957 and the influence of Katherine Hastie in advancing the cause of women. Support for the same type of programmes followed in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in 1958. Community development was the vehicle, but women's education was the result, as well as a broadening of their exposure to other patterns of life and practices in the home. It was a very Western type of education at that time, but it was a beginning of working directly with women. Mothercraft/homecraft courses served the purpose of starting support for specifically women's programme and as the subject matter taught moved on to home management and literacy and began to respond to the more basic needs of women, the creativity of that first supportive step was apparent [11/].

Many of the women whom UNICEF wanted to reach were in almost inaccessible locations. Women from these areas couldn't just casually go off to a village or city training centre and leave their families and fields for two or three weeks, even to be trained as trainers. Their first obligation was to their families. Mobile training teams was one answer. Take the training to them - an eminently practical solution, and a part of the demonstration of flexibility in field operations for which UNICEF became noted.

Programmes aimed at the education of women were introduced in Africa at an earlier stage than in other regions. Some conjecture that this was because they were planned with the colonial powers of that time. Others propose the thought that since there was such a variety of patterns of beliefs, customs and traditions on the continent for which women were usually the guardians, as well as the educators of infants and children in those beliefs, it was wise to try to influence a change in their child care practices and actions rather

than count on schools which were in very limited supply. Another unexpected but positive result of these courses, most of which were carried out through the channel of community development, was that it ultimately led women into more participation in community self-help schemes - building schools, having cooperative gardens, etc. The inheritance was passed on and ultimately matured into the economic self-sufficiency programmes of 1985.

:Nutrition

Another area that was also expanding was that of maternal and child nutrition. Several actions were being supported and at least one of these was called "applied" or practical nutrition, which focused on small animal or poultry raising, home food storage and preservation, community or group gardens - all areas in which women were the major target population and the most receptive to taking action. Women, after all, usually had some small plot on which they grew vegetables for family consumption. FAO and UNICEF joined forces during this time. FAO's technical assistance in the field of agriculture and nutrition was a valuable extension of the family of the UN concerned about people and especially children and mothers.

:Education

With that early admonition of the Board back in 1957, to look at the total needs of the child, both within the family and the community, it became obvious that the education and mental development of children was of equal importance as their physical development and health. At the request of Board members, UNESCO and UNICEF did a study of actions that could be taken in primary education. Following considerable discussion of differing views, UNICEF again stretched its mandate to aid primary education through teacher training, particularly in such fields as health, nutrition, home economics, school feeding and school gardens. It was also decided that "special emphasis be given to the education of girls in practical subjects such as child care, home economics and food preservation." Stereotyped curriculum yes, but attention to girls. Thus started cooperation with UNESCO [12/]. Again, the role of women in the delivery of services to the child, but in another category (education) was highlighted, and another group of professional and semi-professional women benefited from UNICEF training stipends. And, girls were singled out for the first time as a special group to receive attention to ensure that as future mothers, they would be prepared to look after their children better than their mothers - most of whom had not benefited from "modern" education - had found it possible to do.

: Day-care centres

Day-care centres were another area that UNICEF was exploring that was important to women. It's hard to decide where day-care centres fit - in the category of education or in that primarily of custodial care. Today they are looked upon as primarily an educational institution charged with preparing a child for the long climb up the education ladder, and secondarily a place where mothers may safely leave their children while they are busy with some of their other duties - in the Third World as agricultural workers, market

women, employees of government or the private sector. Basically the centres now combine the two aspects, but in the beginning, custodial care was uppermost in the minds of both UNICEF and the UN Bureau of Social Affairs. Countries were, perhaps, less concerned about day care, because of the lack of funds to undertake programmes that were not of high priority. Mothers should be looking after children, and it was difficult enough to extend even primary education to all of their children without having to also be concerned about the pre-school child. Some of that reality still exists in 1986.

When it was pointed out at a 1958 UNICEF Board meeting that rapid urbanization and industrialization in the developing world were disrupting the traditional child care systems of mother, extended family and communal support, UNICEF sought to find ways to make it possible to avoid consigning children to orphanages, and to keep them looked after in a family setting when the mother, grandmother, aunt or close neighbour was not at home. More emphasis on day-care centres was adopted by the 1959 Board as one solution, particularly for children of working mothers, those living in urban slums with no alternative to working outside the home, and in some rural areas where farming demanded that the mothers be away from home for long periods. This was an early recognition of the needs of a mother in carrying out her multiple roles of farmer, businesswoman, mother, and civil servant, all of which helped support her family.

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MATURING IN THE 1960s

Views and approaches

By the 1960s, the types of programmes which involved women fell into one of two categories: those that trained women as workers or as volunteers who were indispensable in giving professional services to children, and those that prepared mothers to look after their children better. These basic approaches had been supported by the UNICEF Board and by governments and were reaching an increasing number of women [13].

There was actually very little that UNICEF did or advocated that didn't involve women even more than men, but the level of involvement was often different, reflecting the patterns of those who took the lead in the decision-making process. In reality, it was much the same in UNICEF itself as in the governments with which UNICEF was cooperating. Generally speaking, the decision-makers were men.

It must be admitted, however, that the purpose of training women as medical personnel, nurses, home economists, community development workers, social workers, day-care centre helpers, traditional midwives, primary and vocational training teachers, etc., was not because of a commitment to improving women's condition by gaining a new skill, obtaining a job or having access to income for their families, but because it was women who customarily did those tasks. There was a practical economic reason as well. Women, even when trained, were lower-level personnel; would not drain the government treasuries with their salaries, were closer to the communities than doctors, and in many cases would even offer their services as volunteers. The training provided to women was reasonably brief and UNICEF, quite pragmatically, could finance training stipends for many more village- and middle-level women workers than for doctors. That larger group of workers would thereby be serving a considerably larger child population as well. It meant that the maximum benefit was obtained from the funds available. The net result was what counted: everybody benefited. Programmes for training mother and child health workers continued and expanded in Asia and Latin America. Disease control in the Eastern Mediterranean, sending supplies and equipment to combat bejel, tuberculosis and other diseases significantly affecting children, was stepped up, although involving women in training programmes to any extent in that region was still for the future.

A part of the mix that governed all these actions was (and in some cases still is today) traditions, customs, even laws which prevented women from sharing fully in the opportunities that were beginning to flow toward the developing world. For example, in 1959 a woman in Afghanistan, by tradition, could not visit a male doctor (and at that time there was only one woman doctor in the country) [14]. That certainly limited her health care, particularly at the crucial moment of birth. The traditional birth attendant, who was the only medical resource for that woman, did not have the skills or access to the modern equipment needed for a difficult birth. Not unexpectedly, the infant

mortality rate was around 400 per 1,000 live births. No mention was made of the maternal mortality rate, which was probably never measured. UNICEF's response was to help Afghanistan set up a School of Midwifery and several MCH centres; but this process took considerable time, and recruiting women daring enough to enrol was a major difficulty. It took the initiative of the President of the country who enrolled one of his daughters at the School to get the registration rolling 15/.

Data on children were scarce enough in most of the developing world, but that on women were virtually non-existent. UNICEF through advocacy and financial incentives supported studies and data collection on the situation of children in order to start planning how best to incorporate children's needs into national plans. Performing that same function for women in their multiple roles had to wait until the 70s.

More and more it was being recognized that the conditions of the environment in the child's community governed his/her welfare and development to a very large extent. Rationally, this meant that programmes should be more comprehensive and involve people with various skills, a variety of ministries and disciplines that were interrelated - health, nutrition, social welfare and training. Community development was one structure that attempted to do just that. This was a period when community development ("animation rurale") was in full flower, so that where governments had set up structures for this type of action, they proved natural vehicles to try to accomplish coordination.

Fighting malaria, reaching seemingly unreachable children in remote areas where little infrastructure existed, changing deeply ingrained food habits and family relationship patterns could never be accomplished overnight, but a beginning had to be made and was.

Achieving the ideal world for children is a goal requiring persistence, energy and unremitting action. UNICEF, governments and non-governmental groups continued to aim at these long-term goals. Short-term, emergency-type responses gave way to longer-term support and a more holistic view of the child's physical, mental and social development. UNICEF was on its way to being a development-oriented agency - balancing its actions in emergency situations with a scrutiny of longer-term solutions 16/.

But, first things came first, which at that time meant health in UNICEF's priorities. The need to stop the devastation that diseases wreaked on the child population, such as, malaria, TB, trachoma, yaws, syphilis, leprosy, cholera and diarrhoeal diseases, was amongst the more obvious. Nutrition came next - and the symbiotic relationship between health and nutrition continued to challenge UNICEF to take more extensive action on both needs. Which came first, health or nutrition? No matter. It was essential to deal with both - a sick child often could not eat and, a hungry child was certainly more susceptible to disease than a well nourished one. The same applied to the mother.

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Africa makes a difference

The African continent south of the Sahara truly came centre stage in the 1960s. The independence of country after country from its colonial master came rapidly in the early 60s, swelling the number of independent developing nations by 31 or more, and bringing with them a multiplicity of urgent needs which highlighted the fact that illness, hunger and poverty were inexorably intertwined.

In 1961-62 education began to come to the fore as a very high priority for newly independent African countries. They were starved for educated, trained government cadres. In Morocco during this period, any child who completed l'école primaire (primary school) was almost guaranteed a post in government. The same was true in most of the newly self-governing countries. That situation has passed. Now even a secondary education is not a security net for boys, much less for girls. Jobs are scarcer and scarcer even for university graduates (both young men and young women), who are now often without employment and becoming the difficult, dissatisfied segment of today. Jobs are a necessity. Earning an income is a necessity and all this is the reality that has to be dealt with once one enters the cash economy - the goal of all developing nations for all their people.

As Paul Hoffman, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) said when he spoke to the UNICEF Board in June 1962, education should not be just for men and children. "To neglect women", he said, "would be to sacrifice the intellectual potential of over half of the population which could only retard a country's development" 17/.

The cash economy had not (and has not yet) reached all levels of the rural population - there are still approximately 80 percent of the people in the developing world who live in rural areas, and for them dependence on subsistence farming, largely done by women in Africa and Asia, is their savings account against hunger.

Overcoming poverty, a lynchpin of economic and social development was not a problem UNICEF could address alone or directly, but good health, education of children and women, assistance in planning for social development and working for the advancement of women were major guns in the battle against poverty and for development.

Women, educated or not, had long been expected to manage and maintain their household. This was especially true in some of the Sahelian countries. The men wandered with their animals, camels primarily, and the women stayed in their encampment with the small children, often near a watering spot. This bred a certain degree of initiative, skill in decision making, and solidarity among women. This, for examples, was vividly demonstrated in Mauritania from the start of its independence in 1960. Women had observed that the men were moving into the new, modern world and they, too, wanted to play a role in that same exciting period. Their first initiative was to form the Union de Femmes as an NGO, and their first effort stemmed from their determination to set up

mother and child health centres so that they would be available to women who were outside the few major cities. At independence there was one such "centre" in each "cercle" in that vast country. To compound the problem, the centres were staffed by men so, of course, women couldn't attend or even take their children for treatment. The Union took rapid action, setting up their own female Administrative Councils at each of the few existing health centres (centre de protection maternelle - PMI), and moved on from there to demand that a PMI service be established by the new government, even threatening a "demonstration by women in the streets" if the Ministry of Finance did not give its approval. The Ministry approved and thus began the needed service.

The Union's second initiative proved to be too dynamic. In the most remote region of Mauritania, the most conservative, they created a "women's court." They selected the 30 sturdiest women of the community and mandated that any men who wanted a divorce or had problems with their wives had to appear before this tribunal, which had its own laws, its fines, etc. It did not last, but it became clear that that judgments towards women depended on who interpreted Muslim law. Not succeeding with that strategy, they calculated that the best way to help a woman who must go before a tribunal was to send a woman who was competent in Muslim law with her, as a sort of lawyer who then defended the woman by interpreting the law as it was meant to be, in principle - equality between men and women 18/.

Africa was a new world and different from Latin America, Asia or the Eastern Mediterranean. There was something of the cultures of each of those areas in Africa and something else quite unique that was purely African. Africa was a variety of countries with many different patterns of relationships, but women's responsibilities were essentially the same in most of the societies south of the Sahara.

Okot P'Bitek, a Uganda poet said it well in his "Song of Lawino"

"Woman of Africa
Sweeper
Smearing floors and walls
With cow dung and black soil,
Cook, ayah, the baby on your back,
Washer of dishes,
Planting, weeding, harvesting
Store-keeper, builder
Runner of errands,
Cart, lorry, donkey...
Woman of Africa
What are you not?"

Any woman, and especially the poorest and most in need, had so little time or energy left after she completed her daily tasks so vividly summarized by Okot P'Bitek, that going to classes which would tell her how to take better care of her children - well-meaning as they were, would usually have cost her more money (milk and eggs for a more nutritious meal might well have to be bought), and more energy (boiling water after having walked miles to fetch wood and

water). Rarely was this recognized in any development plan or for that matter in any UNICEF/Government Plan of Operations. Data was scarce, but some studies began to show that the 1950s style home economics courses were only part of the answer, needed revision and needed to be given at times that would accommodate those daily tasks of women which had first priority on their time. Late in the 1960s, UNICEF took a more critical look at what women did, how they saw their needs and how UNICEF could help [19]. It was a practical response to the existing situation.

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Mothercraft/Homecraft - one of the answers to a need for knowledge

Mothercraft/homecraft training initiated by UNICEF served several purposes in the 1960s. It provided an acceptable activity that women could do together and in which they would frequently be supported, and even encouraged by their husbands. It helped attack the incredible illiteracy rate of women in Africa.

Based on statistics available to the Economic Commission for Africa taken primarily from the 1960 census figures (often those provided by colonial countries), the illiteracy rate of women in Africa was 96.83 percent, with Somalia heading the list and Lesotho at the bottom, with 32.4 percent [20]. Since most of the M/H activities were usually a part of community development or "animation rurale," women began to take a slightly more visible part in community affairs.

The roles of women in other continents were not the same as in Africa south of the Sahara. Some were more sequestered or, in some, farming was more shared by husbands; in other countries, husbands even assumed the total responsibility. Women sometimes did not go outside the home to do the family shopping but, in contrast, within the home had more power in family decision making. But in almost every society the women who were the poorest had to take part in agricultural activities, sell their products, and earn money which would become an integral part of the family income. In most cases, it must be said that the poor could not afford the luxury of not using the physical or other abilities of the women and girls in the family.

The beginning and expansion of mothercraft/homecraft courses over the period of the late 50s and early 60s required that a whole new type of supplies and equipment be provided to those countries that were exploring support to programmes for mothers. These were supplies which were quite different from those provided for health activities. The FAO, with a Home Economics Division, was the natural colleague to turn to for advice. So it was that, in 1963, the first comprehensive catalog of basic supplies and equipment which might be needed for programmes for women, Guide List ISIS, was prepared for UNICEF by an FAO consultant. It was extensive in providing background, suggested curriculum and other helpful advice, so much so that it could have served equally as a manual for those who wanted to set up Home Economics training.

It was revised in 1974 with considerably more focus on a much wider range of activities than what had traditionally been thought of as "women's work". The 1974 edition also attempted to provide guidelines for those in the planning field who wanted to consider possible alternative types of programmes for girls and women other than Mothercraft/homecraft. Today, in 1986, that Guide List too is virtually out of stock, has only a trickle of requests, mostly from NGOs, and has been supplanted by other documents, monographs, issue papers, PROs (Programme Division instructions), and guidelines.

Technical expertise exists in most countries so that more equipment is now procured locally, reflecting appreciation of local habits. The need to guide inexperienced personnel on the selection of supplies and equipment for mothercraft/homecraft from overseas has almost disappeared, and UNICEF is no longer thought of as just a supplier of equipment.

With the early need for technical advice, not only for country personnel but for UNICEF staff, a close association developed with the FAO. So it was that in 1967 the FAO/UNICEF Joint Policy Committee began discussion on guidelines for incorporating home economics into UNICEF-assisted programmes and into the whole effort to educate women. At the same time, all agreed that, if programming was really to be effective, it was necessary to know more about the role of women in developing countries and their possible contribution to social and economic development. Also there should be a clear understanding of the role of home economics in supporting this contribution to development, and efforts that had already been made should be assessed in order to provide guidelines for the future [21].

By the end of 1965, there were UNICEF-supported mothercraft/homecraft programmes in 12 countries in Eastern and Western Africa and 2 in Asia. Mothercraft and homecraft training was also an element in a number of other UNICEF-assisted projects in the fields of animation rurale/community development, applied nutrition, education and social services. With all this activity and an indication of more to come, UNICEF and FAO felt there should be some mutually acceptable procedures that the two organizations could use when planning future programmes. An agreement was reached on the provision of technical personnel, consultation on the substance of curriculum, financial requirements, training of teacher-trainers, teachers in the formal education system and in the non-formal system [22].

These agreements with FAO, coupled with the mutual interest of UNICEF and the Division of Social Development in working with those who were involved in social service work, led the 1968 Executive Board to support undertaking a joint global assessment of programmes being supported by the three agencies in the training and education of women and girls [23]. (See pages 27-31 for the outcome).

Gertrud Lutz, who became one of the first women country representatives in UNICEF, after working for UNICEF in Poland in the years just after World War II (1949-50), spent the years 1951-64 in Brazil. She has said that a modification of the mothercraft/homecraft type of curriculum was very much a part of the information disseminated through women's clubs in Brazil. As in

Africa, women's clubs had been seen as an ideal vehicle for reaching women and informing them on the child care. By the time she moved on to Turkey in 1964, over 400 women's groups were participating in Brazil as adjuncts to MCH centres. Each club had between 25 and 30 pregnant women and young mothers who were learning about the importance of breastfeeding, safe water, the need for vaccinations; bit by bit, crafts, sewing and other skills were added that would give them a chance to earn some money. Poverty and ignorance were, and still are, immense barriers to development, and these courses were beginning attempts to attack those two barriers. The clubs gave them the chance to become more self-assured as they practiced leadership skills in their small groups. Some went on to take on more leadership responsibility, even to initiate community actions in their communities 24/.

In India, for example, the mothercraft/homecraft activities were an integral part of the much larger health and nutrition projects which were being carried out in many areas within the framework of community development. Pakistan also integrated a mothercraft/homecraft programme into an urban community development project which was aimed at helping solve the many social problems created by the rapid growth of their cities. Here, the emphasis was to make it more comprehensive, including establishing women's centres where literacy classes and vocational training, including needlecraft classes, sewing, embroidery and knitting, were set up.

In the Andes, where growing food still isn't easy and where shortfalls were frequent, a joint effort by governments, FAO, UNESCO, WHO and UNICEF sought training in simple agricultural principles as a solution. Teachers were used to reach children in school, agricultural workers were used to reach the fathers who did vegetable gardening, poultry and rabbit raising (cultural practices different from Africa and Asia), and mothers, to help them do better food preparation with available foodstuffs. That last goal was a bit difficult when there was but one staple, and even that was sometimes in short supply 25/.

In Morocco it was an expanded version of mothercraft/homecraft that was used in centres sociaux (social centres). UNICEF was cooperating with the Women's Branch of the Ministry of Jeunesse et Sports (Youth and Sports), which was organizing training for girls and women in writing, reading, civic affairs, religion, cooking and crafts - including embroidery. Embroidery always sounded like something nobody should contemplate teaching a poor rural woman, but in Morocco it was at that time the beginning of vocational education and learning an income-generating skill. Weaving and embroidery are revered traditional skills in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, and once obtained, could lead to employment. The cross-stitch, simple as it was, was that foot on the ladder.

Sewing was the most popular course in every centre. Its results were visible, and it was immediately useful in the view of the women who attended. Cooking also, when they benefited by eating what they had prepared. Nutrition courses, when taught separately, were decidedly less popular and less well attended. It was very difficult for women to see any immediate short-term results of better nutrition in their children 26/.

These were some of the women around the world who were receiving non-formal education assistance. UNICEF was encouraging these activities with less expectation that the result would be quick, obvious, improved care of children, than that, ultimately, it would affect the total environment of the child.

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Dual roles of women highlighted in UNICEF-assisted programmes

More and more UNICEF began accepting the concept that women played a dual role in relation to children. In their first role as the direct providers of care for their children, they needed education to know what actions could help and, in addition, their cooperation was essential in putting what they had learned into effect. These were the mothers who sat in those many classes or discussions at health centres and learned how to combat diarrheal diseases, what the benefits of milk were, and how vaccinations protected their children. They then became the deliverers of this knowledge through their actions in caring for their children.

Women's second role was as workers and volunteers - the life blood of almost all UNICEF-assisted projects. In all cases it meant that women had to be trained in all fields - as primary school teachers, workers in day-care facilities, birth attendants, nurses, and home economists. During this period, the training was expanding to include the trainers of trainers and supervisory personnel: short orientation, basic professional training, refresher courses [27]. Such training also provided support for the income-producing capacity of women even though this was not the rationale behind the effort.

Women as volunteers complemented those who worked. They helped out at day-care and health centres, community or school gardens, community self-help projects, stimulating and helping to build schools, health centres, even preparing food for primary school feeding programmes. Although there was in many countries a long tradition of mutual self help, why was it that women who, especially in the rural areas, were already overburdened, should automatically have been expected to volunteer their time? Later in the 1970s, it became clear that counting on women alone, after they had received specific training, to perform those skills as volunteers was again a western concept - an additional imposition on women whose labour in the fields, housework, carrying fuel and water were already unremunerated and often unrecognized. In more recent times, that kind of inequity has been recognized by communities in Kenya. First thoughts by the community, in setting up a community-based health programme were to have women volunteers as primary health care workers. After considerable community discussion, the village agreed that the time women needed to spend on PHC tasks and the responsibility they would, of necessity, have to take on warranted their being paid. Paid they were.

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Long-term planning becomes more important

As an increasing number of UNICEF staff were in the field and were becoming more sensitized to the actual situation and needs of countries, it became ever more evident that the problems to be solved, if a child was to have a chance to develop as a whole person, were interlocking and demanded long-term planning and commitment. It spotlighted the need to seek country-by-country solutions. Flexibility of action had been a major strength of UNICEF, so the logical reaction was, "If it will be more effective, let us take a 'country approach'. That will give us a chance to look at a child in the framework of the family, the community and the country situation, each with its own priorities. Let us find ways to fit the child into the social and economic development plans of the country." That decision in the early 1960s demanded that planning become of greater and greater importance 28/.

The Bellagio meeting convened by UNICEF in 1964 faced up to the implications of Planning for the Needs of Children in the Developing Countries and pointed out that children's needs cut across many ministries. As V.K.Rao, chair of the meeting, said, "Children and Youth don't have a specific place in national plans but do appear....as social appendices rather than an integral part of the plan for economic and social development." He could easily have said the same for women and with notable exceptions, it could be repeated today.

A.Z.N.Swai, in reporting on Tanganyika's (now Tanzania) 15-year perspective plans said, "Emphasis must be put on work among women through community development to help them progress in health, hygiene and nutrition."

Mrs. Betsy Johnstone of ILO (one of the two official women delegates at the Bellagio meeting) urged that vocational education and guidance be provided for girls as well as boys saying that "in developing countries girls had been left behind." She also brought up the need for day care for the children of working mothers.

Dr. George Sicault, Deputy Executive Director, Planning, spoke of children abandoned by their fathers, particularly in Latin America, where illegitimacy rates could be as high as 70 percent and the child's fate was linked to that of its mother, whose income was either meager or non-existent 29/.

Increasingly, one finds that country programmes are responding to every one of those issues which were raised as elements that should be addressed in national and UNICEF planning.

The series of UNICEF's regional meetings on Planning that followed brought even more attention to the need to include knowledge of the situation of women and especially girls as part of the information to be obtained during the planning exercise 30/.

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Education is basic too

It was known, even without resorting to statistical data, that there was a desperate need for education in the developing world: from primary school through university; general and professional; girls and boys. With the cooperation of UNESCO, UNICEF took another giant stride right into a field that could touch every child who lived to school age and also those many adults, particularly women who wanted to make up for a lost opportunity - that added up to an impressive number of people.

Taking that step showed appreciation of the fact that a real concern for children meant preparation for self-sufficiency during their lifetime, and education was basic to reach their individual aspirations. The future of the development goals of a country depended on the preparation of their cadres. UNICEF's interest in helping countries ensure that there would be an increased supply of educated people who could be easily trained to deliver services to children was an additional impetus to cooperation in the field of education. It was logical. Unless there were an increase in the number of girls and young women receiving basic education, there would be a shortage later of cadres in health nutrition, community development and education itself - the many women that the governments depended on to deliver services to communities. Such a result was to be another unexpected benefit from more attention to primary education for girls.

The literacy rates for both men and women were not all that high in the developing world, but those of women were almost unbelievably low, a fact that contributed to a lowering of self-esteem among women. As long as literacy rates were low for all of the people in a country, the mother did not stand out as being all that different from her husband and her children: her position was not affected. Much of the education of the children was her traditional responsibility. The traditions, values, modes of behaviour were for her to pass along to the next generation. She was the teacher and the home was the classroom. But, as the world she knew began to change and her country take its place in the economic/political world areas, it became evident that literacy and the education of its young people were crucial if that nation wanted to compete in the development race. Then was when education took the very high priority in national budgets that has continued even up to today. And as more and more children began to be formally educated, the mother's role in the education picture became more tenuous.

It was then that discrepancies and changes began to emerge in the family structures and relationships. The woman's tasks in the primarily rural environment of most of the developing world were expanded while her ability to cope in a more technological field shrank. Suddenly her children were in school, and she made innumerable sacrifices to get them them there. They began learning things she could not help them with - reading, writing, mathematics. Schooling frequently cost money - school uniforms, textbooks and often school fees. More money had to be found. But in order to be able to earn cash, she needed some modern skills plus reading, writing and probably arithmetic. How could she manage that too?

Non-formal (out-of-school) education including literacy courses were certainly a portion of the solution. Therefore, in the 1960s literacy became more and more a part of UNICEF-assisted mothercraft/homecraft classes 31/.

In the formal educational setting it was well known that in many developing countries girls had less access to school than boys, were drop-outs more frequently and didn't continue their education to the highest level - university. In principle it was assumed that to ensure that more girls would go to and stay in school, supporting the training of women primary school teachers would be a good strategy. That has certainly proved to be an important part of the solution - and so is the political will of the government to see to it that there are more classrooms and funds to pay for more teachers. Statistics in the 1980s showed that enrolment of girls had improved and that they were approximating 50-50 in the ratio of boys to girls in primary school, with the ratio dropping as the level of education increased. Progress is being made.

Commitments of the developing world for education were, in the 1960s, a very high percentage of the national budget. Africa was particularly anxious that formal education receive the first priority but was not necessarily as pressed to be sure that girls received any special attention. With classrooms at a premium, insufficient teaching staff, delicate budgets and policies in the bailiwick of men, the problem did not receive a high priority. Practically, trying to push for more students in an already overloaded system and trying to alter the long-held attitudes about the roles of young girls were real deterrents. Parental concerns that education was wasted on girls, that they were needed to help at home and when married would go off and look after their husband and his family and contribute nothing further to her own family were other factors. Not infrequently the response to questions about why daughters were not in school was, "Why waste the money and time that could better be spent on household chores?"

Not until the 60s did attitudes begin to loosen and change. UNICEF added some impetus to it by urging, in several of the programmes of support for primary education, that special attention be given to encouraging girls to continue in school. The responses from governments were far from universally positive, but at least there was a beginning.

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Pre-Vocational Training - Preparation for the Real World

The logical next step on the educational ladder was pre-vocational training. It represented an approach to resolving the problem of all those young people who had never had a chance to go to school, those who had dropped out for a variety of reasons and those who had nowhere to go after primary school. Most primary schools during this period provided education that served purely as the first step on an educational ladder leading to university - another heritage of colonial rule and Western influence. What could one do with only a primary school education of that type? Virtually nothing except be discontented with being cut off from what might have been a rosy future of

employment and a better living standard than that of one's parents. Countries were recognizing this and UNICEF, responsive again, joined forces with the ILO to try to seek solutions. It was not a wholesale leap into pre-vocational education in the early 1960s, but it was a tentative toe in the water - a willingness to experiment.

An assessment of these first efforts was presented to the May 1969 Board. It stressed the need for making this form of education accessible and appropriate to girls "not only to prepare them to be good mothers and homemakers but also to make it possible for them to participate fully in the social and economic life of their community. Economically productive activities should be intrinsic and the training not limited to home economics alone." 32/

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Social welfare training

Skills in social welfare were also considered essential. Whether it was pre-vocational or vocational skills training that was to be provided, it was a cadre that needed to be available. In 1961 a Social Welfare Training Centre was established in the Caribbean. Beginning in 1965, UNICEF began providing scholarships for students. A positive evaluation in 1969 encouraged continuation but urged more attention to the smaller, less-well-off islands.

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Nutrition - education and application

Nutrition education for mothers had become an integral part of health centre training. Experimentation with school gardens had begun. These were the activities that were labeled Applied Nutrition. It was the realistic step of putting into practice what had been learned about good nutritional practices. Applied Nutrition programmes continued and grew. As long as malnutrition of the child and her/his mother existed, there would be a need to push for greater family production of food. Food sufficiency had to be approached from both the national policy level and the family itself. At the family level that often meant changing food habits, including the tradition for men (considered the breadwinner) to eat first, with the children and women getting what was left. Persuading mothers to alter such a pattern was a difficult undertaking since that kind of an action was a decision she alone could rarely make. Habits of that nature are hard to change. One simple solution was to produce more food so that there would be enough to go around. That again meant turning to women. Cash crops were not their responsibility but food for home consumption usually was. Women were often the farmers, but accepting that fact and acting upon it was a perception that came very slowly.

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Day care - a temporary substitute for the mother

Concern for the well being of the children of "working" mothers prompted UNICEF staff in the field to begin proposing the setting up of day care

centres. First efforts were in the cities, where "working" women were perceived to be. The rural woman going off to the fields to work at daybreak carrying her infant or very young child with her, to be left under a tree or bush for the day or playing unattended in a questionable environment was not nearly as obvious a need. It was not long, however, before women's self-help groups in rural areas picked up the idea and devised their own systems. They organized during the planting, weeding or harvesting periods, when it was an early-morning-to-sunset concentration of work in the fields. It was a period in Senegal when malnutrition, illness and mortality of children rose sharply. That situation which they could see in their own rural communities stimulated them to find their own solutions. Their indigenous day-care system was one answer. Another was the organization of collective gardens by the women, who used the income from the sale of the produce they harvested to buy local foods for the children in their local day care centres 33/.

Some assistance, usually in the form of training a caretaker, came from a variety of government ministries. When they requested help, both UNICEF and the UN Bureau of Social Affairs quickly supported the idea, encouraged to see that a local initiative had been taken to solve a local problem, with children and women benefiting. It was a tremendous relief for mothers (usually in urban areas) who needed to work in order to contribute to the family budget but had no extended family to turn to for supervising a completely dependent child. In many cases, where the father had ceased to take any responsibility for the children, the mother was the sole source of income. Many of these problems were beginning to surface and needed solutions. Later, the day care centre was seen as preparation for primary school. It usually cost money to attend but helped ensure a place in the often overcrowded classrooms of the first years in the formal school system.

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Family planning - another need

Although there was considerable disagreement at the Executive Board meeting in Addis Ababa in 1966 as to whether UNICEF should play any part in helping or even encouraging countries to provide family planning services, there was agreement in 1967 that, as long as a government requested help and the service was a part of the normal health services of the country, UNICEF could provide supplies and equipment and assist in the training of existing health personnel, who would thus be adding another skill to their abilities in health care. Both WHO and UNICEF were wary lest they be seen as attempting to influence government policy, but they felt it important to respond to a government request 34/. Once again UNICEF took a step that involved women, and later, it would become even more active by adding professional staff to advise and recommend how best UNICEF could participate in family planning programmes. Family planning was viewed by UNICEF as "responsible parenthood." (see page 51 for developments in the 1970s).

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Programming for women and assessment of results

The UNICEF Board played an important role both in supporting creative efforts coming out of field proposals and acting as a stimulus for assisting in the advancement of women. Its voice was relatively gentle in the early years but rose in intensity as the broadening of UNICEF's actions took place and the importance of women in all aspects of UNICEF programmes became more pronounced and appreciated.

When UNICEF, the UN Division of Social Development and FAO decided that they should undertake a joint assessment of projects for the education and training of women, it was a "first" for a focus purely on women. As the Board said, the success of many of the programmes aided by UNICEF depended in a very large degree upon women, both as workers and volunteers. That was why the Board decided that an assessment should be prepared and presented to its 1970 session. Various Board delegates expressed appreciation that more importance would be given to the promotion of activities for girls and women. They pointed to the approximately 10,000 women who had already received training stipends: nurses, midwives, teachers, young people and ordinary women with no professional or semi-professional aspirations; they wanted to see if the results had been as beneficial as hoped and whether there were other approaches that would be even more effective 35/.

Other assessments were undertaken in order to check policy implications and the direction of UNICEF programming in connection with training, largely involving women in specific professional contexts. They included the assessment of family and child welfare, presented to the June 1966 Board session; the assessments of applied nutrition and of maternal and child health presented to the June 1967 Board session; the assessment of education programmes presented to the June 1968 Board session. The assessment of progress in Environmental Sanitation and Rural Water Supply in May 1969 did not, however, mention the importance of the impact of such programmes on women 36/. That was rectified, but it took some time.

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PICKING UP SPEED - THE EARLY 1970s

Starting with the "Assessment of Projects for the Education and Training of Women and Girls" which was presented to the UNICEF Board in 1970, the first examination which truly looked at the impact of UNICEF's support for programmes for women as individuals rather than as "mothers" of children, the whole image and appreciation of women began to undergo a visible sea change in the eyes of UNICEF.

UNICEF's commitment to development activities, country by country, had made it even more responsive to locally initiated, innovative activities than before, so that as it began to be recognized that women and girls were perforce playing, or were going to play, a part in development, it was pragmatic to help prepare them. The many ways to do that multiplied in the years that followed, but at that time training courses, usually in non-formal settings, were the natural first progression from formal classroom schooling.

In order to step confidently into the 1970s, a critical look at the past was needed. That was reason enough for the assessment of some of the projects which UNICEF had been assisting. In the period 1965-1969, UNICEF had allocated $3.2 million to projects in 19 countries (14 in Africa) specifically called mothercraft/homecraft. Actually 30 countries in all had some considerable component that could be termed education and training of women, but these were not reviewed in the assessment.

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Assessment of projects for the education and training of women and girls

The Assessment was undertaken to review the effectiveness of projects jointly assisted by UNICEF, the UN Division of Social Development and the FAO, and to arrive at guidelines for strengthening national programmes and planning future advocacy and cooperation 37/.

The UN Division of Social Development had been providing technical expertise and advice on programmes that set up training courses for social workers at all levels, including community development workers and animatrices. FAO had been doing the same for home economics and agricultural extension workers and UNICEF had been cooperating with both of these agencies as well as UNESCO and ILO.

Most of the projects receiving UNICEF support had been started either by NGOs - for example, the Tunisian Women's National Federation (UNFT), the Kowani Federation in Indonesia, the YWCA or National Councils of Women or, less frequently, by national government ministries concerned with rural development. Often, though, after the demonstration stage had shown the value of the project, the government stepped in to support NGO initiatives by providing buildings or staff or interceding with UNICEF for supplies and equipment. Many of the projects being assessed had been in operation for most of the 1960s but had recently turned to foreign assistance for help with

supplies, equipment, technical advice and training stipends - usually in order to expand their outreach to more women.

How was this cooperation working? Were the structures, content of courses and training personnel appropriate? What were the strengths, weaknesses, and potentials for the future? What was the situation of women and girls in the Third World? As background, a summary of the responsibilities of women in the 8 countries studied gave a dramatic picture of the scope of their tasks.

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Do women do all that?

There had been very few studies of the daily activities of women (and even less of men) in developing countries, but from what was available to those who carried out the assessment one could sense the endurance and the giving quality that a woman must have had (and still does) to carry out her innumerable tasks and maintain the quality of life for the family, an important anchor in a rapidly changing, modernizing trend sweeping the developing world.

> "Heavy responsibilities are placed upon rural women in developing countries for elementary family necessities. In Sierra Leone, for example, in addition to looking after the children, the woman's role in the home involves a number of time-consuming tasks associated with feeding the family, collecting firewood, bringing water - often from long distances - milling grain, storing, grinding, cooking, serving and cleaning. She prepares the rice for storage, smokes the fish, is constantly pounding something in a wooden mortar (cassava, rice millet, etc.), prepares palm oil, does laundry, makes the Garrah cloth (local dyeing of cotton fabric) and makes the pottery for her kitchen or grain storage as well as the mats that the family sits on. In most countries of Africa, she is expected to grow the food for the family and often works on cash crop fields which may belong to her husband. The cultivation and care of the plants, vegetables and roots for family consumption are the woman's exclusive responsibility in the Ivory Coast. Sometimes, as in Indonesia, planting, weeding and harvesting involves standing in waist-deep water to bring in two or three crops of rice per year. Be it rice, wheat, maize, sorghum or ground nuts, a woman is in no way exempt from hard physical labour. A field survey in the Middle East indicates that a woman gives a minimum of 14-16 hours to her daily work which includes feeding the animals, milking, planting, harvesting, sewing, cooking, child care and general housework.
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> "The degree to which the woman plays a commercial role may vary by tribal or religious affiliation. In Nigeria and Ghana, trading and the sale of home-based crafts are women's traditional occupations. Because of the absence of animals as beasts of burden, it is the woman who has to carry on her head whatever heavy loads need to be transported (firewood and water; fodder for the animals; bananas or other products to the market), often with a child straddled on her back. It is not unusual to see a man walking along doing nothing more strenuous than swinging a flywisk and the woman

walking behind with whatever loads there are to carry." (It can still be seen in 1986, although possibly less frequently.)

"The many tasks performed by rural women, however time consuming they may be, do not exonerate her from her primary responsibilities as a wife and mother and as a member of the extended family where it exists. The upbringing of young children is considered her job. She teaches them social values and traditional beliefs and ways of life.

"Living in crowded slum conditions or shanty towns, the pattern of family life for the urban woman can no longer remain the same. She has to adapt to a money economy. Within a precarious budget, she must learn to make consumer choices. Food must be bought.

"Under these economic pressures, the urban woman may soon find that she needs to supplement the family income. Inevitably the young children are left behind unattended and ill-fed, or older siblings are kept from school to look after them." 37/

Women as human resources in national development

The assessment also identified another aspect of the value of women to their countries. National planners had become interested in the potential for mobilizing large numbers of women for tasks related to national priorities. Those activities which helped economic growth (cooperatives, housing) were also being recognized. But a major factor that accelerated interest in training women and girls was the critical food shortage. Some statistics were beginning to show the significant degree to which women were responsible for food production, storage and preparation. The Ivory Coast, Iran, Egypt, Brazil and Pakistan had been turning their attention more and more to rural women. In other countries there was as yet only token recognition of their contribution to national development. Egypt had, with UNICEF assistance, undertaken an evaluation of its women's programmes.

With "women's clubs" as the most popular form of organization, training local women leaders (numbering in the thousands) had been the goal of a great portion of the training. One step above that group was the middle-level cadres who were usually government employees and who were trained, perhaps inadequately, for several purposes: as instructors of volunteeer leaders, as organizers of training programmes and actual projects, and as specialists in mother and child welfare, group work, nutrition, health, sewing, etc. This group of workers had a high drop-out rate due to a number of reasons: living under hardship conditions, usually in rural areas without easily available housing for workers from outside the community, minimal technical support from supervisors (usually living in the capital), and limited salary and career prospects. All these factors were not conducive to persuading parents that they should let their daughters learn skills and prepare themselves to assume responsibilities which they would not have at home.

The suggestion was made that arranging joint training with other staff working in the field would give these young women, often inexperienced in taking on

the kind of responsibility that seemed to be expected of them, the possibility of better integration in the field and more mutual support. Training of supervisory staff was confirmed as an essential part of the whole structure of training and education. It was proposed that UNICEF should give consideration to supporting the training of supervisory-level personnel.

Additionally, it was urged that UNICEF address the very real problem of the enormous workload of rural women, which often accounted for the noticeable irregularity of their attendance at training centres. Three elements were suggested as priorities: easy access to water - no systematic efforts to relate water development projects to women's activities was evident; transportation to markets where it was lacking; and much more action to develop and promote labour-saving devices, particularly for food processing 38/.

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Some main conclusions - frame of reference for future planning

The main conclusions of the 1970 assessment were:

- Activities ought to be closely associated with, or be, an integral part of programmes which aim at raising levels of family and community living and have a potential for country-wide coverage. They ought not to be regarded as isolated efforts directed solely at "women's work", but should be an integral part of national development plans;

- More attention should be given to the practical problems which often limit women's ability to take advantage of training opportunities - in other words, find ways to lighten her work load;

- Training is often too dispersed and without sufficient overall guidance to be very effective or impressive. The results could be greatly improved by effective coordination among government ministries. However, it must be recognized that coordination is as much a state of mind as a structure. The same applies to UN bodies;

- To be able to measure change or impact, it would be essential to obtain solid baseline data for programme planning and future assessments;

- Special attention to the physical and emotional needs of the pre-school child should be included; day-care centres should be considered as a useful adjunct to women's programmes; family planning and economic activities that also involve food production should receive support;

- Having dynamic leadership as well as staff with a sense of involvement indicated that personnel were major factors in the success of any programme. Cooperation with NGOs should continue and be encouraged;

- Less centralization of control would permit more local initiative and therefore more likelihood of an adaptation of the project to specific local needs;

- There should be a national policy which outlines the direction and programming measures to be taken for maximizing the potential for integrating women and girls into the economic and social development plans of the country;

- It would be useful to have a structure to facilitate a policy of integration. Ministries should broaden their on-going programmes to include the total population (avoiding discrimination based on sex);

- Women and girls should be moved up the priority list, if not in specific programmes then by incorporation into on-going programmes of technical services, since this group is likely to have considerable impact on the future generations. If the family is to be maintained, and to date it is the most economical and satisfactory method of maintaining a welfare programme, girls and women need to be prepared and involved as active thoughtful participants;

- A first objective of a unified long-term programme for the advancement of women, according to the advice in the Secretary-General's report, should be to find "new ways of changing underlying attitudes of men and women toward their respective roles in society and of anticipating new possibilities of relationships which would lead to the increased participation, easier acceptance and greater integration of women into all facets of economic and social life." 38/

The Board pointed out that the Assessment was revealing of the low priority these programmes had in the field; that they did not appear to be a part of the country approach, but they did indicate a growing interest in the problem. It was agreed that the Assessment provided a basis for a new orientation of UNICEF's activities in this field, and that a section on this subject would be prepared for the UNICEF Field Manual to guide UNICEF staff in the preparation of projects.

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Women as women and not just as mothers

More and more people and countries were becoming interested in the broader view of women and their role in the social and economic development of their countries. The epoch-making book by the Danish economist and expert on development, Ester Boserup in 1970, Women's Role in Economic Development was the first critical publication to examine this overlooked feature of society. Her conclusions strongly resembled some of the conclusions of the Assessment.

In UNICEF there was also more recognition of that broad role of women, not just as programme recipients but as proposers of programmes. Jim McDougall, UNICEF's Regional Director in Beirut, took a giant step for UNICEF when he recruited Dr. Hoda Badran, a university professor from Egypt, in 1971 to break the stalemate in programming for women in the Eastern Mediterranean and to examine the situation of the Arab Woman. Her findings were then discussed at

a regional conference, sponsored by UNICEF, The League of Arab States and the Regional Centre for Training and Functional Literacy of Sirs-el-Layyan in Egypt, in terms of using the information to begin finding ways to involve more women in more projects. Though countries of the region had been cool to the idea in the beginning, they cooperated actively in the study and later in ensuring the participation of numbers of women and men from government ministries and women's organizations at a Conference on Arab Women and National Development. Held in Cairo in September 1972, it drew participants from 15 Arab countries of the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa and allowed the voice of Arab women to be heard on the subject of sharing with men the burden and responsibility of social and economic development.

The recommendations coming out of the conference might not seem revolutionary in 1986, but it was the first time that they were spoken in a general meeting in that region. It was a "landmark" event. The proposals showed that the similarities of the women's concerns were more dramatic than their differences. Summarized they were:

- Open up work and employment opportunities for women; pass legislation that would include laws on women workers in agriculture; approve one year's leave without pay to take care of babies; make available vocational training.

- Provide adequate and equal educational opportunities for girls, find innovative teaching methods for teacher-training for girls when they cannot take part in mixed classes; re-evaluate the curriculum and textbooks to emphasize the positive side of differences between the sexes; make available population and family life education as well as health and nutrition; develop and improve programmes to prepare girls and women for their roles as mothers and wives.

- Highlight the role of women in public life; provide opportunities for women to assume posts at higher levels and take on administrative leadership; stimulate political awareness among women through various cultural and information media; emphasize such rights through education; help women obtain their political rights where they already exist but when they don't appear to be accessible.

- Institute legislation on pensions, divorce and prohibition of polygamy.

- Provide functional literacy linked with vocational training in rural and urban communities, using mass media and television where available; train pre-school personnel and set up day-care centres as well as MCH centres as model institutions for the improvement of nutrition and environmental health; increase family planning centres when such a policy has been adopted.

- Support women's organizations both financially and technically. Form and support voluntary organizations to mobilize the participation of women in rural development and to awaken their awareness of of their rights and responsibilities.

The sponsors of the Conference committed themselves to follow up on the recommendations with governments, with the full participation of those attending the conference. It was a late start for this region, but it had needed somebody to take the initiative, light the match and start a movement for change 39/.

Mrs. Mahassen Saad, Adviser of Women's Studies at the University of Khartoum, and a participant at the Conference, said..."the religious attitude and outlook here is very important because Islamic religion, as compared with other religions, is meant to be both a religion and also a code of social behaviour because the personal law of Islam governs matters of the family. In the past this religious attitude hampered a great deal the progress of women, not because Islam is against women but because people understand it that way. It is not what the religion states but it is how people interpret what it says." 40/

Her words foretold some of the changes in attitudes about women that are being expressed in 1986. Hoda Badran, in an interview in June 1986, expressed the view that there was a serious threat to the situation of women in Egypt and their acceptance as equal members of the society. Religious fundamentalism had reemerged and an effort was being made to put women again behind the veil and restrict their right to work. She felt that for women who had struggled to contribute to the development of their country, it was frightening.41/

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Africa too looks at children/youth/women and development - Lomé, Togo 42/

Planning for the Lomé Conference began in 1969, when the Planning Departments of eight west and central African countries, after urging by the UNICEF Regional Office in Abidjan, decided to examine the situation of children, youth and women in each of their nations: the problems and some potential solutions. Extensive studies were undertaken in each country over the next 3-year period. For many, it was the first time an examination of the needs of the population had included women and had reviewed the impact of both women and government development policies on children.

In order to review the results of the completed studies, UNICEF convened a Conference in Lomé, Togo, in May 1972. The first few days were devoted to a seminar of technical representatives from the countries, other agencies and individuals with specialized expertise which reviewed the studies and proposed issues to be discussed at the meeting of Ministers which followed immediately after.

The Technical Seminar acknowledged that the situation of the children-youth-women groups, as brought out in the studies, indicated that "a great deal of time and money is being spent in all our countries, first by families and then by States and aid organizations, with only meagre results," and that countries should be modest and even pessimistic in their goals for the future. One

outcome of the Seminar was the identification of the six issues deemed most urgent. They were:

1. Water - a recurring theme in all discussions. Each of the 8 countries agreed that water shortages were the main difficulty they faced.

2. Priority action should be taken on: food and nutrition, employment, non-formal education.

3. A children-youth-women policy based on the long-term model of the hoped-for future society should be developed.

4. Community participation should be a part of all phases of programming.

5. Improved coordination and avoidance of the "haphazard and sporadic nature" of too many projects should be discussed.

6. International aid should be applied to areas which are receiving the priority attention: Water, food crop policies, non-formal education, job creation.

The participants proposed that they themselves take action in the following ways in order to address the needs and weaknesses identified in their own studies. Some of the proposals follow - particularly those relating to women and girls:

Health: Improve coordination of government services and train more auxiliary staff (e.g., midwives). Incorporate traditional healers and religious figures in the implementation of community services.

Nutrition: Undertake more research, such as an inventory of available foods, dietary habits, types of training for staff, needs of rural water supply for crops and livestock.
Work out an improved system of marketing food products.
Help women to increase local food productivity.
Carry out consumer education and action to combat food taboos.

Status of women: Provide better services for pregnant women.

Encourage breast feeding. Examine ways to lighten the work-load of women such as providing nurseries, better transport. Change the attitudes of men and equally of women who are easily persuaded to accept inferior positions - start with primary education. There was no agreement on "birth control", and no government action was suggested, but it was proposed that permission be given to NGOs to do educational programmes.

Examine marriage systems and laws. Coexistence of polygamy and monogamy was evident in all countries, but no position was taken for or against them.

Examine the question of dowrys, the age of marriage, dissolution of marriages, and the situation of single women (divorced, widowed or abandoned). Eliminate all forms of discrimination in employment.

Water: A water resource policy is urgently needed.

Water for consumption and production should have a very high priority.

Employment and Development: Undertake studies of the need of rural communities for employment in all sectors.

Encourage the creation of small and medium-sized enterprises in both rural and slum areas, a field of particular interest to women.

Economic Development Projects: After agreeing that too many economic development projects have not been successful and their social implications ignored, it was recommended that future projects incorporate actions to benefit children/youth/women, including food crop elements with women as the main targets and provide the basic social service facilities as well as involve the population in implementation. In other words, the human factor should be taken into account in all development projects.

Planning: There should be a national policy focusing on children, youth and women. These three age groups should be a major goal of all development plans. There also was a special resolution on water that was officially proposed by the Ministers.

Unfortunately, both for the action plans of the conference and even more so for the people who were affected, the drought that followed disrupted the plans for implementation of the Conference's recommendations. With the drought taking first priority, it forced into abeyance action on all other actions proposed except for water. The impetus and enthusiasm were never totally recovered, proof that timing and psychological buildup, change of personnel, and change in priorities do affect action.[43/] The actual convening of these two conferences and the support accorded them by countries and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were a "landmark" in UNICEF'S growing awareness of the magnitude of women's influence in every field that impinged on the lives of children, the family, the community, the nation.

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A women's woman takes her place as a key UNICEF staff member

Another "landmark" was the recruitment in January 1974 of Mrs. Titi Memet Tanumidjaja, former Deputy Minister for Social Affairs and Special Adviser to the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, as a Family Planning Adviser, later changed to Family Welfare Adviser. She was the first person in UNICEF to have a mandate not only for family planning but programming for women. It is a bit of an anti-climax to note that her post was originally financed by the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA).

That support continued until 1976, when UNICEF, convinced of the value of such a specialist, incorporated her into the UNICEF family.

UNICEF is still ambivalent about an outright commitment to women and has come up with an assortment of euphemistic titles to describe the person who all staff knew was the women's woman... from Family Planning Adviser, Family Welfare Adviser, Family Welfare and Community Participation Adviser to the 1983 title, Senior Policy Specialist, Women's Economic Activities/Basic Services, the first time "women" were mentioned in the title. The changes in title epitomize the road UNICEF has traveled in its commitment to women.

As Ralph Eckert, Director of UNICEF's Programme Division, and with long experience in country offices, said in an interview, "We were moving into women's activities cum family planning at that time and created other posts... influenced by the pressure of events which were of historical dimensions and evolutions outside UNICEF. I'm glad it happened, but it was not a perceived in-house need that made it happen . . but, once women were in place, they filled a gap in the sense of providing better understanding, knowledge plus advocacy and promotion skills." 44/ Two of those events of historic dimensions were the World Population Year (1974) and the International Woman's Year (1975).

Those posts to which Eckert was referring were 5 women with a wide array of titles who joined the international professional field staff in 1974 to do programming, advocacy and monitoring of UNICEF's efforts in the field of women. Their responsibilities were regional and their scope unlimited.

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Historic United Nations events

The World Population Year and more specifically the Population Conference in Bucharest in 1974 set the tone and added impetus to the preparations for International Women's Year. Discussions and resolutions referred again and again to the importance of women as partners in family planning decisions, development, communication efforts and the necessity of having their active "participation in the education, social, economic and political life of their countries on an equal basis with men." It stimulated more appreciation of the pivotal role they played, the needs that they and their families had, and suggested actions to be taken to permit them to play that pivotal role with the maximum effectiveness. Support in such an effort, it was agreed, should come through education, legislation and participation in planning and implementating of development programmes and population policies. 45/

The World Food Conference of 1974 also drew attention to the need to examine the role played by women in the food and nutrition areas. This stimulated UNICEF and other UN agencies to undertake a major effort to analyze critically this role and then its relationship to the availability of food and the nutritional levels of women's families and communities. This study started in 1975 and was completed in 1977. It focused on Africa and suggested, among other actions, that more cognizance should be taken of the linkage between

food supply and (especially in Africa) of women's role in its production, storage and preparation.[46/]

Gearing up for International Women's Year (IWY), 1975, stimulated even more interest in reviewing past achievement or lack of it, analyzing what had been accomplished and what could be done, not just to improve the status of women but especially the quality of their daily lives as well.

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ISIS revisited - 1974

"ISIS, Guidelines and Equipment Lists", was revised in 1974 (published in 1975). The purpose of the revision was to suggest interventions that could be made for the advancement of women and girls. Some of the activities were broadly applicable, while some were appropriate only to very specific situations; for example, just as the traditional skills of women vary from country to country so would the suitability of certain handicraft courses or new income-producing activities. Unfortunately, there has not yet been a technological "green revolution" in the field of human development, and planners still must exercise considerable imagination in selecting those activities which would have the greatest impact on women's lives. Unlike the 1963 edition, the 1974 version dealt primarily with non-formal education. The activities included: Food and Nutrition; Handicraft and Domestic Arts; Home, Family and Child Welfare; Literacy and Numeracy; Marketing, Cooperatives and Consumer Education; Labour-Saving Devices. The Guidelines, begin with suggestions for planning programmes and advising governments on the selection of appropriate activities. They are as applicable today as they were then and could stand replication. Prepared in consultation with FAO, ILO, WHO, and UNESCO, they take full advantage of the expertise of each agency. [47/]

A Bibliographic Supplement was put out in 1977 which covered everything from Easy-to-Make Puppets (London, Harrap and Co.), through the Preparation of Soap, Eindhoven (The Netherlands, TOOL), to Encouraging the Use of Protein-rich Foods (FAO, Rome). [48/]

More and more, as the realization of what an immense work load most rural women managed daily, UNICEF began to consider ways to help lighten her burden. Literacy and other non-formal education courses, proposed in Philip Coombs' New Paths to Learning, prepared for UNICEF, were, in the woman's assessment of priorities, impossible from a time and energy standpoint. Village or Appropriate Technology, as it was later called, was another "path to learning" for UNICEF to explore in yet another area affecting children. Complete support for activities that would relieve women of some of their work burdens and technologies that would be simple, easily produced locally, inexpensive and would not demand a complicated learning process was expressed at the 1974 Executive Board review of the Study on the Young Child. The importance of literacy and the supply of safe and accesible water to the rural mother were reaffirmed. The inescapable cord attaching the child to its mother was drawing UNICEF ever closer to women.

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UNICEF looks at its own staff

With UNICEF moving rapidly away from a purely supply-type operation, different demands were being made on the existing staff for skills in situation analysis, planning, negotiations on policies, advocacy in social development and increasing awareness of the roles of women in basic services for children. The Board, the Commission on the Status of Women and an occasional voice from the field had been advocating the augmentation of UNICEF staff capabilities and sensitivity by employing more women as international professionals.

Winner of the gold star, as was mentioned earlier, was Jim McDougall, Regional Director of the UNICEF office in the Eastern Mediterranean who, with the full support of Henry Labouisse, Executive Director of UNICEF, made up for lost time by recruiting Hoda Badran in 1971 as a consultant to do a survey of the situation and needs of women in the region. It was indeed a first. The result was an explicit picture, not only of what their position was in development plans, but a view of what women themselves were seeing and expressing as their needs.

Dick Heyward, Deputy Director, Operations and Charles Egger, Deputy Director, Programme, were also equally convinced advocates of "fitting persons to needs" and, what was more logical than to have more women in the field, to look more closely and perhaps more clearly at the situation of women and to find appropriate solutions.

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Women and children in liberation movements

Africa came back on stage in the early 70s with the spotlight focusing this time on the need for aid for mothers and children who were part of the liberation movements of the continent. Uprooted and temporarily (they hoped) staying with the friendly neighbouring countries of Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania, the Congo, Guinea, Senegal and Zaire, their hope was to return home soon. Their needs and those of their hosts, who had assumed considerable responsibility in receiving them, were primarily the responsibility of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), but there was a need for even more help with health services and the education and training of people who would give that very service. Women and children were the main population either in camps or scattered around the receiving country. Supplies were at that point the most critical need, and UNICEF joined with other members of the UN family and bilateral donors to take care of a group (composed mostly of women and children) that would grow even more over time.

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How was the UNICEF media looking at women?

The UNICEF media were gearing up for the International Women's Year Conference to be held in Mexico City in 1975 and turned the spotlight on the situation of women around the world. UNICEF News, in its 1974 issue on Women and Development featured Vignettes of the situation of women in Asia, Africa, Eastern Mediterranean and Latin America laid a sound base for a close look at the status quo.

Margaret Gaan, Deputy Regional Director, Bangkok, examined the situation of Asian women in their typically male-dominated societies, who considered themselves dependent on men and felt that they must foster the willingness in themselves and their daughters to please men. With her daily fight for survival in looking after her family, the Asian woman must somehow step out of the bonds that had tied her down for centuries in order to be able to change. What should be done? The first step was to persuade parents to let their daughters go to school in order to overcome illiteracy. Next, lower the rate of population growth and at the same time deal with what the slum dwellers considered important - employment, schools, and water. As Gaan said, we don't know enough about women, their lives. We must learn what motivates them and help them to see their capacity and give them an opportunity to develop themselves.

Norma Kankali, a Public Information Officer in UNICEF's New Delhi office, looked at two levels of life for Indian women, the most typical being total subservience to a husband and a mother-in-law even to the decisions that affected her most personally - her health, the number of children she will bear. Deprived of school and unprotected by laws, she was nobody. The elite, those from the moneyed families, benefited from university training and could get good jobs. The scales were heavily weighted against the numbers of poor women who had no such possibility even in dreams. Laws are now in place, but it will take time for women to dare to take advantage of them. Attitudes die hard, but they are slowly changing. Self-employment and teaching women skills help.

Don Allan, a Regional Information Officer of UNICEF in Beirut, wrote of the Syrian women trying to overcome the misinterpretation of Islam - subservience again. The future, he wrote, should include literacy programmes, child care, vocational training and catching up on formal education in order to attain their purpose of giving women a sense of independence - economically, socially and culturally. They were working toward making the laws of polygamy illegal and seeking ways to ensure that women be permitted to contribute to the fullest to development.

Agostino Bono, a free-lance journalist in Lima, looked at shanty-towns in Peru, which were, as in many other Latin American countries, home for the many women who, often without husbands and responsible for children from several fathers, did anything to earn incomes. He noted that, at a UNICEF Regional staff meeting, the problems of women in Latin America were discussed by three prominent Latin American women. They highlighted some of the most prevalent

problems of the region: the difficulty faced by the "third class citizen" in getting a job, and once having gotten, one having adequate or equal pay; "Irresponsible fatherhood," causing women to end up heading households in up to 80 percent of the families, and over 41 percent of the babies in Latin America to be born out of wedlock; "machismo" and "hembrismo" (women wanting to prove they are desirable, able to bear children), resulting in 60 percent of mothers being unmarried in urban areas. The three women, in pointing up the direction that should be taken to seek solutions, agreed that; education is the basis for change, vocational training and sex education come fast on the heels of learning. But, in addition, an effort should be made to alter the image of women which the media continues to portray. 49/

That issue of UNICEF News certainly highlighted the reason and rationale for having an International Women's Year - a need to examine the situation of women and determine an action programme to rectify what were obvious and glaring inequities.

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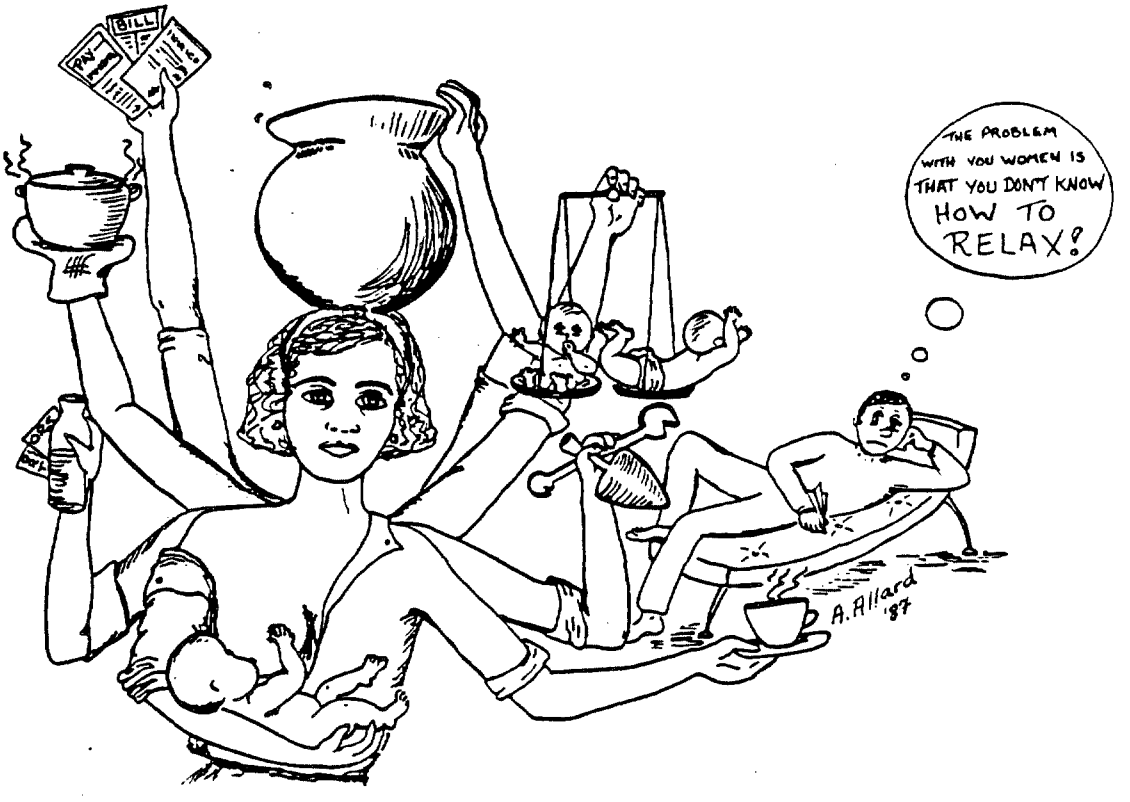

THE DYNAMIC DECADE

In the 40-year history of UNICEF and its changing view of women, the one element that has probably had the greatest impact on policy and accelerating action was the International Women's Year Conference in 1975 and the UN Decade for Women that followed. The Decade operated on many fronts, not simply in raising the conscience of UNICEF but challenging countries to examine their potential for action and stimulating women and girls at every level - farmers, business and media women, lawyers, politicians, trade unionists as well as outright feminists, in every culture, in every situation - the handicapped, refugees - to move positively to redress the inequities of the past. The Decade and the preparations for it swept in a new era.

The panorama of preparations showed UNICEF's recognition of the role of women in more and more of its support to traditional programmes. Responsible parenthood was not separate, but an integral component of health services to children; Guidelist ISIS was revised and comprehensive guidelines for programming were included with emphasis on non-formal education and income-generating activities for girls and women who had no chance to share in the potential that formal education provides; some studies were financed at the national level, and UNICEF regional field staff positions were established with the specific mandate to focus on advocacy and programming of women's activities with governments. 50/

Staff in the field were encouraged to propose regional and national programmes to benefit women in innovative ways so that they could be considered at the 1975 Executive Board session. Three regional projects were presented to and approved by the Board in 1975. They were the product of careful preparation in all three regions. 51/

The East Asia and Pakistan project aimed at accumulating a body of knowledge and experience which would enable Asian women to develop their own capabilities and improve family life. This was to take the form of two types of activities. One would be a regional seminar of men and women from governments, universities, international organizations and individuals with special knowledge and experience and carrying on practical work in the field. The seminar would: analyse obstacles which inhibited women in the development of their capabilities; determine approaches to overcome these obstacles; and identify gaps in knowledge for further research and study. The second activity would make alterations to the action programmes in which UNICEF was already participating and develop models for action benefiting disadvantaged rural and urban women in future programmes.

The Eastern Mediterranean regional project aimed at improving the status of women in the Arab World in ways that would be accepted and assimilated within the framework of Islamic values. UNICEF would assist the Centre for Studies of Women in Development at the Islamic Women's College of Al-Azhar University in Cairo (which had 500 students from 20 Islamic countries) in curriculum development, studies, publications and seminars. It would also support the establishment of a Communications Centre on Women attached to the Committee on

the Status of Women of the League of Arab States. And lastly, it would assist in the training of trainers, supervisors, planners and front-line workers working with women. A film would be produced for use on TV and in cinemas, and audio-visual material would be produced for use as training aids. UNICEF was selected as the coordinator of a UN interagency group in the region that was preparing for International Women's Year and that would require some additional assistance.

The Eastern Africa regional project channeled support to the (now called) African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW) of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, in Addis Ababa. Joining other international and bilateral groups, UNICEF financed a Social Welfare Officer to make sure that family welfare, day-care services and children's needs would be incorporated in the many national programmes that were to be undertaken by the ATRCW. UNICEF also contributed toward the cost of a communications expert and funded the services of a short-term consultant (who turned out to be a long-term consultant whose salary was provided by the the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) from England and whose travel costs were provided by UNICEF). Support also went toward stipends for trainees in agricultural/home economics-oriented courses in the 50 or so countries of the region.

A "noted" element of the ATRCW proposal was a $100,000 amount for setting up a Volunteer Task Force of women from countries of the region who would lend their expertise to women in other countries of the region as volunteer advisers or trainers - Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC) by women. Zonta International sponsored that particular element as a UNICEF "noted" project, the first sponsorship of its kind. It was a programme that learned by doing - the learning proved that technical cooperation was not a simple matter of moving bodies around Africa. Women who were able to train others normally had jobs and other types of commitments which they found difficult to put on "hold" while they went off for a month or so. Reality set in about how much one could expect of volunteers, and some recompense for at-home expenses incurred while volunteering was eventually provided. The programme continues at the present time.

The next year, the Americas region looked at the many-faceted needs of women in Latin America and the Caribbean. These included: more adequate health services, sufficiency of food, and literacy programmes to combat an illiteracy rate of 90 percent in some countries. Lower wages for women were creating hardship in many urban areas, and the perpetual specter of poverty hung over all. UNICEF provided $1,000,000 over a period of 3 years for support to 8 countries of Central and South America plus the services of a consultant to work with the governments of the English-speaking Caribbean to prepare cooperative projects for those countries. The programmes offered support at the country level for the: creation of institutional machinery and strengthening of women's organizations in carrying out development activities in the Dominican Republic, Panama and Paraguay; promotional and publicity activities which would feature studies of the status of women in mining societies (e.g Bolivia) and the legal situation of women in several countries including that of the most disadvantaged women, in Colombia. Support was also provided for the training of child care workers and training for those who work with and in groups in Guatemala; for self-management of small

enterprises in Costa Rica; for other needs which would be determined at 3 seminars of women's groups in Peru; and finally for services at the Regional level to carry out comparative research, meetings, publications and dissemination. 52/

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Country programmes begin to grow

At the same time that assistance for regional programmes benefiting women were approved by the Board, more projects were put forward by country officers as part of their "basic services" approach. Just a sampling shows the variety:

> From Indonesia came the plan to hold two workshops to promote women's participation in development and to draw up non-formal education programme plans and prepare materials for the non-formal training of rural women. In the first, NGOs were responsible to take the leadership position in training in literacy and numeracy. In the second, young, educated women were to be stimulated to serve as the delivery channel for groups of women throughout the country.
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> Saudi Arabia, with UNICEF support, set up training seminars for the staff of the Bureau of Women's Activities of the Ministry of Social Affairs. The political will was there, but the skills of implementation needed upgrading.
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> In Bangladesh, more training was organized in a unique project. Poor women were paid with food to produce food. With all modesty they aimed at a target of serving 100 women, but were forced to start turning women away after 828 women were regularly working on the project. The project goal was to introduce women to crops which they had never grown before but which were highly nutritive. That does say something about what motivates women.
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> In East Africa and The Americas, community development was the instrument which was supported in order to arrive at a more comprehensive attack on the needs of women, their families and the communities. Research, data collection, basic education, mother's clubs, water projects, training of midwives all appeared as elements of country programmes.

Village-level technologies to solve the problems of food storage and preparation (mostly grains) were to be tried in Rwanda and Uganda. The United Republic of Tanzania, with help from UNICEF, had a food conservation seminar for the Tanzanian Women's Union and government community development staff which was followed by other training sessions throughout the country for rural farmers (women).53/ And in Kenya, in preparation for an interregional meeting in June of 1976 to plan a coordinated attack on the problems of the rural woman and her lack of technology to facilitate her countless time and energy-consuming tasks, an Appropriate Technology Centre was set up at Karen in Nairobi. In cooperation with the Village Polytechnic programme of the government of Kenya, demonstration models were constructed for food, such as storage, drying, preparation (rice hulling, grain winnowing, etc), and for

water such as pumps, methods of purification and storage in the home and construction of cement water storage jars, and modernization of mud and straw stoves so that they would be more fuel efficient.

Dissemination and introduction of the demonstration items were and still are problem areas. Some items were picked up and others completely ignored. Those things which could be improved upon, such as simple mud and straw stoves, were modified by the women themselves who were the daily users of the technology. New models began to appear around Kenya and were incorporated into the demonstration items. The Karen model has since been replicated in other countries of the Eastern Africa region and numbers of men and women, both users and producers,have viewed, gawked at, and learned how to make some of the simpler technologies. Studies supported by UNICEF in West Africa have pinpointed the special appropriate technology needs of that region. In addition, UNICEF assisted countries in setting up centres for demonstration of the use and value of the items and then trained those interested in making them for their own use or those wanting to start a new business which could earn them money and at the same time satisfy the needs of their small rural communities. 54/

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Impact of an Administrative Survey of UNICEF - 1975

Another not insignificant factor that influenced not only programming for women but the situation of women within UNICEF started as but one line in a sixty-six page report of the examination of the administrative structure of UNICEF carried out by the Swedish Institutes for Administrative Research (SIAR), and submitted to the 1975 UNICEF Executive Board. It said that a number of personnel policies needed to be clarified and sometimes changed such as....."the need to increase the number of women in professional posts... and the need of increasing the proportion of the professional staff recruited from developing countries for senior positions." The discussion by Board members which that sentence stimulated led to a resolution introduced by the woman representative of Nigeria, asking the Executive Director to submit to the 1976 Board session proposals to bring about the increased participation of qualified women, especially from developing countries, in UNICEF professional positions in both headquarters and the field. It further urged Governments to make a special effort to include a greater number of women in their presentations of candidates for UNICEF positions. 55/ Also, women staff members, for the first time requested and got a meeting with women delegates of the Executive Board in order to raise the problem of women staff members in UNICEF. These factors set in motion a considerable amount of action over the next several years, fully supported and encouraged by Henry Labouisse, Executive Director at that time. UNICEF examined what the situation actually was, statistics were collected and, at the 1976 Board session, summarized the situation by: levels, promotions, type of positions, opportunities for field assignment and changes in recruitment policies. Progress was further reported at the 1977 and 1978 Board sessions showing the following shift in percentages

of professional posts held by women:

1972	(mid year)	12.9%
1974	" "	14.0%
1975	(end year)	16.7%
1976	" "	19.5%
1977	" "	21.0% 56/

The record, as the SIAR report indicated, had not been brilliant. Changing the situation took time. In 1974, 42.2% of the women on the staff were at the P1/P2 level, 12.4% at the P3/P4 level, and 2.3% at P5 or above (the same as in 1972) - these were percentages of the total numbers in those grades. Women were clustered at the lower level. But by 1977 progress was apparent. Though the P1/P2 level still had 42.4%, the P3/P4 level had moved to 20.9% and 9.5% had made it to the P5 level or above. Through 1976 there were no women at the D-2 level or above. This eventually changed but inconsistencies continued.

Several factors have had an impact on this proposed action amongst which were the urgings of the Executive Board, changes in attitudes and practices within the UNICEF secretariat, the appointment of regional and country staff who were responsible for programming for women, and the addition of a woman, Jane Campbell, to head the Recruitment Section in the fall of 1978. (For more information about Women of UNICEF see page 115)

In 1986, a study with a focus on education was prepared for UNICEF. The author looked at international aid agencies including the United Nations and bilateral assistance, and concluded that agencies with Women in Development units and those with a significant proportion of women professionals on their staffs appeared to give more attention to women's issues. 57/

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First woman regional director appointed

The Executive Director, Mr. Labouisse, was serious in his statements of commitment to improve the situation of women in UNICEF and took the rather dramatic step of appointing a woman as Regional Director for Eastern Africa. Aida Gindy, who had regularly represented the UN Bureau of Social Affairs at the UNICEF Executive Board meetings was Mr. Labouisse's first appointment in 1975, in immediate response to the concern expressed by the Board. It was a "landmark", the first ever female Regional Director. Her appointment was no token gesture; she was an eminently able person with long experience in the UN and in cooperative activities with UNICEF, and she came from the developing world. Eventually, in 1980, she moved to Geneva to head the European office of UNICEF and took on added responsibilities. Other women have followed as Regional Directors: Titi Memet in Southeast Asia, Teresa Albanez in Latin America, and more recently Mary Racelis in Eastern and Southern Africa.

In 1976, the Executive Director, in a report to the Board on progress in involving more women professionals, listed several concrete goals that had

been established. One objective was to make sure that more women took part in the "select" (25-30 participants) annual Interregional Staff Training Seminars. From one to three women were the most to be included in that select group from 1971 to 1975. Then, in 1976, the number moved up to eight and increased steadily from then on. Another objective was to have at least one woman programme officer in each field office, a priority to be extended to women only when they were equally qualified. 58/ That goal had almost been achieved by 1987, the exception being West Africa. Mr. Labouisse also indicated that an effort was being made to identify women in all staff categories for promotion to levels of more responsibility.

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International Women's Year - equality, development and peace (IWY)

The stage was set; the actors, not terribly well rehearsed, were in place; the orchestra was tuned up. The first act was about to begin in the new drama about where women were in terms of their active participation in the dynamics of world development and where they planned to go in the coming years. The cymbals struck in Mexico City in 1975 have been echoing around the world ever since.

In Mexico City in June, 1975 governments, international organizations, UN bodies, NGOs and interested individuals gathered for a two-week debate on the situation of women, progress, or obstacles to progress and ultimately agreed that there should be a Decade for Women (ten years is infinitely better than just one year) and a Plan of Action: a framework within which a search for innovative ideas would be stimulated for what should be accomplished during the first five of those ten short years.

UNICEF was represented by a sizeable delegation, presented its actions over the previous 24 years and also learned a great deal about the concerns, views and needs of women around the world. It was an educational give and take.

In a paper, Women and Development - the UNICEF Perspective, prepared for the Conference, attention was drawn to the programmes UNICEF had been advocating and supporting over the years: maternal and child health, including day care for the very young child; provision of safe water; training in the delivery skills of professional workers; literacy and non-formal education through women's clubs; village level technology; food production through "applied nutrition" programmes and the application of sound nutrition practices in feeding children and family members; responsible parenthood and family planning; and the active use of the media. UNICEF also spoke of its changing view of women as not simply welfare-type passive recipients, but as participants and partners in development. It noted that this presented new dimensions for UNICEF in both programming and evaluation of results. 59/

Speaking in behalf of UNICEF at the IWY Conference was Charles Egger, Deputy Executive Director, Programmes, a long-time supporter of women's programmes. Joining him were Titi Memet, then the Family Welfare officer at UNICEF headquarters, plus seven other staff members from the different field regions.

They actively participated in both the UN Conference and the NGO Tribune. Out of the conference came UNICEF's own specific commitment and action programme in support of the UN Plan of Action - a Plan that had been agreed upon by the member states of the United Nations at the World Conference.

A report was sent out to all field staff very shortly after the termination of the Conference, followed by guidelines (EXPRO 243- 14 July 1975) suggesting the ways in which UNICEF could take action. They were as follows:

- Collaborate with countries desirous to study and analyse the situation of women and girls in order to create a greater sense of awareness of their problems vis-a-vis government and public opinion and to focus on approaches that will enhance their advancement.

- Assist countries in formulating appropriate national policies and concrete measures to encourage women to play a more responsible role in relation to the protection and preparation of the younger and coming generation.

- Help countries to create or adopt appropriate institutional frameworks at national and local level, which will facilitate the formulation of adequate policies and programmes.

- Collaborate with countries in their efforts to prepare women to assume leadership as educators, supervisors, promoters, etc. in fields of concern to children.

- Encourage countries to seek the responsible participation of women in strengthening of basic services for children in less privileged rural and peri-urban areas.

- Actively support all measures now being undertaken to involve women with experience and responsibilities in the process of study, formulation of policies and implementation of programmes related to children, adolescents and mothers.

These six areas of action triggered an invigorated emphasis on policy and approach in the promotion of women and a considerable financial and programatic commitment by UNICEF - impressive support for the goals of the Decade. UNICEF quite calmly had incorporated the term "status of women" into its vocabulary - a far cry from simply "pregnant and lactating mothers."

At a UNICEF regional directors meeting in October 1975, guidelines and procedures for implementating the UNICEF commitment to expand its programming for women were discussed and agreed upon. The Executive Director also encouraged the regions to propose programmes, if necessary over and above country budget ceilings. Special additional funding ("noted" project funds) would be sought.[60/] He was not disappointed. Proposals began to come in.

As another follow-up in the same year, UNICEF joined with an ad-hoc Inter-agency UN group to initiate a joint inter-agency programme for the Integration of Women in Development. [61/]

The procedures for UNICEF staff to follow in the inter-agency cooperative effort were sound advice. They included:

- Compare the Mexico Plan of Action with Regional Plans of Action and country priorities.

- Identify weak points, shortcomings and gaps as well as resources.

- Suggest what UNICEF could do "in view of its new policy and approach for the promotion of women."

- Suggest how NGOs could be included in these efforts.

- Propose projects which could include action or advisory services for developing national policies and concrete measures benefiting as well as strengthening training capacities, institutional frameworks and leadership development at both national and local levels. An extremely tall order and one that demanded a considerable amount of time

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Advancement of women becomes an integral part of basic services

With a growing appreciation of the wide spectrum of needs of children, and services to meet those needs, UNICEF moved in its country approach method of programming into the provision of a "package of basic services." Adopted in 1975, it was fundamentally an integrated approach providing: health, education, nutrition, water, services for women and girls, family planning and food, all areas in which UNICEF could cooperate technically and financially. based on the needs of any country for any or all of the potential elements of assistance. 62/

Implementing this type of programming which involved an assessment of the existing country situation as it related to children and women often led to the recognition by governments and UNICEF that women needed to be incorporated into any and all human resource development plans a country was trying to carry out, that they were an essential component - key participants - in development. Further, reexamining general development projects to determine what role women were playing or could play in them brought out that it was in rural areas where women could be involved and where the greatest number of children would benefit.

The words were there, but techniques to actually include them in planning were meager. Community development was one method that was used, and an assessment of its impact over time would be useful, but the basic service strategy offered two possible approaches to supporting the advancement of women. These were: (1) integration into regular programming - the ultimate objective and (2) a focus on specific programmes for women. 63/ Integration is an objective that is not necessarily an easy one to implement; integration of

equals is far easier than integration of disparate groups with a cultural background of inequality. Uneducated women found (and still find) themselves at a disadvantage in a group of educated men. Therefore, efforts toward gaining more equality for women by providing education, help in attaining power and decision-making about communal services reducing the domestic burden of women, upgrading of their productive work (agriculture, marketing, artisanat) and enhancing their individual well-being continued to be suggested as essential elements of UNICEF programmes. Work has since continued toward this goal, but the ability to quantify the degree of implementation and impact - other than the questionnaire that was sent out to all field offices prior to the 1980 Mid-Decade UN Conference on Women - was not institutionalized.

Data collection in general, including the statistics kept by countries has rarely been disaggregated male-female. One exception may have altered that situation. With the arrival of statistician Ken Williams in 1975 in the UNICEF Nairobi office, this tendency was corrected in the Eastern Africa region. It indicated what having money to spend and a convinced technical adviser can accomplish.

To follow up on the admonition to examine the situation in each country, one response was the organization of an Expert Meeting on Research and Data Collection, held in Nairobi in December 1978, which, among other matters, looked at the situation of women in agrarian-based economies in Africa. In order to look at the future, they first looked at the past and then at the present to make sure they were starting with an appropriate orientation.64/

In setting the background for the discussions that followed, Achola Pala Okeyo of Kenya and Nancy Hafkin of the UN African Training and Research Centre for Women in Ethiopia, summarized the views of women in Africa over time as follows:

> "In early colonial days, African women were seen as passive beasts of burden in keeping with the Christian view that Africa was a dark continent. This was followed in the 1920's and 1930's by structural functionalist anthropology which took a static and historical approach to the analysis of African social structures. In these studies the status of women was not questioned nor analysed, but simply described as a functional element which served to keep the society in equilibrium. However, the notion of women's passivity was to be contradicted by women's participation in resistance movements such as the Aba Women's War in Nigeria and the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya in which they played active and leading roles. It was realized that women could and did 'rise to the occasion' and it was important to find out the structure and function of their right, influence and responsibilities.
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> "By the 1940's it had become evident that women were not as passive as might have been assumed and that it was important to 'integrate them into development'. Community development was to be the vehicle for achieving this objective.

"The 1950's saw the unrealistic transformation of the image of African women from farmer into housewife. This concept of African women formed the basis for many of the community development programmes but was altered in the 1960's when the idea emerged that modernization and westernization were the keys to Africa development. Through Christian teaching, school education and wage employment, it was envisaged that African societies would be transformed by the western model of development, not excluding its sexual biases in favour of men.

"The implementation of the UN Decade for Women objectives remains somewhat hampered by the erroneous view that women have not participated in development in the past and are only now to be integrated. The phrase itself has been questioned by many. First, for the concept of 'integration'. Women already participate in development but the difficulty is that their contribution is frequently not recognized, is undervalued and under remunerated. Second, the concept of development has also been questioned by asking 'into what development'. If development is only measured in terms of aggregate GNP, it does not ensure that women or indeed the majority of the population have benefited.

"By 1969 disillusionment with progress based on the 'trickle down' concept had emerged along with an awareness of the differential impact of modernization on men and women in Africa, leading to the necessity of paying special attention to the problems of women." 65/

This was the background against which the group undertook to look at the situation of women and propose research action for the future. The objectives were:

1. Review research already done.

2. Formulate hypotheses and indicators which could lead to questions which would guide future research on the status of women.

3. Suggest methodologies and timetables. 65/

The follow-up was disappointing, since much depended on individuals taking the initiative, and though enthusiasm was high, funding and time and energy needed to be stimulated.

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Follow-up of International Women's Year

The gong that IWY sounded continued to send out ripples of reaction and action. The UN Voluntary Fund for Women (now called the UN Development Fund for Women) was set up under the UN Commission for Social and Humanitarian Affairs. Women in Development staff or units began to appear in bilateral aid agencies. INSTRAW, the UN Institute for Training and Research Activities for Women, was launched. The UN regional economic commissions, following the lead of the Economic Commission for Africa began adding staff, particularly for programming and advising on the integration of women into all development

programmes. There was a small cloud on the horizon which signalled a warning of storms to come. It may have seemed insignificant at the time, but the UN staff in the regional economic commissions assigned to work with and for women were almost totally funded from extra-budgetary resources. This resulted in keeping the women in those positions in a perpetual state of uncertainty about career prospects, even future security. The political will of the UN was not very evident. But that is another story.

Private foundations in the United States were also going through the same soul-searching about commiting funds for integrated or separate programmes for women. The 1970's were a time for the Ford Foundation's International Division, for example, as for others, of "consciousness raising" to address the issues of "improving women's productive capacity and income-earning employment opportunities; promoting sex equity in education and reducing the cultural and social constraints on women's social and economic participation through research and redressing the situation of a paucity of women qualified to fill professional positions." That was in the 1970s and the situation has changed since then in many professions. 66/

:Examples of UNICEF action

UNICEF had loaded its guns, sent off shots heard 'round the UNICEF world and began to see stepped-up programming from many more countries and more depth in other countries' programmes.

- Afghanistan received UNICEF aid to focus on increased and better training for girls and women.

- Nepal, plagued with high illiteracy rates for women - 98% - also faced the problem of inadequate enrollment of girls in both primary and teacher training schools, got UNICEF support on a special project called "equal access of girls and women to education", especially in the remote and mountainous areas. Obstacles of this nature added to traditional practices are impressive adversaries in the effort to educate girls. 67/

- Jordan got support for what it considered to be an important need - to set up community training centres for women to provide non-formal and vocational training for out-of-school girls.

- The Philippines moved extensively into the field of day-care for children of working mothers in cities and in agricultural areas. 68/

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Responsible parenthood

Since the 1966 UNICEF Board meeting in Addis Ababa, (referred to earlier) UNICEF has viewed family planning as being more oriented toward responsible parenthood than population control and sought solutions that were social as well as medical. UNICEF gently encouraged its partners to broaden their

efforts beyond their traditional association with ministries of health and to recognize that women who were better educated, understood the economics of smaller families and had some certainty that their children would live long enough to support them in their old age, would accept having fewer pregnancies. Family planning, no matter the name it was given, had become another element in the UNICEF package of "basic services" in the 1970s. 69/

It was always a controversial subject in the past and is still very much so today in many countries. In the Executive Director's 1976 report to the Executive Board it was clear that responsible parenthood was having rough sledding. UNICEF could not be a very successful partner in family planning programmes if an obvious need was not expresssed in countries. It was difficult to try to sell an item that was relatively unpopular, at least in Africa and Latin America. In essence, it did confirm the wisdom of the "country approach." If, after a dialogue with partners in governments and NGOs, the need was still not recognized, it meant that the advocacy role of UNICEF was even more important than actual programmes. Programmes for women were an entry point to continue the advocacy. Women, who were one of the key elements in responsible parenthood programmes, were easier to reach and educate than their husbands, so that the non-formal education courses, mother and child health centres, women's groups, and the like became even more important.

While the highest fertility rates were found in economically less privileged areas, it was the education of the mother, rather than the level of family income which had been found to have the greater bearing on the decline of fertility, although population experts found that fertility declined when women were employed.

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Urban areas - special situation of women and children

Urban areas had women and children in need as well. Often coming from rural areas, they were suddenly thrust into an unfamiliar cash economy and as a result were frequently in a more desperate situation than their rural sisters. The application of the "basic services" approach, which had its beginnings in urban areas in 1976, brought UNICEF face to face with the realities of urban poverty and the self-evident need to help women in their effort to maintain their families. Latin America's high degree of rural-urban migration produced most of the urban slum projects. Reviewing them in 1977 had a considerable influence on dispelling any doubt UNICEF might have had about the need to cooperate with governments to attack a serious problem. It was obvious that another whole section of the population in the developing world needed attention, and more would be needing it in the future as urban centres could expect a population that would mushroom with those immigrating to seek what they hoped would be a better life than than that based on rural subsistence.

But most effective of all was the survey and analysis of the situation of women and children in the urban slums and shanty-towns prepared by Mary Racelis for the 1978 Executive Board meeting. 70/ It dispelled any doubt

about the economic and social needs of those living in the urban and peri-urban areas.

It stressed the need to generate income through individual enterprises and carry on training programmes, especially for women. Such action would be at least a small step in helping women manage their responsibility as the frequent "breadwinner" in the family. The survey pointed out the need for day-care services for those mothers who had no extended family to help in looking after their children while they were working. Training in marketing and the provision of credit for those hard-pressed mothers were also among the suggestions made to help solve the problems of slum families. Again and again it was stressed that whatever the individual solution, it should be low cost, simple and conveniently available. 71/

It invariably takes individual initiative to focus attention on a particular problem. Looking at the special situation of women in the whole spectrum of the urban problem owes much if its sensitivity to John Donahue, who joined UNICEF in January 1977 as the senior advisor on urban affairs at Headquarters.

The needs of urban women and children in West Africa had always been present but came to the fore even more emphatically following urban development workshops held in Mauritania and Senegal in 1980 with support from UNICEF. With urbanization and the migration of women and children to the cities, it became more evident to UNICEF staff that all country programming exercises should review the situation of women and children in low-income urban areas and should attempt to incorporate appropriate responses to their needs in country programmes. 72/

A paper, prepared in 1981 at the request of the Board 73/ in order to assess how successful UNICEF had been during the period 1976-1981 in reaching children and women of the urban poor, urged more attention to the problem of malnutrition in urban slums and shanty-towns, to the situation of women, pre-school and day-care services, family planning, water supply and sanitation. Often worse off than their sisters in the countryside (who at least might be able to maintain a subsistence level by having control over their food supply), the plight of urban women revealed again the need to take urgent measures, involve NGOs more and encourage other agencies to fund and implement programmes in this area. The problem could only grow.

In essence the problems had not changed - poverty, overcrowding, poor quality water, low literacy, malnutrition, women-headed households, child abandonment, poor health, while previously true primarily in Latin America, were evident in other areas of the world. The numbers in urban slums were increasing. UNICEF started cooperation with only seven governments in 1977 but by 1982 was working with 43 countries. It had been demonstrated that the community-based approach in urban projects had the longest term success but took longer to produce visible results.

The critical components of programming were still activities aimed at reducing malnutrition, improving the situation of women and their ability to support their families, providing pre-school and day-care services, promoting

responsible parenthood and family planning and helping abandoned and disabled children. All of these priorities converged with the need for improving the literacy and income prospects for women.

The Hyderabad Urban Community Development project in India demonstrated the soundness of the process of forming community groups, identifying felt needs, setting priorities, deciding what the community could contribute and working with a minimum number of staff. It was recognized that, in order to succeed, community efforts must coincide with government policy commitments to physical improvements (water, health, schools and budgets).

In the low-income Jabal Nazzal district of Amman, Jordan, UNICEF worked with the government to set up a community development centre and playground in their area to cater for women, children under five and youth after school hours.

And in the Philippines, UNICEF cooperation involved support for programmes to augment family subsistence by increasing women's earning capacities in poor areas of Cebu City. Three neighbourhood women's associations have become centres for training in income-generating skills. 74/

During 1983, activities expanded into more countries, approximately fifty. The priority goals of the programmes were to reduce infant mortality and malnutrition, to increase women's potential to earn income, to provide day care for the working mother, to improve water and sanitation and particularly take action for abandoned urban children. 75/

It was agreed that low-income communities generally were not receiving the level of services and resources they required to provide more equal opportunities for the future generations that children represented, and that UNICEF's help in providing technical and other support to community-based services was a valuable contribution to anti-poverty measures. 76/

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UNICEF staff as initiators

UNICEF had the rare opportunity, of having its eyes, ears and voice in the field. That fact was probably the major element in influencing changes in UNICEF policy over the years. It's very hard to sit in a headquarters in New York and keep a hand on the pulse of over 100 countries at the same time. Change required people in the field who were sensitive and ready to make decisions within an agreed upon goal: the well being of children, based on some solid and some not so solid data. It also took some equally sensitive people in headquarters who would listen and agree that a proposal for action should be supported even though it didn't always fit neatly into programme guidelines. This was particularly true, one suspects in relation to programmes for women. Some were more supportive than others. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Executive Director, Henry Labouisse, and his two deputies, Dick Heyward and Charles Egger, plus Jack Charnow, Secretary to the Executive Board, Jim McDougall, UNICEF Regional Director in Beirut, Titi Memet, Senior Adviser on Family Welfare and Aida Gindy, Regional Director in Nairobi were

most clearly in that camp. Dan Brooks, UNICEF representative in Indonesia, and Victor Soler-Sala, UNICEF Director of the European office both proved their commitment during those years in field posts.

Beginning in the 1980s, when James Grant, became the Executive Director he kept up the pace of his predecessor. Joining the headquarters team were other strong advocates of integrating women's concerns into UNICEF programming, including Dr. Nyi Nyi, Director of Programme Division, Kul Gautam heading up The Americas section and Ms. R. Padmini, Chief of the Middle East and North Africa section, and in 1982, following the appointment of Mary Racelis as Regional Director for Eastern and Southern Africa, Nadia Youssef, Senior Policy Specialist, Women's Economic Activities/Basic Services. Ms. Youssef, an Egyptian national, is a sociologist who has done extensive field work, research and writing on women in the developing world. Among those in the field were Marta Mauras, UNICEF representative in Mozambique, Vesna Bosnjak the representative in Mexico, Lola Roche Sanchez, Regional Adviser for Women's Participation in Development for The Americas Region, and Marie Touré Ngom heading up the office in the Central African Republic. These and others were making a real difference in the way women were included in UNICEF programming. The number is growing, but many more are still needed.

:Knowledge network

Since she was the only person in headquarters (an orchestra director without an orchestra), responsible for women's activities and family welfare, Titi Memet Tanumidjaja, who by 1976 had had a change of title to Senior Adviser on Family Welfare (still no mention of women in the title), turned to the "knowledge network" system of using field staff as a global UNICEF technical assistance resource, a technique which had been used in other specialized fields by UNICEF. She used it to implement UNICEF's commitment to women by taking advantage of the staff talent scattered around the world.

Once identified, those individuals who were interested in pursuing the advancement of women, primarily in programming and the development of policy proposals began to communicate among themselves. The "network", formed in April 1976, was used initially as a forum for the exchange of experiences in planning and programming amongst field and headquarter's staff. It slowly evolved into an advisory and working group for developing a policy paper and programming guidelines on UNICEF assistance to programmes benefiting women (and of course, ultimately implementing the policies), and for recommending procedures and support activities, including research and advocacy, for specific target groups. It was decided that a face-to-face encounter and discussion would accelerate the process. A preparatory meeting was held in New York, from which came an outline of the policy paper, as well as the details of the meeting of the network - its agenda, site, date and criteria for participants.

The network held its first meeting in Alexandria, Egypt, in April 1978. It was attended by women and men from both the field and headquarters plus two consultants who participated as expert advisers. It was mandated to review the draft policy guidelines, monitor the application of the policy at field level and contribute to the preparations for the Mid-Decade Conference on Women to be held in 1980.

Papers were prepared by the two consultants, and in addition four technical background papers were presented by members of the network who were in the field; Hoda Badran, Renée Gerard, Maria Diamanti, Padmini Ramaswamy, Kul Gautam and Virginia Hazzard. Advocacy for Women; Programming for Women; Data Collection; and Income-Generating Activities for Women were the subject of considerable concern and scrutiny. All of these papers were sent out to field staff in 1979, following on the heels of the distribution of "Policy Guidelines for UNICEF Assistance to Programmes Benefiting Women."

The guidelines of PRO 42 are still more or less valid today and state: 77/

- Future programming exercises are to include an analysis of the situation of women, identification of female beneficiaries and participants in the target population, and ways and means of providing for their participation in specific projects;

- Services and activities involving women are to be considered in the context of national development policies and the basic services strategy;

- Weight should be given to measures for reducing the heavy domestic workload of women, freeing them to give better care to their children, as well as to engage in more economically productive activities; cooperation should be extended for training in marketable skills, opening up new avenues for family revenue;

- Services and activities should be encouraged which enhance the individual well-being of women, such as literacy, numeracy, personal hygiene and recreation;

- Programmes should be initiated that improve the standing of women in the community, by encouraging their participatory and decision-making skills, and involve them in the implementation of development activities by preparing them to be extension workers, health auxiliaries, project personnel, and village motivators.

The network served again when it met with regional directors and country representatives at the Board session in 1979 and was able to agree on action to be taken by UNICEF in preparing for the 1980 Board report (specifically requested by the 1978 Board) on the integration of women in development and its impact on children.

Preparations for the report to the Board and the Mid-Decade Conference constituted a more encompassing effort than had been possible for the 1975 IWY Conference; the Network, plus the regional women's officers, were an extremely useful support group.

The Decade continued to wield its influence.

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Liberation movements are 50 percent women

For yet another reason, Africa was back in the limelight and UNICEF responded, this time to the needs of men, women and children in the liberation movements in southern Africa. UNICEF provided assistance primarily for training men and women for basic service tasks that would be needed once they had returned home. The Zimbabwe and Namibia movements were in Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia. A special situation involving women existed in Botswana, where the Zimbabwe military leadership had set up a separate camp for girls and women. Because of recruitment into the military of young boys and girls, who were no longer under the direct supervision of their parents, the freedom fighters suddenly found themselves faced with increased pregnancies of the young girls, who, because of the perpetual movement of both the boy and girls soldiers, frequently had no clear idea of who the father was or where he could or would be found. Separation of the sexes was their solution. But they were anxious to have their young women prepared to take on all sorts of responsibilities upon return home after independence. UNICEF cooperated and a programme of training in a camp in Botswana - for everything from literacy to nutrition, farming, nursing, teaching and business education was organized, with the trainers recruited from the camp population itself. That recruitment required a survey of the skills that each person in the camp possessed.

Women have been fighters in many revolutions but often little attention has been paid to their special needs. For some, as in China it has meant a real change in their status, but just as often, once freedom has come, they return to anonymity (e.g , Algeria, Iran).

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South Africa casts its shadow

Another very special situation for women existed, and still exists in those countries which feed their men into the neighbouring industrial giant, South Africa, to work. That very special situation created all sorts of family problems other than just separation. In order to understand better the problems women in Swaziland and Lesotho faced in that situation, UNICEF financed a study of the "Situation of Women in Swaziland", which showed, among other things, that a mother could not make a decision about her children without approval from her husband - even something seemingly as simple as whether she should take her child to hospital. No decision could be made without first contacting the father for approval, and father could be exceedingly difficult to reach in South Africa. The time interval could often be measured in the weeks it could take for letters to go, be received and then answered (everyone doesn't have a telephone). No statistics existed on the impact that such a situation could have on a child, but it can be easily imagined. 78/

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Studies proliferate between 1975 and 1980

As the 1980 Mid-Decade Conference on Women was approaching, it became more and more apparent that, to assess progress and be ready to propose plans for the future which were realistic, more baseline data was needed - a better overall picture was essential. UNICEF, very sensibly, wanted to be prepared with documentation: so did countries, and the way to do it was through studies and summary reviews. The outpouring was prolific and valuable although a cursory review of historical documentation does not show that methodical use was made of the material for programme planning.

The Situation of Women in Latin America and the Caribbean and Its Impact on Children came out in September 1979, authored by Marta Maurás, Regional Family Welfare Officer and Josefina Ossandón, consultant to UNICEF. It was prepared as UNICEF's contribution to the Second Regional Conference on the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America, held in Venezuela in November 1979. 79/

Based primarily on 1970 census figures and reports issued by individual countries, the 1979 study produced even more dramatic figures and descriptions and was revealing of how similar Latin American women are to other women of the world in the economic sphere, while in other respects they have their own special problems.

The report produced a vivid picture of the situation of women in Latin America, as is described later in this report. As was (and is) often the case, the unequal distribution of the benefits of development had perpetuated poverty in all its magnitude. But a particular feature of the region which did not appear in other continents was the accelerated growth of urban areas. In 1975, 61% of the population was urban and it was estimated that it would rise to 75% by the end of the century.

The data also indicated that most women who were considered economically active were in domestic service. It was difficult to break out of such a pattern since they had no access to credit or training, were not landowners and rarely were members of cooperatives. An interesting consequence which occurred related to the fall in fertility and mortality rates (especially infant mortality rates), was an increase in the number of surviving children per family in the rural and urban sectors. This situation caused a further reduction in per capita income and a deterioration of the living conditions, with a high level of woman-headed households and a lack of supporting services. Another finding was that the poorer the family was, the larger it tended to be and the more apt it was to be headed by a woman. The study covered nine factors that particularly affected women:

Poverty: As elsewhere, woman-headed households were predominantly poor, as was demonstrated most dramatically in the urban sector. In Brazil, Honduras and Peru, over one third of the rural population was poor. In 1970, 40% of the region's population was in a state of poverty;

and of that, 60% of the rural population was considered poor although their total numbers are smaller than those of the urban areas.

Education: Illiteracy varied extensively among countries. In 1970, five countries had 5-12% illiteracy while another five had more than 40%. The literacy rate improved steadily over the 1970s.

Health: There had been a focus on Maternal and Child Health, breast-feeding and family planning. Fertility was down from 1970-75, due to a wide variety of reasons. The mortality rates for women were reasonably low but again varied by country, from 4.0 to 55.9% (Paraguay). In general, the Caribbean rate was lower than that of Latin America.

Employment: As in most countries, there was a discrepancy in salaries between men and women. Housework and work in the fields were not considered economically active tasks. There were, however fewer women in agricultural work than in other continents.

Family situation: There were strikingly different structures among countries. It was estimated that the highest proportion of female-headed households, 20%-30% was to be found in the Caribbean. In all rural areas the extended family was typical.

Indigenous communities: Latin America was like the rest of the world in that men only would do the plowing but differed, in that they would then work together with their wives on other aspects of agriculture. Women had decision-making power in family councils. "Machismo" was absent. Regrettably, however, all services were less available to the Latin American Indians.

Haciendas: In these situations, women were virtual slaves, but were paid some money and were assigned some land to be worked for the family.

Minifundia (farms under five acres): These were usually family-owned. The family farmed for self consumption and then sold the excess. Women did everything along with men. The wife prepared her own flour, carried wood, and did other physically strenuous work. Life was difficult; working from 5:00 a.m. until 10:00 p.m. It was out of these small farms, therefore, that came many of the city migrants.

Latifundia: These structures represented agro-industries. Here, women worked as labourers and frequently for lower wages than men.

Data on the informal sector - a very large sector, and where one found most of the women who were helping to support their families - doesn't show up in official statistics.

Bolivia looked at the problems of migrant rural women living in peri-urban areas, while Peru assessed and quantified women's contribution to agriculture, production, handicrafts and home life as economic development factors and highlighted patterns of exploitation of female labour by large industries and intermediaries.

The Situation of Women in Africa - a Review, 80/ prepared for UNICEF by Alasebu Gebre-Selassie, an Ethiopian sociologist, showed that what Aida Gindy (ECA Social Development Officer) and Teresa Spens (FAO consultant) had observed in their visits to East and West Africa in 1961 had changed very little by 1979. Illiteracy for women was extremely high, as were the fertility rates, Kenya ranking highest at approximately 4% annual growth rate. Tasks in the fields were perhaps even more onerus with the introduction of modern agricultural technology. Water, income and education were still the highest priorities.

Burundi, Malawi and Kenya each undertook individual studies on the situation of women or on programmes that were women-centered. These were more action-oriented to guide UNICEF and its colleagues in government toward what their future actions should be. Somalia's Ministry of Health, with UNICEF encouragement and support, undertook an epidemiology study of female circumcision to determine its prevalence, social values and legal status and to show its health and socio-psychological hazards.

Burma undertook a feasibility survey of income-generating activities to assess whether production by women contributed towards improving family life and also to identify women who were most in need of assistance. Thailand looked to select village-level women's action projects that would enhance the role of women in social and economic development. In the Philippines, a review of research literature was carried out to identify cultural values, attitudes and behaviour in order to revise sexist outlooks in educational materials. India carried out a comparative case study of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh to identify opportunities for rural and semi-urban women to engage in economic activities and how best to organize them.

The situation of women in South Central Asia was the subject of an overview of the seven countries of the region (Afghanistan, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Mongolia, Nepal and Sri Lanka) carried out in 1979 in preparation for the 1980 Mid-Decade Conference on Women. 81/

Although each country had its own specific characteristics, there were some similarities: "The ideology of female dependence throughout life and the concept of biological and social inferiority of women which finds expression in all the major religions of the region (Hinduism, Islam and to some extent even Buddhism). Further, of particular importance to the status of women is the overwhelming predominance of parrilineal systems. These function to isolate women from the ownership of property - the most fundamental resource for survival in an agrarian society.

"Economic factors also influence the practice of female seclusion and patterns of residence to a large extent. Additionally, nearly all of the countries of the region share a very uncommon demographic characteristic, i.e., rates of female mortality are significantly higher than male mortality in practically every age group. The countries have a preponderance of males over females. As demographers say, all things being equal, the opposite should be the case due to the biological advantage of females. In this region, clearly all things are not equal.

"Since International Women's Year (1975) there has, however, been progress in policies and structures in all of the countries of the region. These include an awareness of the problems of women, setting up Women's Bureaux, pilot projects, training, surveys, project development, literacy programmes and the development of a data base on which more effective planning can be built.

Amongst the issues examined by the survey were the following:

"Poverty. All the countries of the region (except Mongolia) were in the World Bank category of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and in addition there were tremendous disparities in income distribution and control within the countries. According to the World Bank estimate for 1974, approximately 75 percent of the world's population of rural poor were to be found in South Asia (270 million out of 360 million) (World Bank 2975:89). In 1976, of an estimated 318 million females in the region, about 127 million lived in 'absolute poverty'. The urban poor are a growing number, linked to the migration of rural poor to the cities.

"Education. Except for Mongolia and the Maldives, many more women than men are illiterate. There are also lower enrolment rates and higher drop-out rates for girls, lower enrolment rates for girls in vocational training programmes and fairly blatant sexism in textbooks. However, females have made more improvement in literacy and education than males over the last two decades, especially in Sri Lanka. But in recent years, all of the countries have tried to expand access of girls to primary education, the major strategy being the increasing of female teachers and the expansion of hostel facilities in isolated areas.

"Health. The region has high levels of fertility, malnutrition, morbidity and mortality (especially infant and maternal mortality). There is a very low sex ratio which reflects the higher mortality rates of females compared to males in nearly every age group. The trend appears to be getting worse, except in Sri Lanka. A lack of adequate health facilities also contributes to problems in rural and remote areas. World Bank estimates for 1974 place the population per physician at 3,140 in India and 38,650 in Nepal.

"Three problems can be summarized: First, access to facilities is difficult; Second, women and girls suffer most from nutritional deficiences (primarily due to cultural patterns. Women and girls are expected to eat less than males.); Third, is the relationship between nutrition and a woman's income (or control over family income).

"Employment. Little data are available on income for the vast majority of women (i.e. those in the unorganized and agricultural sector), but what does exist indicates that it often falls far below subsistence levels and sometimes even less than half of what men earn. Women have done better in the public than in the private sector and have made modest gains in the services and professions, especially government employment. But in the manufacturing sector they are relegated to jobs that are tedious, repetitive and poorly paid with little chance of skill development and upward mobility.

"Household Tasks. Women also have household or domestic responsibilities includidng child rearing, while men participate in community affairs. (a rather unequal division of physical labor.) Gathering fuel, and fetching water are among their other tasks, time consuming and strenuous but does have the advantage of offering one of the few opportunities for women and girls to gather on an informal basis."

Egypt's Al-Azhar University, as planned in the earlier Arab Women's Regional Conference, carried out a study to identify the needs of women in health, education and social relations.

But many problems resist quick solutions and linger on. Among these can be listed: permitting women into decision-making and leadership positions; giving low priority to the allocation of funds for women's activities; arranging for child care for working mothers; providing appropriate technology to lighten her work load and so that she will have more time for child care. One should also mention that with more time she could, perhaps, devote some of it to improving the income situation of her family. All of these, plus changing the image presented by the media of women and their roles, demand continued attention. 82/

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More recognition of the value of women's participation

With UNICEF already in water projects up to its waist, it was decided to assess the results and look for more cost-productive ways of continuing. The assessment that was carried out in 1979 of UNICEF cooperation in water and sanitation projects identified the need for greater community participation - especially that of women. 83/ A study in southern Sudan had shown an average saving of six hours per day per woman and child once they had been provided with hand pumps. This had very positive implications for the time that women would have to devote to other important duties including the care of their young children. The recommendations of more community participation and attention to women also led UNICEF to move ahead and employ women project officers for sanitation, personal hygiene and motivational aspects of its water programmes.

At the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, 12-20 July 1979, UNICEF again stated that (1) its "Basic Services strategies" were poverty oriented and stressed self-reliance and community participation;

(2) the integration of women in development planning was crucial especially in rural areas and (3) the use of appropriate technology would relieve women of some of the time they spent on household and farming tasks. These actions by UNICEF all responded to strategies which had been agreed upon by delegates at the Conference. Other actions called for special recruitment and training schemes, especially in extension programmes of development agencies at all levels; equality in educational quality and content and provision of special incentives such as reduced fees to increase enrollment of girls and women in schools; and strengthened non-formal education including leadership training and instruction in agriculture, family planning and nutrition. 84/

At the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held in August 1979 in Vienna, UNICEF continued its advocacy for support of the needs of women and the necessity for their involvement in suggesting what kind of technology they needed, and testing its efficacy and benefits. In addition to a replica of the Karen Village Technology and Development Centre near Nairobi, Kenya, attention was drawn to some of the actions of UNICEF which depended on a community participation approach with women very often at its centre: setting up simple village pharmacies and training a local person to use it; training traditional birth attendants and then providing them with simple kits; in nutrition the provision of self-help technologies that are a support for women's tasks of preparing vegetables, fish, cereals, etc., from storing to drying to grinding; bringing women into the management of drinking water and sanitation schemes and ensuring a safe water supply convenient to those who use it most - women. And, to benefit from technical opportunities provided by the printed word, literacy and other non-formal education activities were supported by UNICEF. 85/

Concern for women is an important part of the "International Development Strategy for the Third UN Development Decade," which calls for the expansion of technical co-operation activities to ensure women's participation in development. 86/

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A new woman's woman with new titles and tasks

When Titi Memet left headquarters for the post of UNICEF Representative in Pakistan at the end of 1978, Mary Racelis took her place on the first of January 1979. With the title of Senior Policy Specialist - Community Participation and Family Life, she had the difficult task of dividing her time and energy among advising on popular participation tactics that UNICEF was encouraging in order to spread community-based primary health care; finding techniques to increase the involvement of women; and programming for the improvement of care of the young child.

One of her early tasks was the preparation of UNICEF's position statement which was to be presented first to the Executive Board and later to the Mid-Decade Conference on Women in Copenhagen.

In the spirit of popular participation she called on the not inconsiderable help of the "knowledge network" on women, regional directors and a number of country representatives to recommend how the report should be structured. It was decided that a wide-ranging review of programmes undertaken in every country would be the most useful for future programming and policy decisions. That was a considerable undertaking and very positively demonstrated an increase in the commitment of UNICEF to women. This was a measurement of movement of the UNICEF position from 1975. Hoda Badran, the Eastern Mediterranean Family Welfare Officer, was asked to serve as the project director of the massive gathering and assessing of information under the supervision of Mary Racelis. 87/

The information gathered from over 100 countries included the following:

- Review of the situation of women in the development process and its impact on children with the premise that improving women's situation has a positive impact directly or indirectly on children.

- Description of the country situation.

- Description of each programme, both those identified as "women's projects" and those identified as integrated programmes, in which women benefit and participate.

- Future directions for UNICEF assistance to programmes involving poor women.

- In-house actions to enhance programme development as regards women.

- Each of the regions was also asked to undertake case studies

It was a healthy, if time-consuming, exercise and probably had as much impact at the country levels as at the UNICEF Board and UN Decade for Women Conference. It also had the added benefit of a cooperative effort by staff in planning, executing and finalizing the report.

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Where are women now? - 1983 or 1984 or 1985 reads much the same.

"While women represent half the global population and one-third of the labor force, they receive only one-tenth of the world income and own less than one percent of world property. They also are responsible for two-thirds of all working hours," said UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, in 1983 - a diplomatic understatement of the situation.

Robin Morgan, in her introduction to the publication Sisterhood is Global, gives us more of the factual information which has been documented over the past ten years of the Decade for Women: 88/

"Two out of three of the world's illiterates are now women, and while the general illiteracy rate is falling, the female illiteracy rate is rising. One third of all families in the world are headed by women. In the developing countries, almost half of all single women over age fifteen are mothers. Only one third of the world's women have any access to contraceptive information or devices, and more than one half have no access to trained help during pregnancy and childbirth. Women in the developing world are responsible for more than 50% of all food production (on the African continent women do 60 to 80 percent of all agricultural work, 50 percent of all animal husbandry, and 100 percent of all food processing). As of 1982, 800 million people in the Third World were living in absolute poverty; most of those affected are migrant workers and their families, youth, the disabled and the aged - and the majority of all those categories are women. Approximately 500 million people suffer from hunger and malnutrition; the most seriously affected are children under age five, and women. Twenty million persons die annually of hunger-related causes and one billion endure chronic undernourishment and other poverty deprivations; the majority are women and children.

"Not only are females most of the poor, the starving, and the illiterate, but women and children constitute more than 90 percent of all refugee populations. Women outlive men in most cultures and therefore are the elderly of the world, as well as being the primary caretakers of the elderly. The abuse of children is a women's problem because women must bear responsibility for children in virtually all cultures, and also because it is mostly female children who are abused - nutritionally, educationally, sexually, psychologically, etc." It is not a bright picture. Most of the data are from the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (Copenhagen, 1980), from OXFAM, and from the 1982 UN Report on the World Situation.

Finally in 1983 UNICEF reached the point of having a position at headquarters with the title, Senior Policy Specialist, Women's Economic Activities/Basic Services and was fortunate to have Nadia Youssef fill the post. It was another "landmark" in the acknowledgement of the crucial role of women in the well-being of a country and its children, the first time the word "women" had appeared in the title.

UNICEF itself reviewed the situation of women in poverty, a special group and an especially large one, in its document prepared for the 1985 World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. It was noted that although circumstances do vary from country to country and region to region, there are some elements that are commonalities for all. Facts such as those that follow guide UNICEF in its support activities in cooperation with governments:

a) In many countries the ratio of women to men is greater in the poorest income groups than in the population as a whole and the economic standing of the poorest households often depends on the women's income-earning capacity;

b) The 16-hour daily work-load documented for many rural women increases during peak periods of agricultural labour and in times of community responsibility;

c) Evidence points to sex biases throughout the life cycle in favour of males in the allocation of food and the treatment of illness, as reflected in lower female nutritional status and higher female child mortality rates;

d) An estimated 10 to 30 million girls undergo mutilating circumcision operations before puberty;

e) One half of all women and two thirds of pregnant women suffer from anemia;

f) Maternal mortality rates in some developing countries are up to 200 times higher than in Europe, and more than half a million women die of causes related to pregnancy and childbirth each year leaving several million motherless children. It is estimated that approximately 95 percent of infants under the age of one die in the first year after a mother's death (this comes from a study done in Bangladesh by L.C.Chen). Further, in Women...a World Survey by Ruth Leger Sivard, who was reporting on information from the UN Demographic Yearbook, it was repeated that there was not as yet broad statistical coverage on maternal mortality but that some country studies showed the contrast between developed and developing countries. For example in India there were 370 deaths per 100,000 live births, 700 in Afghanistan and as many as 1,000 in some parts of Africa. Contrast that with 2 to 8 per 100,000 in the Scandinavian countries. It is frightening, and spotlights how much women endure in virtual silence; 89/

g) While highest fertility rates were found in economically less privileged areas, it was the education of the mother, rather than the level of income which had been found to have the greater bearing on the decline of fertility;

h) Illegal abortions kill up to 200,000 women yearly and permanently injure countless more;

i) Overall, half the female population is illiterate. Unschooled women are likely to have more children and are less likely to enroll their children (particularly daughters) in school, perpetuating the cycle of female poverty;

j) Women's access to land and food production has been adversely affected by accelerated shifts of land to male-controlled cash-cropping. Women in many cases are excluded from membership in agricultural co-operatives and from receiving the benefits of agricultural technology and extension services;

k) Women in both urban and rural households are increasingly responsible for providing family income because of male

unemployment/underemployment and absence and the erosion of traditional kinship obligations which supported women;

l) Rural women are relegated to marginal, seasonal or part-time jobs on farms and plantations; urban women to low-status, irregular and poorly paid work in the lower echelons of informal sector activities. Migrant women are particularly vulnerable in urban areas;

m) Work options, particularly in urban areas, are limited because of child-care problems and because impoverished women are physically depleted as well as unprepared to compete in the world of work;

n) Households headed by women are increasing and appear to be the most likely to suffer economically, with single and abandoned mothers being the most vulnerable group. Evidence shows that female-headed households have lower incomes, less access to productive resources, more children and fewer secondary sources of income than male-headed households.

In his annual essay of 1986, David Hamburg, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, passionately stated the case for overcoming poverty if children and women were to maintain an acceptable degree of well-being saying, " While many causes underlie the developmental problem of the young, the most profound and pervasive exacerbating factor is poverty. Almost any form of childhood damage is more prevalent among the poor - from increased infant mortality, gross malnutrition, recurrent and untreated health problems, and child abuse to educational disability, low achievement, early pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse, and failure to become economically self-sufficient."

NGOs were also insisting on the crystal clear fact that, as CARE said in its "Special Report" of June 1986, "Women hold the key to raising a family's standard of living. In a country where food is scarce due to famine and/or drought, where children are sick and malnourished, the water supply is contaminated and unemployment abounds - where do you start?.

"The answer is: with women. Women are the single most powerful force behind some of the most successful self-help projects in the Third World today. Their intense caring is the driving force that makes better health care, literacy training, economic development and agricultural productivity possible." 90/

"Discrimination against females starts from childhood and is clearly evident in the crucial areas of feeding and health care" said a joint WHO/UNICEF study. Many have known that that was true from their own non-statistical experiences or just from impressions, but the study documented that the preference for a male child was particularly widespread in Hindu, Moslem and Chinese societies for religious, economic or cultural reasons with son preference highest in Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Korea, Syria and Jordan.

Additional information came from a survey of 898 villages around the world, which also showed that, in the family food distribution system males were

usually given priority over females. Numerous countries reported similar discrimination in health care as well. 91/

That does suggest that UNICEF not only has another advocacy and information task in cooperation with countries, but should be ready to ensure some collection of data on mortality rates of girl children under 4 or 5 years of age to determine whether there are some indications that such conditions do exist.

Attending to all those situations is an awesome task that UNICEF, other international organizations and non-governmental organizations share with national governments. Fortunately, every country doesn't have every problem, so with perception, sensitivity and some wisdom UNICEF plods on, pushed and encouraged by its field staff, its Board and on very rare occasions, by national Governments in the developing world, plowing new land for cultivation with the hope of reaping a crop of healthy infants and children.

The future of dealing with so many problems looms ominously but there is no turning back to the less complicated earlier day when UNICEF seemed to deal only with children, when health and nutrition of children, with some elements of education, were UNICEF's primary problem, and women were only "mothers."

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Refugees and women

Refugees are a growing, not a diminishing problem around the world: in Southeast Asia, Pakistan, the Horn of Africa, the Sudan, Central America and many other places. Of Africa's 10 million refugees, 90% are women and children. Civil wars make refugees within their own country, though they are technically called "displaced persons". 92/

Although the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has the primary obligation for the care of these homeless people, UNICEF has, since its inception, given support to alleviating the conditions of children and women in this group. In some cases it was health supplies, sometimes education for mothers, arrangements for child care and income-generating activities. A refugee camp has few potentials for income-producing activities, but some have been started though few have succeeded in making the mother and her children self-sufficient. An effort has had to be made to try to find a solution. Too many of the refugees have found shelter in countries which are poor themselves, with economies that quite naturally falter under the double burden (sometimes triple, as is now the case for African drought-stricken nations).

Receiving countries are not anxious for the influx of dependent families to become permanent members of their populations which are often, themselves, struggling for their own existence. Each group hopes it is temporary, but there are no guarantees.

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Drought and women

In 1984, with the drought worsening in Africa, 18 countries were considered as most seriously affected. With UNICEF sharing the concern of so many others, the Eastern and Southern Africa Region examined what the role of UNICEF should be in providing support for activities that would address the underlying conditions which made the people of the region vulnerable to repeated periods of food shortages. 93/

Amongst the fields which fell within the scope of UNICEF's potential to help were water and sanitation, primary health care, nutrition surveillance and perhaps most crucial of all, the role of women over the long term, in the home and in agricultural production - especially food crops.

Three changes in the African countryside which affected women directly and thus the quality of care they were able to offer their children were, and are:

- The rural economy was changing from one dominated by a subsistence mode of production to one which is more cash oriented.

- The accelerated effort to increase food production often placed insuperable loads on women. Usually, increased production demands increased labour inputs, but it is by no means clear that the additional work-load is shared equally by men and women.

- The change which is most subtle, most pervasive and most potentially damaging to children, is the shift in control over household resources - household food production, stocks and to some extent, the manner in which food is distributed among family members. 94/

What effect has this shift had on UNICEF policies? Careful thought and much discussion have gone on, not only in Eastern and Southern Africa, as to actions that UNICEF, along with governments and NGOs, should take to try to avoid similar future catastrophes. Four were suggested, taking into account the fact that women provide the immediate environmental context in which the child survival and development revolution, espoused by UNICEF must be pursued:

- Increase the income over which women have control;

- Increase the efficiency of women's labour time by utilizing technological innovations and sharing of tasks within the family;

- Use the priorities of women to influence the pattern of household and farm planning behaviour;

- Increase women's skills and employment opportunities through women's education - especially in connection with agriculture.

One example of UNICEF implementation and action in response to the situation comes from Casamance in Senegal. Here women's traditional self-help co-operative associations were recognized as having potential for more

structured organizational activity in the agricultural field. Local garden groups were organized within a government project, the Integrated Project for Agricultural Development in Casamance (PIDAC). They were linked to two other major programmes at the rural community level which included appropriate technology, the provision of day-care and pre-school education centres, and maternal and child health services. The strength of such groups derived from their strong support at the grass-roots level and their relative independence of central government, even though female government extension workers provided technical assistance.

By 1984, approximately 8,000 women had been organized into garden groups. In view of that considerable success, UNICEF promised assistance through 1987 to help another 190 new groups to establish themselves. This also demonstrated the benefits of international bodies working together and with governments to tackle multidimensional problems. In this case, UNICEF, FAO, and USAID shared the burden. Reliance on external aid had been minimal but crucial. Initial costs were low, which gave much more promise that they could be easily replicated in other regions of the country.

At the Executive Board session in 1985 there was total agreement that self-sufficiency in food had an extremely high priority, especially in Africa, and that women were major elements in solving some of the continent's food problems. 95/ UNICEF was encouraged to continue providing seeds and equipment for community market gardens, training women in agricultural techniques and management skills, and providing livestock, grinding mills or fish-drying equipment - all areas in which UNICEF assisted not only African countries but others around the world as well. Sometimes the initiative for the request came from governments, sometimes from NGOs and sometimes as a result of advocacy on the part of UNICEF field staff.

Drought is still a stark word that indicates a time of suffering which invariably strikes hardest at women and children. Famine is the dreaded word that follows immediately after drought.

Africa has continued to be the major victim, with 19 countries severely affected. The gravity of the situation truly struck home to the world near the end of 1984, though it was building up before that. The desperation of a mother trying to take care of her children, and ultimately, her resignation at a death that was often inevitable demanded the utmost of UNICEF and every other United Nations body and organization in helping governments. Health supplies and food were part of UNICEF's contribution. Its experience as a former emergency agency stood it and the women and children it served in good stead.

By 1986, the drought was passing -- had passed in some countries, but as every donor and nation has realized, the rehabilitation of agriculture will be one of the critical, long-term tasks each country will have to undertake and each donor or adviser support. Providing food for its people has become each country's highest priority. Cash crops cannot be eliminated, but the family food production, that 80 percent of the time is in the hands of women, has to be carefully nurtured and improved. Can a stronger case be made for

recognizing the role of women in food security, and acting immediately to give them all the support they need - national policies, budget allocation for training, credit, technology, and extension advisory services? The farmer and her family can't wait too long.

At the time of the United Nations Special Meeting on the Critical Situation in Africa, which was held in May 1986, a concurrent NGO session was convened with the express purpose of planning for "Food Security: The African Woman Farmer" and to lobby the mostly male UN session to focus on women as central to the development process - particularly the food situation. In doing so, the 100 NGOs present urged that several actions be taken. Among them were:

- Involve women in decision-making, planning, implementation and evaluation and incorporate their skills into development programmes.

- Provide grass-roots organizations with financial and technical support and adequate infrastructures.

- Lessen the burden and reduce the number of chores undertaken by women through the provision of:
  a) Safe water within easy reach
  b) Afforestation, fuel saving stoves
  c) Community child care services
  d) Health, maternity care and family planning services
- Improve food production, processing, storage, marketing by ensuring women's access to credit, land, appropriate technology, transportation and extension services. 96/

This May 1986 NGO session was sponsored by the Church Women United and 25 other NGOs, UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), United Nations NGO Liaison Service, United Nations Department of Public Information-NGO Section and 25 other NGOs.

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Women and food self-sufficiency

From 1982 and onward, the downturn in economic development possibilities wreaked havoc on plans, and implementation of plans, for development in the Third World. UNICEF, among others, began to search for low-cost measures in order to be able to continue to respond to the needs of women and children. The cost of surviving in the developing world was soaring. One UNICEF country report said:

> "A 17 percent increase in rice prices in May 1981 was followed by their doubling in May 1982 along with substantial increases in the prices of other foodstuffs and fuel. Surveys suggest that 'traditional' (i.e. poor) households suffer proportionately greater than 'modern' households." 97/

In addition to indicating a need for more UNICEF assistance, it was also a demonstration that self-sufficiency was even more important than ever. "Self-sufficiency in food" was probably the first priority, but of equal importance was "self-sufficiency in income in order to be able to buy food" and other necessities and ensure good health.

One concentrated measure was, and is, the Joint WHO/UNICEF Nutrition Support Programme, 1982-1986, with funding of $85.3 million from the government of Italy. The purpose was to provide an integrated attack on nutrition-related problems, stimulate low-cost social and health measures, reduce young child mortality and morbidity, and improve maternal nutrition. Overall, the goal was to increase a country's long-term capacity to meet its nutritional needs, leaning heavily on nutrition education and strong community involvement but presenting a multisectoral orientation. The fields receiving the most attention were:

a) weaning practices and weaning foods;
b) rehydration treatment of diarrhoea;
c) extension of immunization (EPI);
d) community-based day care;
e) household technology for reducing women's work and improving family food production and storage;
f) access of low-income families to food for young children.

UNICEF in the Eastern and Southern Africa Region is focusing a great deal of its programming efforts on just that critical area - household food security. projects are under way in almost every country in the region to help avoid another similar catastrophe and cooperate on the rehabilitation of those who had been afflicted. In Kenya, groups of women in drought areas are operating seed farms both for cultivation and for sale. Women peasant associations around Mozambique now have access to better tools, technology and credit. Better technology for food processing is being explored in Lesotho and in the form of grinding mills as in Tanzania or through improved fish-smoking techniques learned by Kenyan women from their West African sisters during the Nairobi Women's Conference. Women are the centerpiece. 98/

At the end of its first full year of operation in 1983, four countries had worked out and begun programmes, and another twelve had plans prepared for the next year, all with a focus on primary health care (where women are key players), child growth monitoring, education in formal and non-formal settings. Specifically, Tanzania had looked at food storage, small-scale food processing and preservation and low-cost technology to reduce the work-load of women. Since women are largely responsible for all actions dealing with food, their involvement will be critical to the ultimate results. Burma, in its future plans was aiming to improve nutrition of pregnant women and children under three, using midwives as educators and counselors among other means.99/

There is no question but that the food crisis in drought-stricken areas of so much of Africa has spotlighted the primary role of women in food production while rekindling awareness that women are also prime victims in times of food

scarcity. UNICEF has responded jointly with governments by strengthening women's food production capacity through access to improved agricultural techniques in Zimbabwe; provided seeds and equipment for community market gardens in Mauritania and Senegal; supported vegetable gardens to rehabilitate malnourished children and provide health and nutrition education to mothers in Botswana and trained women in agricultural techniques and management skills, including marketing, storage and preservation of foods in Senegal. 100/

Women's involvement in planning and implementation will be a crucial factor in the success of national efforts. It is to be hoped that the lesson has been learned. Remembering that the farmer in most of the Third World is a woman and a key player should help in attaining a breakthrough in providing food security. That fact should be kept very much in the forefront at all times in looking at nutrition needs of a country or population - especially the very young. UNICEF support for local and home food production and the local production of weaning foods which could improve the availability of food for the young child continues in Bangladesh, Botswana, Burma, the Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Jamaica, Sao Tome and Principe, Somalia, Swaziland, Thailand and Zaire. Food needs world-wide are a perpetual concern. 101/

At a joint meeting of UNICEF and the World Food Programme (WFP) secretariats in November 1985, the interdependence of children's well-being and the availability of productive resources for women was emphasized. It was also agreed that a greater understanding of the interrelation between women's productive and reproductive roles, and the various uses of food aid in supporting those roles should be publicized through the dissemination of appropriate guidelines and information.

In India, as part of the Integrated Child Development Services, support is given to income-generating activities and local food production through a community-based (participatory) approach. 102/

In 1986, UNICEF cooperation with Africa was extensive, responding to the still dramatic need created by the drought. In Ethiopia, food production was promoted and assisted through cooperatives. In Mozambique it was more extensive, with the provision of tools, seeds, institutional support for child care, etc. A large-scale evaluation was done, and it was found that the nutritional status of women and children in households in active co-operatives was higher (with more food, more income and better health) than those who were in less active co-operatives. 103/

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Half way through the UN Decade for Women - 1980

The first five years of the Decade for Women had had a measurably positive impact on UNICEF. One approach to assisting women and, by extension, their children, had been to add female staff in the field where the programming action initially took place. By 1976, there were regional advisers to focus on programming for women and girls in each of the six regional offices, and female staff were beginning to be present in country offices. There was a

rather delayed appreciation of the fact that women tend to give more attention to women's programmes or to ensure that women's concerns are taken into consideration when planning any activity in education, health, water supply, appropriate technology, income generation and institution building. The "knowledge network" had been established and was serving as a technical resource and mutual support system.

Following the 1980 World Conference, discussed below and by the end of 1984, there was a headquarters post with the title, Senior Policy Specialist, Women's Economic Activities/Basic Services and there were regional advisory posts for women in Latin America, West Africa and the Middle East. The UNICEF India office had a full section to co-ordinate women's programmes; the Indonesian plan of action incorporated women's concerns into all sectoral programming and had a full-time staff member who assisted in programming and monitoring the implementation in all country programmes. Several country offices had a part-time professional post assigned to women's programmes, and individuals who would serve as focal points for women's interests were being posted in more and more UNICEF offices.

Having carried out its global survey on UNICEF programming that affected women, UNICEF came to the 1980 World Conference on Women in Copenhagen and the NGO Forum with much more to say and a heightened awareness of what had been going on; where the weaknesses were, and what could be improved upon. The Review covered UNICEF's progress over the previous years in its view of women and its actions to support them:

- as mothers and managers of their homes where the aim was to reduce infant and maternal mortality, encourage breast-feeding and better nutrition for themselves and their families and to learn how to manage cash or other income wisely.

- as producers and income generators either in subsistence farming or urban marketing and as consumers.

- as heads of households both in rural and urban areas where new social patterns were developing without easy solutions for the problems this created.

- as community participants and as members of local volunteer and self-help organizations.

- as young girls where the goal was to keep them in school and try to change attitudes in order to reduce the negative prejudicial treatment they received within their current families, and likely in their future families

Reports from 102 UNICEF country offices showed that programmes were being supported for women in each of them, with some activities purely for women and some showing women integrated into other programmes. Most of the activities

touched on several aspects of women's lives rather than just on one. Of the programmes reported on:

- 2/3 aimed at improving women's skills (training programmes in health, nutrition, child care, pre-school care, etc.).
- 1/2 broadened women' access to and use of services
- 1/3 provided new services
- 1/3 helped increase income

There were, of course, constraints reported in the replies. These included seven that regrettably could still be listed in 1986. They were:

- Lack of sufficiently trained national personnel and technical expertise to follow through.
- Negative or lukewarm attitudes of government local leaders and even of the beneficiaries themselves.
- Inadequate financial resources.
- Difficulty of coordination between different levels of administration as well as between ministries.
- Women's self-help groups or NGOs not involved as wisely as should have been done.
- Women not really involved in the planning and evaluation.
- Some targeted populations were overlooked such as: women heads of households; nomads; refugees; the urban poor; the refugees in liberation camps, etc.
- Lack of a systematic monitoring system. 104/

The conclusions that emerged from the survey, supported by the Executive Board (which have, in essence, deepened the original guidelines of PRO 42 of January 1979) were that no totally new policy was needed, but that better programming and performance should be encouraged by:

1. Giving recognition to the fact that women are individuals in their own right, are not limited to motherhood or domestic roles but should be seen in the totality of their roles as mothers, wives, economic providers, citizens and leaders at all levels. In the context of that view, UNICEF should also advocate the need to expand shared roles of men in family life.

2. Focusing more narrowly on low-income women and those in disadvantaged groups such as women-headed households, urban migrants, refugees and nomads.

3. Freeing mothers from uncertainty of subsistence-level existence, the cycle of malnutrition, chronic illness and too frequent pregnancies, attacking the spread of venereal disease; and strengthening social support services.

4. Helping to develop income-generating programmes, including training of women in marketable skills and management and making available cash grants for credit schemes. Setting up social support services for

women engaged in income-generating or household food production activities, including literacy programmes, child care and appropriate technology to lighten the time and energy-consuming burden of her daily tasks.

5. Obtaining a strong information base in order to identify the target populations and potential impact of programmes.

6. Supporting individual and organized participation of women as active initiators, leaders and managers in providing basic services.

7. Ensuring more participation of women in planning, implementing and managing programmes as well as more systematic monitoring and evaluation of the impact on women and children of the activities being supported.

8. Collaborating with governments in the eradication of the practice of female circumcision, supporting national initiatives and being aware of cultural and religious sensitivities in this area.

9. Drawing on the interest and experience of NGOs in programmes related to women, children and development.

10. Sustaining among all UNICEF staff a high level of consciousness of the importance of enhancing the situation of low-income, rural and urban women and girls in developing countries.

11. Recruiting more women into the professional staff of UNICEF, especially in senior positions, recognizing also the need for more women from developing countries.

The Executive Board additionally proposed that UNICEF should respond to the multidimensional needs of women in the community and in the family. It further suggested that UNICEF should combine forces with ILO in considering the possibilities of cooperation in programming income-generating activities for women. They also urged that more support be given to NGOs to encourage them in implementing activities in all fields in which they had a mutual concern with UNICEF. Further they proposed that evaluations be done each year in different areas of the impact on women that had resulted from UNICEF participation in various activities, starting with non-formal education followed by nutrition, and appropriate technology. 105/

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Health has many faces and cultural implications

The question of the level of maternal mortality rates is largely unanswered and relatively rarely documented except at the time of hospital deliveries. Still, even some of those data are not regularly reported.

In a WHO document of 1985 it was reported that "It is now known that worldwide at least 500,000 women die each year from causes related to pregnancy and childbirth, the vast majority in developing countries." The report also referred to the fact that in addition there was serious under-reporting, and that as yet there was not the broad statistical coverage for maternal mortality that there was for infants and children, but some country studies show the contrast. For example, there are more maternal deaths in India in a week than in all of Europe in a whole year.

Most of the data are not good indicators since most births are not in hospitals in the developing world, and often those who go to hospitals only try to go because they have complications and are therefore more at risk if they arrive in time. The causes of death listed in the WHO report include the lack of access to maternity services, lack of essential supplies and trained personnel and lack of prenatal care all added to the reproductive factors that can affect the outcome of a pregnancy: age, abortion availability, etc. Add to that the socioeconomic factors about which not much is known. Poverty played a dominant role as an element to be dealt with.

The interregional group meeting in Geneva at WHO recommended:

- Making pre-delivery waiting homes available as is done in Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Malawi and Uganda.
- Making family planning facilities more easily available
- Training traditional birth attendants who are first and often the only care provided to a rural woman.
- Training health centre personnel as well as personnel in referral hospitals.
- Providing supplies for each of the above.
- Focus more research on this health area. 106/

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Female circumcision

Another aspect of health that was of concern to both UNICEF and WHO was related to the practice of circumcising female children.

The eradication of female excision (circumcision), a custom that had been long practiced, began to assume importance in the eyes of many in the late 1970s. UNICEF and WHO, as well as some governments began to recognize that the traditional practice of circumcizing young girls has a direct bearing on the physical and mental well-being of young girls and women. Because of its harmful effects, UNICEF has encouraged, promoted and funded activities to halt the practice, individually or collectively with other United Nations, national and/or private agencies. Studies were undertaken with UNICEF support, as in Somalia, where the Ministry of Health reviewed the medical implications of the practice on young girls, wives and future bearers of children. 107/

The first intergovernmental action that was undertaken was a WHO-sponsored seminar on "Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children," held in Khartoum, Sudan in February 1979. Government officials of several countries where female circumcision is practised - Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Oman, Somalia, the Sudan and Upper Volta - along with high-level experts in health and other areas called for the formulation of national policies, the establishment of national commissions, educational efforts directed toward the general public and educational programmes for community-level practitioners to provide information about the health hazards of the practice. As a result, UNICEF prepared a series of guidelines for its country and regional staff. A booklet in Arabic on infibulation, the most serious type of female circumcision, was distributed in the Sudan to middle-level health and education extension workers.

A further breakthrough occurred later in the year, in December 1979, when representatives of African Governments attending the Regional Preparatory Meeting of the 1980 World Conference of the UN Decade for Women in Lusaka, Zambia, agreed to a resolution condemning the practice of infibulation.

In March 1980, a joint UNICEF/WHO consultation on female circumcision, held in Alexandria, Egypt and led to the formulation of a joint programme of action. The document emphasized that:

a) There was a need to exercise extreme caution on the part of outsiders lest their well-intentioned efforts to help eradicate the operation be construed as interference, leading to a counter-productive reaction. The consensus reached was that work should be undertaken by and through nationals wherever possible, with programmes tailored to each country according to the level of awareness and the type of practice of female circumcision.

b) Female circumcision was a public health problem and could be successfully approached through primary health care with emphasis on multi-sectoral coordination and community participation.

Other recommendations were adopted in Alexandria for WHO/UNICEF initiatives in programmes of cooperation with countries. These involved advocacy; identifying and supporting individuals and organizations with national stature, influence and credibility in the field; incorporating the dangers of female circumcision as a subject into educational and training curricula; fostering action-oriented research on female circumcision; and disseminating the results of successful action and research programmes to further encourage steps for its eradication.

From 1980 onwards, UNICEF continued to strongly support the recommendations coming out of the joint WHO/UNICEF consultation and to encourage its field staff to take appropriate action. The use and publication of educational films, videos, booklets, research studies, surveys, workshops and seminars were promoted and funded by UNICEF in Upper Volta, Senegal, the Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia to create awareness of the dangers of circumcision to women and children.

But by 1982, action against female circumcision slowed considerably in African countries due to other priorities that were seen as more urgent - the drought, famine and wars that threatened national survival and also as a backlash to western public action which had sensationalized the practice of circumcision in the foreign media.

However, in May 1983, a meeting of an NGO Working Group on Female Circumcision took place in Geneva, with UNICEF participation, to review the outcome of a fact finding trip to Africa and the good contacts that had been made with UNICEF offices in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Egypt. The meeting provided a view of the actions pursued and approaches advocated by African women themselves. In Somalia, the Sudan, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, for example, women were organizing themselves to discuss the problem and to formulate their own plans of action. Stronger than ever came the unfavourable response from African participants to the tendency of Western groups and media to sensationalize the issue.

Then in February 1984, the NGO Working Group held a seminar on "Traditional Practices Affecting Women and Children's Health" in Dakar, Senegal with funds and sponsorship by UNICEF and WHO. Representatives came from 20 African countries.

Coming out of all of these meetings was essentially the same wisdom - that all concerned should:

a) recognize cultural sensitivities in designing intervention strategies;
b) place the responsibility of direct action upon Africa and not Western women;
c) use education as a key factor in bringing about attitudinal changes among both men and women;
d) provide social and medical assistance to circumcised women;
e) direct educational programmes to traditional practitioners, circumcisors, community workers, village chiefs, religious leaders and women' associations.

It was also recognized that political action was needed; that pressure should be exerted on individual governments to adopt a clearly stated national policy and set up appropriate strategies to fight the continuation of circumcision; and that the issue should be brought to the attention of the Islamic League and all other conferences where a clear-cut position against the continuation of female circumcision could be publicized. Since support by international and bilateral organizations would continue to be needed, UNICEF, WHO, UNFPA and others were urged to assist in providing technical, financial and research support.

UNICEF has responded in the past and continues to do so. For example: in Somalia, the UNICEF-supported primary health care programme includes education on female circumcision and involves working with the Somali Women's Democratic Organization on actions which can stop the practice. In the Sudan, UNICEF is funding a two-year midwifery training course which provides traditional

midwives (the circumcisors) with an alternative income-earning skill to diminish the need to carry out circumcision for income and prepares them to use their position in the community to discourage the practice of circumcision. In Ethiopia, research to determine the health ramifications is being supported. All of these are national endeavours.

Support was also being provided to the NGO Working Group on Unhealthy Traditional Practices Affecting Women. Chaired by a dedicated Ethiopian woman and with its headquarters now in Dakar, Senegal, the group has established its credibility with governments of several African countries, developed a broad network of national and local women's groups, and developed and distributed educational materials at the local level on the repercussions of female circumcision. 108/

At the NGO Forum in Nairobi, Kenya in July 1985, at the time of the UN Conference on the Decade for Women, the NGO Working Group sponsored several workshops on the theme, "The Health of the African Women," to strengthen the understanding of problems faced by African women and to interpret their approach toward a solution. This approach broadened the network and demonstrated their strategy for success. They continue the very difficult campaign of changing attitudes and UNICEF, together with WHO, continue their support. Together they will foster change.

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Appropriate technology

Mahatma Gandhi was probably the first prominent individual to push for accepting simple technology as the practical, traditional and economical way to go with "technical" development. Therefore, for India in the 1970s, there was no need for a mejor effort to introduce "appropriate technology". It already had status and had been integrated into the daily life of the people - both men and women. In other continents and countries it became a conscious effort.

Fritz Schumacher of the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) made "small", and inexpensive, "beautiful". Organizations and UN agencies began to recognize the possibilities of appropriate technology as a contribution in seeking solutions for development.

Beginning back in 1977 with the establishment by UNICEF of the Karen Demonstration Centre in Nairobi, Kenya, interest in appropriate technology blossomed. It looked like the answer to the obvious need to find ways to relieve women of the enormous physical efforts they had to make to take care of the needs of their children and families. While food preparation and water were among the focal points of appropriate technology development efforts, other aspects of daily life were found to respond to "technological" improvements. Most of the "technical" solutions were already available and could be relatively easily produced locally with some with slight modifications. 109/

In West Africa, Marie Toure N'Gom and Philip Langley surveyed countries of the region for UNICEF and eventually published a book entitled, Technologies Villageoises en Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre (Village Technology in West and Central Africa), so that programmes could be planned with appropriate government bodies to use and even improve upon what was already available in rural areas and to help in setting up support centres.

In Eastern Africa the programme of appropriate technology became a small division in the Regional Office but moved to decentralize through the 19 countries of the region, running country workshops, training and helping individual countries to set up their own centres. Introduction of new devices or techniques were in several cases the stumbling block to wide-scale use of appropriate technologies. In Africa there was some hesitation because of the perception that they were being urged to put up with second-class technologies rather than the latest and possibly the more sophisticated ones.

An assessment of the impact of appropriate technology and future directions the programme might take was carried out in 1981, with the result that most of the activities undertaken directly by UNICEF were turned over to either a Ministry or other appropriate institution for further development, but funds in diminishing amounts continued to be made available for action as a component of Basic Services.

In Bangladesh a survey of technologies which benefited women was also made by Elizabeth O'Kelley and Reneé Gerard for UNICEF. This resulted in what became a popular publication with diagrams and descriptions. Bangladesh continued, with some UNICEF support, to popularize the already available technologies.

In Nepal a national "Stove Project" was developed as an integral part of a forestry programme. Equally, in Guyana, cooperation with the Women's Revolutionary Movement produced an extremely outstanding result. Not only were simple technologies being introduced but an additional positive benefit resulted from the income-generating potential that materialized from producing the items that families were wanting and willing to pay for. However, in 1986, a close scrutiny of the results produced a less optimistic assessment. The novelty had worn off and the market was saturated with the products which the women were able to produce, and the project was not as healthy.

Cooperation with the African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW) in Ethiopia helped interpret the potential of appropriate technology to many of the African states and put a focus on the potential of labor-saving technologies combined with income-generation as an important contribution to supporting development actions.

In preparation for the country programme of Thailand, 1982-1986, UNICEF assisted the Government to set up an exhibit on Village-level Technology for Better Life and Higher Income, on the occasion of an international conference on handicrafts held in Bangkok. In Indonesia UNICEF and the government are using the Appropriate Technology concept and its application as an entry point for encouraging comprehensive integrated community development. 110/

In 1983 (with the African drought in full sway), it was evident that firewood, as well as food, was certainly deficient and the situation was growing worse. UNICEF published a report on "UNICEF and the Household Fuel Crisis." Programmes were developed to try to combat the situation; such as development of fuel-efficient cookstoves in 24 countries; biogas generators were financed, and for a longer lasting solution, the planting of community woodlots. 111/ Similar activities were also the focus of the UN Voluntary Fund for Women (now called the UN Development Fund for Women - UNIFEM) in West Africa.

By 1985, more than 60 countries had some appropriate technology activities and in some of those countries - Chile, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Nepal and Senegal - they were extensive. Water, fuel for energy, the food cycle and health absorbed most of the attention. Although evaluation systems have grown and been more extensively used in recent years, a system for testing the impact on women of appropriate technologies has yet to be developed and used. 112/

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Water and women

Women have always been seen as the beneficiaries of the installation of water pumps and improvement of water supplies but not as individuals who should be involved in the planning of projects. They did indeed benefit from the very active role that UNICEF had played over the years in solving the problem of safe water, and they were grateful, but, as was being discovered, they were also anxious to play an active role in the projects.

Held in Mar del Plata, Argentina in 1977, the UN Water Conference was not as notable as other world conferences in pointing up the close relationship of water and sanitation to women. However, the actual lack of water around the world stimulated the United Nations to declare 1981-1990 the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade - an action which was to change much of that point of view about women.

For many years UNICEF had been increasing its concern that safe drinking water be as widely available as possible. That meant supplying pumps, providing equipment to dig wells and expertise in training men to maintain them. But once over the hurdle of sinking as many wells as available funds could provide, other aspects of water supply began to assume more importance. Sanitation, maintenance of simple equipment, health education about the protection of water supplies, and the participation of women began to be included.

To demonstrate how eager and useful women could be in planning and implementing water activities, one could look also at the unique programme that quite coincidentally started unrolling in 1977. Not only did it turn the spotlight on women, but it also showed the initiative and creativity of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The UNICEF NGO Committee in New York was searching for a practical demonstration of the power of NGOs when they

joined forces on a project. Kenya looked like a fertile field for experimentation. Its history of active NGOs and having a UNICEF Women's Programme Officer on the spot were the deciding factors. With no helpful guidelines to steer them but with determination to show their abilities, the Kenya NGOs, after considerable negotiations and discussions, launched a country-wide programme with each NGO contributing its special abilities. Another factor that had not been considered but which turned out to be crucial, was the wise leadership that was provided by the chairman, Eddah Gachukia, then Chair of the National Council of Women and in 1985 the chair of the Kenya NGO Organizing Committee for the NGO Forum. The Kenya NGOs wanted to find the specific interest that would involve all of them. It was a time of serious drought, and though they contemplated health, agriculture, income generation and other needs, they unanimously agreed to tackle the most urgent need, WATER.

Thus was born the "UNICEF/NGO Water for Health" programme. It was a "noted" project which eventually received more than adequate funds, not only from international donors but from the Kenya NGOs. It grew, almost like a weed. There were difficulties, of course - coordination of 30 or so NGOs, management of more than a token income and spending it through an infinite variety of bodies, staffing, etc., all contributed to the complexity of the project. It survived, but not without its traumas. In 1986, it became a national NGO in its own right and had a loose attachment to other NGOs and UNICEF. But it did and does illustrate a way that women can contribute to the solution of problems with which they have decided to deal. 113/

Another example was in Pakistan where, with many pumps in place, a next action was the education of women on the use and protection of water from those new pumps. But in aiming education at women in Pakistan, it became abundantly clear that in that Islamic country, men could not be the educators; it had to be a woman who worked with the women of Pakistan. Thus came another first in UNICEF history when Margarita Cardenas, coming from a distinguished background as Chief of the Sanitation Education Section of the National Health Service in Paraguay, was recruited to work in Pakistan in 1979 on the educational aspects of safe water and sanitation. She set the trend of having men and women trained as sanitation workers. The results were startlingly successful in two ways - sanitation improved and the attitudes of women toward the projects showed marked improvement. 114/ Bangladesh followed suit in 1980, when 600 women from 120 integrated rural development cooperatives completed training as tube-well caretakers. The recognition of women's concerns and the actions taken as a result expanded the efficacy of water projects. 115/

Another major step was the integration of two women into the Water and Environmental and Sanitation Team (WET) of the UNICEF headquarters staff. In 1981 Mrs. Yansheng Ma, a leading member of the All-China Women's Federation, joined the Team, not to look into women's roles in UNICEF-assisted water projects, but to advise on the use of a community participation approach in water projects. She came on the team as the Senior Adviser on Community Participation, at the same time Muriel Glasgow, from Guyana, was recruited as a Programme Officer for Women's Health Education. Women had infiltrated what most people had thought of as the realm of men only - engineers and

technicians. UNICEF began advocating the active participation of women in rural water projects. The result was a double benefit. For women: they were relieved of one of their more arduous and time-consuming tasks, fetching water, they were also given a role in providing a basic community need. For the community: it reaped the reward of having a number of dedicated workers who benefited as they contributed. Unfortunately, the two posts were eliminated once Ms. Ma retired and Ms. Glasgow moved to a field position.[116/]

In connection with the Water Decade, the United Nations set up a Steering Committee to co-ordinate UN and other inputs and to oversee progress in programming. Acknowledging how intimately women were affected by water supply problems and responding to a recommendation that had come out of the UN Decade for Women's Conference in 1980 which had urged that women be involved in planning and implementing water supply projects, the Steering Committee moved rapidly to set up an Interagency Task Force on Women and Water which was co-chaired by UNICEF (Mrs. Ma) and INSTRAW (Mrs. Dunja Pastizzi-Ferencic, the Chief of INSTRAW). [117/] UNDP had also taken the important decision to set up an entire Section on Women and Water. This was mainly to manage an inter-regional project, covering several countries, for the promotion of women's role, including training, in water and sanitation programmes. Funded with grants from the Norwegian Government, several of these programmes were also UNICEF-assisted. The UNDP project thus was built into, and strongly reinforced some already ongoing actions. Sarah Timpson managed the project through the end of 1986 when Siri Melchior took over.

Women have gone from strength to strength, and the idea of women's involvement in water projects, both in the planning and implementation, is no longer a passing dream but an acted-upon reality and an understanding that is deeply imbedded in programming objectives. Such actions over a very brief period of time measure how far women have progressed and demonstrate that much more than token gestures toward the integration of women in programming have been made by the United Nations for the two Decades - one for Women and one for Water.

The terms of reference of the Task Force required it to take action during the Water Decade to "enhance women's participation and optimize the impact of improved water supply on women" and urged that: "a) a joint strategy be developed; b) collaboration be strengthened among UN agencies and; c) standard evaluation and monitoring systems be set up and used." A Plan of Action for the Task Force was drawn up to accomplish these tasks and "Strategies for Enhancing Women's Participation in Water Supply and Sanitation Activities" was issued in December 1983 covering both national and international action in the fields of planning, programming, education, health, technology, training, communications, and technical assistance.

UNICEF, along with the other UN agencies, submitted information regarding the actions it was planning to undertake in promoting women's involvement in water and sanitation. These actions included: 1) the preparation of guidelines for programming health education components for water and sanitation programmes in the context of child survival and development . A working group met in March 1985 and produced the guidelines which have been sent out to some countries for field testing; 2) studies to find out what difference it makes when women

have been involved in the various phases of the programme; 3) case studies of functioning projects and support for projects involving women. One example is the cooperative support being provided to Sri Lanka by UNICEF and UNDP. In August 1986 a consultant took a look at the progress being made, and reported that the programme was proceeding as planned.

In the 1984-86 Work Plan for all agencies on the Task Force, there was a considerable amount of activity reported as being planned by UNDP, WHO, IBRD, and the UN Department of Technical Co-operation for Development (DTCD), but there was much less reported that demonstrated the concrete, on-going action being taken in specific projects by UNICEF. 118/

However, since the Plan was issued, UNICEF, Austria and the Arussi Rural Development Unit of Ethiopia and the community itself, with women laying down the pipeline and maintaining it, brought water from five springs about five kilometers away, to the small town of Abomssa. As one woman said, "I always thought this was a man's job. Now I find it quite manageable." And in Andhra Pradesh in India, between 1983 and June 1986, 1,185 volunteer women hand pump caretakers were trained to take the simple steps that were necessary to maintain the pumps in working order, or to call for help if repairs were needed. There are more to come. A systematic assessment will be made in order to compare their performance with that of the male caretakers. Incorporating women into projects often provided stimulation for more action and attention by the community. 119/

And, as Her Excellency Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway, and Chairman of the World Commission on Environment and Development wrote in December 1986, "Experience shows that, when maintenance is entrusted to women, the results are more satisfactory! In order to improve maintenance, the community and especially women must fully participate." 120/

In 1986, UNICEF's Executive Director, James P. Grant reported that the development and management of 73 water supply and sanitation programmes using community participation as an entry point showed a definite trend in several countries toward women's involvement which had become the centre-piece of that participatory approach. Water supply and sanitation committees composed of both sexes formed the administrative unit in many villages. 121/

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Non-formal education - attacking another problem

In the "Assessment of UNICEF Policies in Education", completed in 1980, it was reported that in 1975 UNICEF's financial commitment to non-formal education had been $3.5 million, but that it had doubled to $7 million by 1979 and within that same period expenditures for women's education and training had increased nearly 5 times. This did not include inputs to other programme training categories such as health, pump operators, etc., which might also have included some women. 122/

If education is the key that unlocks the door of opportunity, then women still have a long wait for its benefits. The proportion of women among illiterates continued to grow in spite of all efforts, enrolment figures for girls in primary schools of the developing world were still markedly lower than boys, and the dropout rates for girls were disheartening. Progress had indeed been made, more in some countries than in others, but the battle was not over even though many countries allocated exceedingly large proportions of their national budgets to education. For this reason the need for non-formal, or out-of-school education was evident in order to reach the extremely high proportion of the population in the developing world who had not or could not take advantage of formal schooling. 123/

In 1982, the high dropout rates and high adult illiteracy (especially among women) were still serious problems, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. Illiteracy among women in many countries was still more than 90 percent. UNESCO and UNICEF joined forces in April 1982 and set up a working group which aimed at the attainment of universal literacy and universal primary education. Tasks included finding technical and financial support for national plans and programmes which would open up general basic education opportunities for all. The programme would concentrate on a limited number of countries in the beginning in order to test the procedures which would be used. 124/

Formal and non-formal education were increasingly interrelated, especially for women and girls. The link between female literacy and the use of health and social services was more and more being recognized and reinforced. Health education, child care, nutrition (for mother and child) and income-earning skills were and are curricula that responded to the needs of more than 50 percent of the population. Both school-centered basic education and non-school centered (adult and non-formal) education needed to seriously examine content and methodology and were encouraged and supported by UNICEF to do so. The implication was that girls should not always be streamed into home economics and boys into manual training or other areas that were presumed to be of interest either to girls or to boys; rather there should be exploration of the the long-term needs of both the sexes, which require skills that would assist them in earning money.

In Zimbabwe, non-formal education included training that responsed to the daily needs of women, such as child care, health, nutrition and literacy. Run by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs jointly with the national adult literacy organization, the programme had a specialized content, but the setting, methodology and overall objective were aimed at stimulating community participation and responsibility.

Peru tied the formal and non-formal education together for slum dwellers in Lima and added health education to training in income-generating skills, considering that the two were equally essential.

In Ethiopia, 10,000 women attended "leadership training" courses to prepare them to help organize community development and self-help projects. UNICEF also supported the production and distribution of post-literacy reading materials in several regional languages. Help was also given to setting up more than 200 basic education centres organized by farmers' associations among the disadvantaged population in settlements and remote areas. This project illustrates again UNICEF's supportive response to innovative, locally born ideas. A special gift of UNICEF.

In Thailand, leadership training was considered essential for women if they were to contribute to the development of their communities. Some 1,060 women were trained in community leadership. That led to a noticeably increased participation of women in community planning and, one would assume, to more direct involvement in the implementation of projects they themselves considered necessary. 125/

The lack of women teachers in many countries continued to be a serious impediment to adequate learning opportunities for girls. Nepal and UNICEF may have found the key that unlocks that education door. The Ministry of Education and Culture with cooperation from UNICEF launched a new 15-year campaign to be completed in 1997/98 to eliminate the enormous constraints to education for girls. Begun originally in 1971 with UNICEF cooperation and some additional help in the construction of girls' hostels by NORAD (Norwegian Technical Assistance Department), UNESCO, and UNDP, the Equal Access of Women to Education Programme (EAWEP) was begun. With much success behind it, the pace was stepped up in 1983 in the hope that there would be equity by the school year 1997/98. The programme started by attacking one of the most critical obstacles, the simple assurance of attendance at school. By making sure that girls in outlying, remote areas could enter and complete secondary school, a big first step would be guaranteed. In order to do this, housing for girls and teachers and their running costs were critical.

The Nepali culture overprotected girls so that, in the first place an effort was made to persuade parents to let their daughters go to school. UNICEF has assisted with the costs taken on by the government of recruiting girls to come to teacher-training schools, funding teams of recruiters to travel around the country to talk to parents and girls. Producing brochures, setting up seminars and preparing radio spots were other persuasion techniques that were also used. UNICEF also provided stipends for the maintenance of the girls in hostels once recruited. The costs for running refresher courses for the young teachers who have passed the earlier courses at the teacher training schools; furniture and equipment for girls' hostels on five teacher-training school campuses; and "feeder" hostels for girls in secondary schools, all are included in UNICEF support. Financial support was needed so that girls in secondary schools would have a parentally approved place to live and could complete that level of their education. And for the more disadvantaged and remote groups, help had to begin at the primary school level. Support in

establishing a Women's Education Unit in the Ministry of Education was another crucial decision that had a positive effect. 126/

As of 1986, primary enrolment of girls in Nepal was at 29 percent of total enrolment and female literacy stood at 6 percent. It may not sound like much progress, but initiating and expanding education is a long-term, determined effort that must be made by all and demands considerable political will on the part of governments. For example,with financial and technical encouragement from UNICEF, Nepal has made its political decision to bring more girls into the educational system but has a considerable distance to go yet to see dramatic results. 127/

Coming out of 1983 country reports on progress in educational activities which had been carried out in the late 1970s and early 1980s was the tacit agreement that the education of mothers was still one of the critical determinants of child health and development. Studies that were undertaken in 15 countries provided positive confirmation that the higher a mother's level of education the better the possibility was of having a healthy child and that infant mortality and birth rates would be lower. With all of this, female literacy was still low in many countries. Almost half of all women over 15 years of age in the developing world were illiterate. In addition, there were probably many who dropped out of school early and lost their literacy by having no further stimulus once out of the third or fourth year of schooling. 128/

Literacy was still high on the list of needs of rural and poor urban women, but it was fast being recognized that its value was greater if it was an integral part of learning other skills which could be put to use immediately to improve the quality of life of families and children. Often, learning income-generating skills only produced long-term benefits if a literacy and numeracy element were attached. Writing and bookkeeping were essential skills needed in setting up small businesses but were abilities which came through learning that didn't necessarily require 12 years of formal schooling. It could be called non-formal or it could be called semi-vocational but the ultimate goal of much of the learning for women and girls was to be able to find ways to earn income - cash usually - in order to meet the daily requirements of food, clothing, shelter and good health.

Non-formal education at post-literacy levels, usually consisted of teaching skills along with other basic knowledge. In Somalia, 350 women in refugee camps had an opportunity to learn about health, hygiene, child care, nutrition and some handicraft. In Honduras it was agriculture. In Guyana, it included how to do surveys, training, and production for sale of appropriate technology items that had often been developed by the women themselves. The demonstration of their success was their presentation at the UN Mid-Decade Conference for Women in Copenhagen in 1980 of the articles they had produced and how to use them. It was one of the most popular demonstrations at the conference, especially for the Third World women. 129/

By 1985, UNICEF support of education was becoming ever more important. Founded on the premise that basic education was the birthright of every child and the recognition that relevant basic education, particularly of women, was

the foundation for sustained improvement of the health and well-being of children and their families, the rationale for basic education has become even more appropriate with the passage of time. The Child Survival and Development goals and the global acceleration of immunization added a special urgency to those programming and advocacy efforts. 130/

With a view to analysing constraints and exploring options in promoting basic educational opportunities for women, in 1986 UNICEF joined an informal forum of international and bilateral agencies and foundations known as the International Working Group on Education (IWGE). UNICEF now serves as the focal point on female education and literacy. 131/

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Strengthening income-generating activities - an attack on poverty

Activities that could produce income for women kept surfacing in proposals coming from the field. The 1977 Executive Board meeting in Manila gave a somewhat reluctant approval to out-and-out income-generating projects but urged that UNICEF emphasize "activities including training in various skills which have the potential of improving levels of living and increasing family income, as well as helping women play a more responsible role in community life." 132/

They supported the concern of staff to respond to the needs of the ever increasing numbers of women who were heads of households and were most urgently in need of income to support their families. Some estimates placed the number of female-headed households at 18% in developing countries with much higher levels in some regions of the world. Several approaches were possible and were already being supported somewhat haphazardly: alleviating the burden of a woman's multiple household tasks (providing wells so that there would be water nearby, planting trees which could be used in the future for firewood, grinding mills, etc.), improving a woman's education, starting with literacy for the mature woman and out-of-school girls and including special attention to keep young girls in primary school, advice on spacing of children, day-care services. In essence UNICEF was beginning to develop a package of services for women with income generation as an integral element. This demonstration of responsiveness to expressed needs received full Board endorsement in 1979. 133/

One example of programming for women came from Morocco, where UNICEF had cooperated with "Promotion Feminine" since 1973. Although in the beginning the "foyers feminins" (women's centres) had carried out the typical home economics programmes of earlier times, by 1977, after an evaluation of results, family planning, agriculture, farming (in rural areas), typing and even accounting had been added to the curriculum. The additions injected more dynamism into adult education and aimed at giving girls and some older women the necessary tools for becoming productive, knowledgeable citizens and not just housewives. 134/ What a revolutionary thought and action!

In Tunisia, UNICEF helped set up a pre-vocational training centre for girls and women.

In Kenya, UNICEF assistance went to Village Polytechnics that were training not only boys, but young women too, in skills that would be needed to make them economically productive in their own rural communities. In Asia and Latin America possibly.

Coming out of the studies and reviews of the situation of women in 1979 and 1980, it became clearer what needed to be done to improve programming of ongoing basic service projects which had components of a traditional nature addressed to women. Programmes should be modified to respond to the actual situation of women and UNICEF needed to venture more firmly into new fields in the future - more focus on income-earning activities, active planning for management training of women to benefit not only their economic activities but improve their ability to participate in and contribute to village affairs. UNICEF needed to plan in a more structured way for the integration of a women and girls component in their regular programming. They also needed to continue to undertake women-specific programmes where appropriate. 135/

The UNICEF Executive Board expressed itself most positively at its May 1980 session, when delegations agreed that a woman who was economically responsible for the family should be a special "focus of attention" and that since her situation as head of a household was a complex one involving many roles, UNICEF should try to respond to her various needs. 136/ That meant training for various income-generating skills and support in their use, such as credit schemes, marketing, child-care arrangements and appropriate technology. It was suggested that UNICEF focus on women in agriculture, livestock raising, fishing and small-scale manufacturing of consumer goods. And, why not dovetail income-generating activities into the other fields that concerned UNICEF and countries, such as education and health? That would be the realistic way to respond to the situation of women whose lives could not be neatly compartmentalized and whose responsibilities all had to be merged into the variety of needs of their families. The total result was what was important. Such a situation spoke loudly for involving women in the planning, implementation and assessment of programmes. It also became clearer to UNICEF that it was time to begin carrying out more assessments of ongoing programmes to see what kinds of adjustments could be worked out and also sharing experiences with other UN organizations which were also supporting income-generating activities (ILO being the most prominent).

Vocational training, one kind of first step to help girls prepare for economic activities, was playing its part in the Syrian Arab Republic, where, with assistance from UNICEF, special schools were set up for girls. Syrian men were migrating to oil-rich and industrialized countries to seek work, and it was becoming essential for women to take on some of the jobs that would normally have been done by men. Necessity is indeed the mother of invention. Lesotho, which had the highest percentage in Africa of its men employed outside the country - in the Republic of South Africa - also had the highest literacy rate for women of any African country - 67.6 percent in 1966 (the latest figure available in 1979) as against 44 percent for the men.

In 1980, women in 85 villages in Thailand started raising livestock and producing local foods such as soya milk and a high-protein mix of rice, sesame seeds and soya beans as a weaning food. In Bangladesh it was jute and cane work, fishnet making, kitchen gardens, and raising livestock plus training in appropriate technology. Training 19,645 traditional birth attendants to provide a badly needed service had also the serendipitous result of improving their income-generating skills and status in the community. In the Sudan, training was primarily in sewing, home economics, toy making and a variety of handicrafts. 137/ Traditions die hard, and though they appeared to have little income-generating capacity, the teaching of sewing, knitting, and handicrafts continued to flourish. Part of the reason may be that, since those were the skills that had been imparted to the instructors earlier on, extra efforts were needed and more money invested if the instructors had to be retrained in additional skills. For girls, the skills of sewing and knitting had brought status and even, perhaps, a wider choice of a husband. Other skills needed time to gain status and usually there had to be some expressed or at least evident desire or receptivity for specific kinds of training. Participation by the ultimate consumer in the planning could generate the changes that might be desired but unexpressed.

The reality in 1981 and 1982 was that governments still gave low priority to women's concerns - an attitude that changes at a snail's pace. Activities which would generate income were still marginal, and were not viewed as productive investments or even cost-effective welfare expenditures. Too often projects for women were also marginal and not part of national development projects or were allocated to a Ministry of Social Welfare, which usually had the least amount of clout and the most fragile budget. 138/ UNICEF advocacy was and is one of the critical elements in promoting a change in that point of view. UNICEF, itself, is increasingly taking a more rigorous approach to income-generating activities based on a flexible measurement and cost-benefit analysis.

The issue of women's work assumed particular significance to UNICEF for two reasons: first, the changing economic responsibilities of women in many homes made working a matter of survival for families; dependence on wages and the cash economy was increasing, particularly with the decline of traditional support systems; and the significant increase in households headed by women. Second, there was evidence that women's work status and earning capacity were associated with family well-being, as reflected and measured in children's improved nutritional status. Add to that the practice that has been documented that women use their earnings to obtain food and shelter for their families rather than consumer goods.

More and more UNICEF has given greater attention to a particular target population - poor women. Promoting women's participation in economic activities became part of the regular programming content. Depending upon the receptiveness of the country and the persuasiveness of UNICEF staff, more and more projects have been mutually supported. Often, in the initial stages of experimentation, economic activities have been too small scale, too often handicraft (a frequent dead end for expansion) and marginal to the mainstream

of the industrial and agricultural economy. But food processing and agricultural production projects, which had been assisted in some few instances, seemed to have the most potential for expansion. 139/

In analyzing the UNICEF country annual reports for 1982, Nadia H. Youssef, the Senior Policy Specialist, Women's Economic Activities and Basic Services (as of October 1986 titled Senior Policy Specialist, Development Activities for Women), noted that there was still ambivalence within UNICEF as to how to define and approach women's economic role and incorporate it into regular programming and advocacy. Though awareness was growing of the need to support these activities as part of basic services and to augment the potential for the healthy survival of the child and the family, directives were needed to legitimize this as an area of programme concern and to avoid inconsistency in programming. Yes, UNICEF was a development agency, not a welfare one, but how to apply that policy appropriately to programming for women and in a manner that took economic programming seriously continued to raise questions. 140/

Basic to most income-generating activities, if they were to be viable endeavours, was access to credit and training in entrepreneurial skills. A few countries had ventured into this new field along with UNICEF. For example: in Honduras, UNICEF financed a project officer post in the Regional Central American Bank for Economic Integration in order to help strengthen the Bank's social sector programming. Some funds were also made available to establish a guarantee for loans to support economic enterprises initiated by and for women. Following that apparently successful effort, the Bank endorsed activities for women and youth as its priority area in social sector programming; in Bangladesh, UNICEF supported the Grameen Bank project, which was based on the formation of village-level, cooperative savings and loan groups specifically geared toward the landless people who lacked collateral for securing bank loans. By August 1983 each of its 104 branches had a separate women's group section and 3,000 landless women group leaders had been trained along with 29 groups of female bank workers. Some 58,000 landless women received small loans between 1980 and 1984; the repayment rate was 99 per cent on a total amount loaned of $6.4 million. A good investment by anyone's standards, and an idea that was picked up by Indonesia in 1986.

Often, as had been noted earlier, support for urban projects requested by countries went toward overcoming the poverty of women, as in Costa Rica, where a system of loans and technical assistance was resulting in support for employment and income-generating activities for women in poor urban areas. In Guatemala, UNICEF and a consortium of nine Guatemalan NGOs were working toward support for community-based micro projects not only in income-producing actions but in health and nutrition, training and education and legal aid. Support also went for institution building such as for the Women and Development (WAND) section of the University of the West Indies in Barbados. 141/

The new approach for UNICEF in Nepal was one which demonstrated the critical element that UNICEF's advocacy and programme planning could foster in working toward serving poor rural women. The project is run by the banks with

emphasis on project viability rather than on collateral. Working with banks was not UNICEF's normal or accepted channel for serving the rural poor, but after seeing its practical, positive results, decided that the institutionalization of such an approach could serve one of UNICEF's target populations, women. In Nepal, UNICEF, the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development, the Central Bank and Dutch and American volunteer service agencies joined forces to solve a problem of credit for local initiatives taken by women. The Ministry created the Women's Development Section and new posts for Women's Development Officers (WDOs). These officers were assigned to act as extension workers with branches of two commercial banks to work with low-income families to determine the viability of projects that they wanted to undertake. It demands intensive work with families, community development skills and a good knowledge of lending procedures. The WDO, using all these skills, helps organize women's credit groups, which can get loans for the group or for individual members of the group with the group guarantee. Bank personnel have been trained together with the WDO, so that they operate as a team. The value of the project is evidenced by its growth. It started in 5 branches of the Bank in 1983, 6 more were added in 1984 and by 1986 the number had gone up to 120.

The important thing is that it appears to be working. And, while it focuses on income-generating activities, much of the income goes right back into community ventures. Literacy classes for women rank highest in interest (understandable since 95 percent of the women in Nepal are illiterate); followed by improving existing drinking water systems or the construction of new ones; procuring or building improved stoves; planting trees; veterinary and agricultural training; latrine construction and on one occasion, even a water wheel. Loans aren't necessary for all of these types of projects, but once a cohesive community action group is formed it shows what can be accomplished. 142/

As Mrs. Aner, a Member of Parliament from Sweden and member of the Swedish National Committee of UNICEF said after her participation in a visit by the UNICEF Committee of Sweden to Nepal in January 1984, "It is impossible to change the economic stature of women without changing the whole social and familial network surrounding them. An impressive result and with more to come, it will positively affect not just the women but the entire community." 143/

UNICEF joined with the Department of Social Affairs and the Department of Education and Culture of Indonesia to attack the problem of "Assistance to Underprivileged Families."

Support for setting up, or improving, shops catering to local needs, sewing and some non-welfare-type activities "carry the potential to increase family earning." But, as Nadia Youssef, UNICEF Senior Policy Specialist, Development Activities for Women, pointed out in her "field report" of September 1986, one should know in advance the supply and demand factors in order to be sure that appropriate income-generating activities are undertaken, since not all projects turn out to be successful. What has become evident, is that it is vital to most projects to provide training in how to manage a small business,

market the end products and keep adequate records of costs and sales. The crucial question is not are they (both women and men) busy, but are they making a profit? It was interesting to see that "family-based" activities were more apt to produce a more stable and regular income than "group-based" - a fact that automatically should necessitate the active participation of women.

For the period 1984-1989, an income gneration component has been added to the "Non-Formal Education" programme of Indonesia's Department of Education and Culture - another approach to solving the problem of the high drop-out rate in literacy programmes, which is so often due to poverty. 144/

Though these types of projects may not dominate the UNICEF focus on women, their use at appropriate moments can serve an immediate purpose as well as act as demonstrations to individual countries and other donors of at least partial solutions to the problems of poverty.

:UNICEF/ILO workshop

In an effort to consolidate support within in UNICEF for economic programmes for women, 10 UNICEF staff and 13 ILO staff representing the field and Headquarters met in October 1983 to exchange field experiences in the area in order to identify key elements in successful and unsuccessful projects. The objective was to promote guidelines for field staff and explore ways in which collaboration at the field level could best support economic projects for women that would be economically viable and have the potential to achieve self sufficiency over time.

The two UN bodies approached the subject with a different orientation: ILO examined legislation, enforcing responsibilities and rights of all workers in a social context that included women and men, while UNICEF's concern related to the fact that a woman's earnings were closely linked to the well-being of children. Both, however, agreed that women tend to spend their income more steadily for the family's basic survival.

Problems were identified, not only in countries but within UN bodies as well: negative attitudes toward women by government staff; low priority for access to funds (since most women' programmes are seen as welfare-oriented); competition with men for jobs in the labour market, to say nothing of cultural biases. Some of those same constraints applied to UNICEF, itself, plus the sense of isolation experienced by programme officers dealing with women's programming; lower priority for women's programmes in some UNICEF offices and the difficulty of measuring the impact and justifying continued expenditures. Integration of economic activities into broadly structured development projects was agreed to be one of the soundest and simplest path to follow where feasible.

Examples of field projects which were considered successful were reported by staff from Bangladesh, Burundi, Colombia, and Nepal. Equally, those that were not seen as successful were reviewed by staff from Morocco and Ethiopia.

There was agreement by all that there were areas still to be strengthened, and areas where collaboration would be desirable in order to accomplish:

- training and support for income-generating activities for women;
- facilitating access of women to the mainstream structures, services and institutions;
- strengthening child health/survival components of projects;
- joint studies; production and dissemination of documents on key issues;
- establishing linkage between community-based organizations and women workers' organizations;
- creating awareness in regard to legislation, policies, practices relating to family and work-related concerns for women;
- provision by ILO of technical services in connection with policy formulation, vocational, management and entrepreneurial training and development, co-operative formation, and women's participation in workers' organizations, especially at the grass roots level, maintaining closer liaison in the field for better coordination of programming. 145/

By 1985 considerable progress had been made. At that time, the Board endorsement of economic activities for women, committed UNICEF to focus on income generation as entrepreneurially based programmes to which strict criteria of economic viability should be applied. Such action was an important step in doing away with the welfare approach in programming for women.

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Changes come step by step - the early 1980s

The early 1980s saw the consolidation of the commitment of UNICEF to actions in behalf of women as mothers and in their equally important other roles as members of a community, and often as heads of families. Children cannot be separated from the rest of society any more easily than women, and both benefit or suffer equally with others in their community as "development" fulfills or denies the hoped-for miracles that have been promised for so long. Children are more silent so that the mother must, in most cases, serve as the voice which speaks for herself and her child as well. Unfortunately, women's voices are not easily heard - a situation that UNICEF, in all modesty, was trying to alter. Until someone has proved otherwise, all visible evidence indicates that, as the mother benefits, so proportionately does the child - be it through a woman's education, health, nutrition, income, or improved status in the community that will improve the possibility that her voice will be heard and heeded.

On the same theory that the needs of children and women can not be compartmentalized, it was equally confirmed that projects for women had the best support and results if they were multifunctional or part of integrated, overall development programmes. They needed to be part of approved and supported governmental or NGO structures that could provide continuity.

UNICEF recognized that in its advocacy role in focusing attention on the situation of women and children, giving support to "national machineries" and/or NGOs who could continue the day to day internal monitoring, training, programming was an essential action that needed to be taken. Funds for staff, training, publishing and planning meetings for women's bureaux, departments, division, even ministries, special institutions, organized groups and NGOs (with governmental approval) were made available in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Zaire, and Guatemala to name a few countries. UNICEF's role of advocacy is often crucial in obtaining the agreement of governments that funds should be made available to non-governmental groups. 146/

:Africa

In Africa, assistance continued to be provided to countries and considerably more modestly to the African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW) of the UN Economic Commission for Africa. Other bilateral aid also continued on a diminished scale to the ATRCW, but advocacy continued on all fronts - from UNICEF, from bilateral donors and others that the posts of women in the ATRCW should become regularized and permanent rather than depending exclusively on the availability of extra-budgetary funds. Since the birth of the ATRCW in 1974, ATRCW's Director and all of its professional staff have had to depend on their ability to raise their own budget. That situation says volumes about the UN's attitudes and policies as reflected in the Economic Commission for Africa.

In addition, in West and Central Africa, where women figure prominently in action being planned and taken on social issues, food production and distribution, UNICEF sought to help strengthen local women's groups by improving their capabilities to handle local level actions for, among other things, the provision of basic services and food production. 147/

:Asia

UNICEF cooperation with Area Development Programmes, as in India, was bringing women in on the planning of an integrated economic development project which had inputs in health, education, economic activities, as well as support for the women's groups themselves as part of the implementing team. The advice to include women more basically had been heeded. The results will not be evident tomorrow but will need to be looked at in the long term. Monitoring of results will add to the guidelines for UNICEF cooperation with integrated projects. 148/

In the East Asia and Pakistan Region, in 1983, Thailand, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines and the Republic of Korea, with UNICEF support, are focusing on generating income in order to help women provide basic services for their children. Such activities were augmented with training in nutrition and health, while in Burma, action went toward attacking the continuing problem of female illiteracy. In Vietnam, the cooperation was for training local women cadres in nutrition, child care and organization of development-oriented groups. 149/

:Eastern Mediterranean

The UN World Conference on Women stated that fundamentalism in most religions has had a discriminatory effect on women around the world. To change attitudes toward women is a delicate, sensitive and difficult task. United Nations policy is clear on equality of potential, but finding the means to implement it in some countries is more of a challenge than in others. For example, in 1986 in Egypt the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism is a matter of real concern to secular women. They view the Islamic movement as increasingly jeopardizing the freedoms that Egyptian women have attained in recent years. Urban women have been relatively free to pursue careers and today about 50 percent of Egypt's physicians and 33 percent of university faculty members are women. Secular women say the fundamentalists started by insisting on a return to the traditional attire - the "higab" (the Islamic head covering); and are now pushing to keep women from working outside the home unless "absolutely necessary, and then only in certain fields." In 1985 the government repealed a divorce law (passed under President Sadat) which had enabled a woman to divorce automatically, as Islam allows men to do, if her husband took a second wife . The new measure obliges the wife to prove before a judge that she has been harmed by her husband's second marriage before she can get a divorce. "The men are applying the pressure," Dr. Badran said in an interview, "and the neutral people feel the result." 150/

:Latin America and the Caribbean

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the Regional Programme for Women's Participation in Development shows the long-term commitment to women that UNICEF has demonstrated. In the first phase, from 1976 to 1978, advocacy, data gathering and consciousness raising were the objectives of the project. In the second phase, 1978 through 1983, direct support to Belize, Costa Rica and Honduras, for example, focused on support to income-generating actions in favour of women.

After having examined these two phases and their results at a workshop in Mexico City in 1982, UNICEF staff agreed that some had been successful, as in the programme in Colombia, where the arrangements for credit and training had produced an increase in the standard of living of the participating families. Other results were ineffectual in terms of attaining their goals. More specific criteria were needed before country projects were started; there should be a concentration on a limited number of areas. Methodological

guidelines for incorporating women into rural development were worked out. It was agreed that priority should be given to income-generating activities, usually as a component of basic services, but also as a prime objective, with some supporting services such as education, training, research and monitoring built in according to an overall look at the needs of the specific situation. With each area office having designated a programme officer as a focal point, a regional knowledge and communication network had been established to share information, formulate policy and monitor programmes which had been generated from each area office. Institutionalization helped build strength and permanency.

Cooperation with the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Women (since 1985 designated as the UN Development Fund for Women - UNIFEM), and UNICEF's persistent advocacy with governments plus helping to find "noted" funding showed the benefits of joining forces.

A regional perspective and overview was maintained through having a regional programme officer responsible for women's affairs in the Bogotá Regional Office, although project activities were implemented at the country level. As a result of this consolidation of action and structure, UNICEF staff reported a slow but steady increase in the recognition of the need to give particular attention to women.

In the third phase, 1983 to July 1986, a coherent policy was developed based on two lines of action: a) specific activities for women to be included within UNICEF-assisted basic services programmes, and b) projects promoting economic activities to generate income and employment for women to be implemented. Institutionalization of women's projects has been a major strategy.

In Argentina, women's health workshops were being conducted as part of an urban basic services project. In Costa Rica, it had been support for training and the creation of a federation of 60 dressmaking groups. An urban basic services project in Ecuador had realized a high level of women's participation in its planning and implementation.151/

In October of 1985, a workshop reviewed the experiences of the regional programme and developed a framework for the future to sharpen the strategy for income-generating activities.

The future. In its fourth phase, 1986-1989, the programme is seeking $6,340,000 to consolidate, systematize and replicate successful projects; consolidate a regional network encompassing government, private, bilateral and international agencies; strengthen women-centered components of all programmes; encourage the compilation of more reliable data and information in each country and promote its use in advocacy, planning , statistical reporting, etc.; and in addition, to mount specific country projects in Bolivia, Brazil, the Caribbean and Mexico. 152/

These actions showed an overall sharp increase in support for activities benefiting women in the early 1980s. However, field offices in 1984 continued

to report problems of implementation and management of programmes for women within countries. They attributed this mostly to a lack of technically qualified personnel, lack of supervision and monitoring, the slow release of counterpart (country) funds and declines in community contributions, due to the general economic recession. 153/

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Breast-feeding - education, health and advocacy

Education in diverse forms and shapes - in school, out-of-school, through the media, using advocacy, and passing laws: all have been used by UNICEF, governments and non-governmental organizations to encourage the use of breast-feeding instead of the purchase of substitutes of dubious efficacy. In Thailand, education on breast-feeding is part of all primary health care; a 1982 mass media campaign in Pakistan used pictorial material for their many illiterate mothers, and training kits in Urdu were prepared for their health workers. The media was used extensively in Lebanon, Syria, and Bahrain where infant mortality dropped from 66 per 1000 in 1978 to 35 per 1000 in 1981. UNICEF support showed measurable results. 154/

In 1982, UNICEF also took part in four international and national NGO meetings on infant feeding, which discussed a woman's right to choose the best method for herself in her own special situation - breast or bottle-feeding - but also covered strategies to promote and protect breast-feeding. In the same year, a handbook was developed by WHO and UNICEF on how to conduct baseline surveys of the incidence of breast- or bottle-feeding and its results. Help was provided to Brazil in its massive campaign to encourage mothers to continue breast-feeding. UNICEF, along with many others, continued to monitor the application of the International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes, adopted by the World Health Assembly in 1981. 155/ By 1983, twenty countries had adopted the Code and UNICEF, along with WHO, continued their support in interpreting it and encouraging more countries to take legal action. Public information, increased use of the media, training health workers, and supporting NGOs that were carrying out action programmes were the thrusts of both UNICEF and WHO. Monitoring of the Code continues energetically to this day. 156/ Positive support in helping mothers provide safe, locally-made, or, even home-produced weaning foods, in addition to breast milk, have been equally important components of UNICEF support. 157/

Employed mothers have the most difficulty in continuing to breast-feed. In 1986, reports from field staff worried about a dangerous decline in breast-feeding in urban areas was a warning sign to UNICEF that more attention should be paid to this group of women. The government of Sri Lanka had recognized this and in 1985 doubled the period of maternity leave to three months. The Peoples' Republic of China also provided extended maternity leave time for new mothers and most of the large working places established industry-financed nurseries for new infants where the mother can come after taking some time off from work to breast-feed her child.

In Ethiopia, an interesting initiative was taken by three women producers' cooperatives, which decided to give work credits for the time taken by the mothers to breast-feed their children.

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Views of women continue to change and broaden

By 1984, an examination of the content of those programmes listed as women's activities showed that there was much more appreciation of the multiple roles of women in daily life and that support from UNICEF was going to actions on a considerably wider front. The "situation analyses and assessments" for Burma, Ethiopia, India and Oman had included women's concerns. Today one says "But of course." But there is indeed a different attitude in both UNICEF and governments now than the one that existed 40 years earlier - even 20 years ago. It was a major step forward - a quantum leap from 1946. More attention was being paid to women's responsibilities and skills in agriculture. UNICEF responded and provided inputs for the production of food in Egypt, Korea and Suriname and catering or preparing food for workers in Ethiopia and Swaziland. 158/

In most cases, it was becoming clear that to be successful, the programmes had to be a happy marriage between what were not just a woman's needs but what were seen by her to be those of the family - food security and cash income. The direction for the future was becoming more specific and sharper.

The same could be said of the UN International Conference on Population, held in Mexico City in August, 1984, which had originally, at the first International Conference in Bucharest in 1974, incorporated the needs of women in their Plan of Action and set the stage for some of the elements that appeared in the Plan of Action coming out of the International Women's Year Conference of 1975. Again, the 1984 Conference highlighted the critical role women play in all phases of economic and social existence and expanded its concern, by insisting that women should be active in developing population policy and implementation of programmes. The Conference produced resolutions asking governments "to remove institutional and cultural barriers to women's education, employment and access to health care and to provide remedial measures, including mass education programmes, to assist women in attaining equality with men in the social, political and economic life of their countries."

Further, it was urged that "Governments should take the initiative in removing any existing barriers to the realization of the right to work and should create opportunities and conditions such that activities outside the home can be combined with child-rearing and household activities."

Governments were also encouraged "to provide women, through education, training and employment, with opportunities for personal fulfilment in familial and non-familial roles, as well as for full participation in economic, social and cultural life, while continuing to give support to their important role as mothers" and to make it possible to have the "active

involvement of men in all areas of family responsibility, including family planning, child-rearing and housework so that family responsibilities can be fully shared by both partners." 159/

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Research, evaluation and review

As has been stated over and over, not just for programmes for women, having information upon which to base programming efforts was essential. There was an even greater urgency to collect data, carry out research and have a firm underpinning for action proposed in relation to women. Research was essential, and to meet UNICEF needs had to be as broadly based as possible, geographically and sectorally.

:Actions - 1981-1985

Between 1981 and 1984 action on that front was stepped up considerably. UNICEF supported the following research activities in women-related areas: a) surveys in Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritius, Pakistan, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Yemen and Zimbabwe' among others; b) impact studies in Brazil, Burundi, Colombia, Kenya, Peru and Sri Lanka; c) situation analyses in Indonesia, Malawi, Oman, Somalia, the United Republic of Tanzania' Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Field level evaluation studies of UNICEF-supported programmes for women and of other women-related activities conducted with UNICEF assistance during the same period included: women's roles and situation related to UNICEF programmes for women (Eastern Africa region); participation of women in UNICEF programmes (Haiti); income-generating activities through the provision of skills training for women in the integrated family life education programme (Ethiopia); the training programme of home economists (Ethiopia); UNICEF-assisted women's programmes (Indonesia); the outcome of applying participatory methodologies to a basic services programme (Mexico); youth training centres (the Sudan); PHC in-service training and water and sanitation programmes (Pakistan); production credit for rural women's project (Nepal); and intensive development programmes, directory of women's cooperatives, community perception of women's roles, scope for the utilization of silk waste for providing employment for rural women (all in India).

In 1985, ten more evaluations of women-centered projects were completed, a total of 6 percent of all evaluations for that year. The Eastern and Southern Region of Africa carried out four; West and Central Africa region one; and the Regional office of South Central Asia five. 160/

It was clear from the use that was made of the information for planning purposes that UNICEF support for research, data collection and evaluations should continue and be used in preparing the individual country "situation analyses." UNICEF should also advocate and support national efforts to disaggregate data by sex and, additionally, try to develop indicators which would facilitate the monitoring of change.

:Actions during 1985

From 17-25 February 1985, twenty-one staff members from ten country offices, four governmental counterparts and two headquarters staff met in Comilla, Bangladesh to discuss "Exploring Alternatives in Programming for Women." Experiences were exchanged and "new directions" for future programme support activities for women as key actors in the Child Survival and Development Revolution (CSDR) were discussed. 161/

Coming out of the meeting were the following points of emphasis regarding organization, funding and management structures and policy action within UNICEF. These provided the seeds for the paper going to the 1987 Board outlining implementation strategies which aim at better support of programming for women.

1. The "new directions," which reemphasized what had been said earlier in a number of contexts, asked that UNICEF intensify its programming of "women-centered activities that recognize women as generators and agents of change;" that women be included in planning, implementation and evaluation; and that the needs of poor women for social and economic resources, especially in food security, at the household level, be a central focus.

   In order to do this, better information was needed about the situation of women and one key knowledge resource, each country's situation analysis (PRO 87) should be improved so that each country's analysis would examine the political, socio-economic and religio-cultural structures that affect women, especially those who are poor. For example, the analysis should examine the conditions of women-headed households and women's access to disposable household income as well as the commitment of governments on behalf of women in poverty. The plea was heard, and a new PRO will be issued in 1986 to delineate better the women's component in the Situation Analysis, and to assess the potential impact on women of sectoral programmes supported by UNICEF, and by other donors. An additional important element was highlighted when the group further urged that the monitoring and evaluation capabilities of both UNICEF and their cooperating colleagues in governments be strengthened.

2. Relative to UNICEF management and organizational structure and financing, the meeting suggested that UNICEF needed to:

   a) Develop a sensitization strategy for staff since the success of CSDR (Child Survival and Development Revolution) depended heavily on investing appropriate inputs to women's programmes, (e.g., media, programming and information sharing system of UNICEF activities for women in different parts of the world);

   b) Strengthen the professional standing of staff designated as "focal points" for women's programmes and establish mechanisms to

ensure that women's concerns are built into sectoral programmes through inter-country exchanges, programme task forces;

c) Mobilize continuing support to strengthen women's activities through funding, evaluations, programme-related research and attendance of staff at relevant workshops and meetings.

d) Engage in a concerted effort to build up a strong profile of UNICEF supported activities about women and disseminate news of such activities to a wider public.

e) Introduce a more focussed emphasis on the role of women and innovative experiences into the 1987 State of the World's Children Report, and as a major item for the 1986 Programme Strategy Meeting.

:Preparations for the UN World Conference on Women

The advantages of holding a World Conference every five years are that a natural deadline for the assessment of progress is provided and equally as important, proposals are put forward as to where one should go next to accomplish even more.

The United Nations provided that opportunity not only at the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women in Kenya in 1985 but also at regional preparatory meetings in advance of the intergovernmental world conference. The African regional meeting was one that examined the situation of women not only in the global economic context, but in the drought, refugee and South African political crises. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, speaking in Arusha, Tanzania in October 1984, at the African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the World Conference said, "A person does not walk very far or very fast on one leg; how can we expect half the people to be able to develop a nation."162/ That is a perception which gains more vocal supporters every year. Some of the same concerns that UNICEF had been expressing about the situation of women were repeated at each of the regional meetings and was reiterated at the World Conference itself. The effects of such unanimity and agreement on recommendations for action still remain to be measured and evaluated.

UNICEF, in preparing its own assessment, carried out case studies of programmes supported by UNICEF during the 1980-85 period in six countries (Bangladesh, Colombia, Ecuador, Nepal, Senegal and Vietnam) in order to review shifts in programming and their results. The view that came out of the close look at activities showed a gradual shift away from the traditional welfare approach to women toward one that was development-oriented and saw women as agents of change through collective action and self-reliance.

One problem that continued to plague UNICEF in its programming efforts was whether to focus exclusively on women-specific programmes or to integrate women into every project. Coming out of the case studies which were done in seven African countries was the recognition that both strategies should continue.

It was concluded that "projects for the amelioration of the condition of women and children should aim at creating a climate for the sharing of responsibilities for women's advancement by both men and women, and required an attitudinal change on the part of both men and women. Because women had been neglected in development, they now had to be given special attention in order to redress the imbalance. However, a strong message from the studies suggested that preferential attention to women should be seen as a short-term strategy for redress, and that a long-term solution must be found in greatly expanded opportunities which would not marginalize women but rather strengthen their technical skills and voice by making them better able to participate in mainstream development endeavours. There were also times and circumstances, for instance in sex-segregated environments (e.g., due to religion), when "women specific" projects were the only alternative. It was recognized also that any actions or opportunities which had the potential of "empowering" women had implications for restructuring the social and economic order, and it would be unusual if men did not react." 163/

In preparation for the World Conference on the Decade for Women, held in Nairobi, 15-26 July 1985 and the almost concurrent NGO FORUM, 10-19 July, UNICEF again undertook (as it had done in 1980 at the time of the UN Mid-Decade for Women Conference) a major policy review of its "Response to Women's Concerns." 164/ It looked back over the preceding five years, 1980-1985, traced the evolution of UNICEF policy on women and programming experience, and reviewed areas needing strengthened programming as well as future priority emphases and objectives. The review attempted to mark a clear distinction between programmes directly benefitting women, by way of strengthening their social and economic resources, as against those that benefit women indirectly through their children which, thus, might well be less visible or measurable.

The forms that UNICEF action took were relatively unchanged from earlier times: they consisted of providing technical, financial and advocacy actions benefiting women. Technical support consisted of assistance in programme planning, preparation, supervision, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Financial cooperation consisted of cash grants, credit through commercial banks, stipends, revolving funds, equipment, transport and other supplies, funding surveys, data collection, and evaluations. Advocacy looked to influencing national policy, to initiating programme actions in areas such as basic services and income-generating activities at community and national levels; proposing and supporting training programmes in various subject areas; mobilizing interest, participation and technical support of women's organizations, grass-roots leaders, research centres and NGOs. This could entail funding workshops, seminars to provide a forum for discussion or helping to strengthen the technical and institutional capacity of government organizations for training in designing and implementing projects for women.

Although the form of UNICEF support was the same, the input differed qualitatively, and there was an increasing focus on programmes for women other than mothers only. This all demonstrated considerable change in UNICEF's outlook. The content and the target group had been expanded, and the

activities that were being proposed and supported embraced a wider view of the role of women. It was a very broad canvas to which UNICEF could apply its capabilities for support.

In his report to the Executive Board in May 1985, the Executive Director highlighted the deepening realization that women's roles go well beyond that of mother and nurturer and urged a thorough discussion of the document "UNICEF Response to Women's Concerns." 165/ Quite naturally the traditional support in the fields of health, nutrition and education of women continued, but more had been added to improve the socio-economic status of women at the household level and broaden the view of women as active and able members of their communities - the setting in which all children grow and develop.

The conclusions of the Board were a vivid testimony to the remarkable responsiveness, flexibility and creativity of UNICEF in its 40 year journey with children and women.

> "The Executive Board particularly notes the many circumstances in which an improvement in the general conditions of women is essential to the implementation of strategies for child survival and development. It agrees that women-centered activities should be development-oriented rather than welfare-based and made integral to all UNICEF-assisted projects."

It urged that all activities be carried out in close collaboration with other concerned agencies and that UNICEF continue its advocacy role.

> "Within such framework the Executive Board endorses the following principles for the UNICEF response to women's concerns:
>
> "(a)UNICEF reaffirms its commitment to strengthen support actions that will yield direct social, health and economic benefits to women living in poverty, for their own well-being and in recognition of the fact that improvement of women's conditions is a necessary prerequisite for social development and for the improvement of the health and well-being of the child.
>
> "(b)UNICEF should develop a programme strategy that will strengthen the links between socio-economic programmes directed to women at the household level and child survival and development strategy.
>
> "(c)Due attention should be paid to the importance of male attitudes for fulfilling the aims of improving the socio-economic status of women.
>
> "(d)UNICEF should increase and strengthen collaborative efforts with national agencies capable of influencing national strategies so that programmes 'go to scale' and reach a significant proportion of women.

"The Board notes that the following objectives should be pursued where appropriate to the needs of particular countries:

> "(a)To encourage and promote community-centered approaches to health services and family planning by mobilizing women to organize, plan and as

far as possible, implement programmes; to involve the community, men and women, in family planning education and enable men and women to make informed choices about the means of family planning and child-spacing; through collaboration with other agencies to work for the eradication of female excision and other forms of child mutilation;

"(b)To strengthen UNICEF's collaboration with agencies in helping to improve programme preparation, implementation and monitoring;

"(c)To expand nutrition education to incorporate other critical needs of the poor (literacy, skills training, work, technologies, etc.).

"(d)To intensify promotion of female education in collaboration with other agencies, including UNESCO through actions that would ensure maximum enrolment and continuity of girls in school; increase post-literacy programmes; encourage non-formal education that is more relevant to women's multiple functions. UNICEF should also take a stronger role in supporting occupational skills training for women that holds prospects for attaining jobs and cash earnings.

"(e)Through collaboration with other agencies to intensify efforts to alleviate the hardship incurred by women and children in fetching water and firewood, and undertaking other basic household tasks. Priorities for labour and time-saving devices and technologies should be given in the area of food production.

"(f)In collaboration with other agencies to establish criteria to support income-generating projects based on their potential to be economically viable, to eventually become self-sufficient and controlled by women, as distinct from the traditional small-scale welfare projects supported to date. This entails commitment to an entrepreneurial orientation including support for women's credit needs, skills training needs, production, marketing and management capacity.

"(g)To develop long-term comprehensive programmes to address the food scarcity crisis at the household level with particular attention to the need for day-care facilities for children.

"(h)To develop systematic evaluations of women's projects at the field level and to monitor their outcome and impact.

"(i)To ensure closer collaboration with United Nations, bilateral and non-governmental agencies in addressing women's concerns, particularly in the areas of health, food production, skills training, small-scale enterprises, development and technology support.

"It further expresses its strong concern for the need to reverse the apparent decline in programme expenditure on women's concerns. It further requests that the need to focus UNICEF's work on women-centered activities be reflected in the implementation of the current medium-term plan and be reported annually through the Executive Director's report to the Board, and

that it develop an internal implementation strategy which promotes accountability in terms of both verifiable objectives and an established time frame for implementation. Such a strategy should give special attention to improved staff training and strengthening the focal point within UNICEF headquarters for the co-ordination of women's programmes." 166/

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The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women

The World Conference to review and appraise the achievements of the UN Decade for Women: equality, development and peace was held in Nairobi, Kenya. At the Conference itself and at the concurrent NGO Forum, UNICEF played an active part in ensuring that the relationship between women and children was interpreted. Four workshops were organized by UNICEF at the NGO Forum:

1) Health Needs of Women throughout the Life Cycle;
2) Child Survival and Development: Implications for Empowering Women;
3) Women and Income: What Have We Learned?;
4) Women and Food Production: Solutions to Food Scarcity at the Household Level.

Exhibits, discussions and negotiations on resolutions were a part of the daily activity of the UNICEF team at the massive assembly of women and men from 157 nations. At the intergovernmental conference were approximately 2,800 delegates; at the NGO Forum some 13,400 met, talked and formed or strengthened networks of common interests. UNICEF contributed not only in the content of workshops and sessions but financed from country budgets the attendance by twenty-two women from ten countries - many of whom had never left their own countries before but who were active leaders or participants in programmes at "home." The UNICEF office in Nairobi also provided financial support to the Women's Bureau of the Ministry of Social and Cultural Affairs in Kenya and to the Secretariats of both the official conference and the NGO Forum. In addition, a grant was made to the Kenya NGO Organizing Committee for pre-conference activities in various parts of Kenya. 167/

There have been achievements during the Decade, some not measurable, such as the diminishing of the sense of powerlessness among women, and a recognition of the existence of a global supportive network; and some measurable. For example, 90 percent of all nations now have official bodies dedicated to the advancement of women - half of which were established during the Decade; 65 nations have acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women; 90 countries, up from 28, have passed equal-pay-for-equal-work legislation; the wage gap is closing (although at a very, very slow pace); UNESCO reported that boys still outnumber girls in school, but females, who make up 60 percent of the world's illiterates, are making progress; 41 percent in the secondary school population are girls; WHO said that 42 governments have expanded maternal and child health programmes and 50 have established nutrition programmes, half specifically for women. With primary health care (PHC), the hoped-for miracle of community health, "suddenly the eyes of health planners began to turn toward women." Half the

women in the world who wish to delay or avoid having children are able to do so, according to the 1984 World Fertility Survey. But women who do agricultural and/or marketing and domestic chores work three times as many hours as men. 168/ In this context, studies of the unused work capacity of men might be revealing. Also reported at the conference was the statistic that home labour of women is valued at an estimated $4 trillion per year. If the value of that work had to be paid for, the budget deficits and balance of payments would look considerably worse.

Another interesting bit of information was the percentage of funds allocated to programmes for women. UNDP budgeted 4 percent in 1983 but spent an additional 42 percent on literacy, adult education and basic education. ILO spent approximately 4.5 percent on women-specific and women-component programmes from 1980-1984. In 1984 UNICEF spent 18 percent of its budget on programmes that affected women. 169/ Not a bad record by comparison.

As to the World Conference itself, the recommendations that were made in 1975 at the time of the International Women's Year, the beginning of the Decade, bear a striking resemblance to those that were made at the end of the Decade, with the exception that more problems had been identified. The whole question of the situation of women was no longer marginal to world problems but had been legitimized. It was no longer a side issue. That meant that the Conference was more political (some complained of that) but then, women are part of the world and affected by political decisions - the reason that they had been demanding to be part of the political process. If "women hold up half the sky" as Mao Zedong said so long ago they must be involved in all aspects of life.

Conference after conference produced very similar declarations, affirming the important role women play in agriculture (1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development), science and technology (1979 UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development), and population (1974 and 1984 UN International Conference on Population), to mention but four. Now, measuring progress becomes the next essential step. Perhaps a comparison can be drawn to the global effort to help countries develop. The results have been dismal. Maybe the measuring stick isn't right, maybe the targets aren't practical or real, possibly the GNP isn't the final answer. UNICEF is now using the GNP and the infant mortality rate (IMR) to evalute countries against a scale of attaining the well-being of children. What else should be used to measure the well-being of women and, for that matter, the entire population of a country?

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UNICEF LOOKS TO THE FUTURE

There was considerable discussion at the 1986 Executive Board session in support of UNICEF's women-centred activities. A considerable number of delegations urged more cooperation with countries in developing expanded support. Negative reactions, more prominent in earlier Board debates on the grounds that other UN agencies should assume primary responsiblity, were less evident. Some strongly pressed UNICEF to take the leadership in the UN community in improving the condition of women.

Members of the Board continued to urge UNICEF to collect gender-specific data and include more of this type of information in the Executive Director's annual reports. They also urged that women be active participants in the planning and implementation of programmes (that is often easier said than done). They repeated that they were looking forward to seeing UNICEF's internal implementation strategy for ensuring that there were steps being taken to arrive at the 33 percent ratio of women to men on UNICEF staff.

Providing food security, producing income, and education were the focus of discussions, as was the concern that funding of women's programmes was depending more and more on special sources and that the percentage from general resources had fallen. There was solid support of the direction that UNICEF was taking in its concern for women.

The Executive Board agreed that, in participating in the follow-up of the Forward Looking Strategies of the Nairobi Conference at the end of the Women's Decade, UNICEF should ensure:

- That a detailed implementation strategy by UNICEF in its response to women's concerns, with verifiable objectives and a time-frame for implementation be prepared for the 1987 Executive Board.

- That women in development be a subject for deliberation at future Board sessions and, on the basis of a report on "women in development", be a separate agenda item for the 1987 Session.

In the overall reaction to the Medium-Term Plan (1985-1989), the major thrust would be the reduction of infant and child mortality (the child survival and development revolution). Second would come the priority for attaining household food security, followed by education, water supply and sanitation and maternal nutrition. The overall importance of women in development was emphasized, especially the need to explore the expansion of the women's dimension in all UNICEF programmes. 170/

During 1985 and 1986, it became clear that UNICEF's assistance to women was three-pronged. They were valuable as implementers in UNICEF-assisted programmes that served children and mothers; as mothers in the home where they were the direct guardians and care-takers of children; and they were critical in development both in their own right and because of their direct and indirect impact on the child.

UNICEF continued to support training women as para-professionals, non-formal education (especially literacy), improvement of skills in viable economic activities and the training of trainers in all three areas.

Nutrition activities also continued unabated - with good weaning practices and nutritious foods at their core. UNICEF ranked household food security very high on its list of priorities. To sustain the momentum of 1985, measures to increase community self-sufficiency in food production included the promotion of home gardens through the provision of seeds, equipment and fertilizers, combined sometimes with extension training in agricultural methods; promotion of horticultural projects; and the introduction of improved species of local vegetables. 171

The traditional gender-linked, income-generating projects of sewing, embroidery, handicrafts requested by governments or NGOs lessened. Other activities, some less traditional and other more mainstream actions increased. In both instances, emphasis was being placed on the quality of training and skills development, partially through helping in the training of trainers, and strengthening the technical and management capacity of programme implementers. Additionally, an assessment of marketability of products and the need for technical expertise in production, costing, pricing and marketing, were incorporated into the make-up of economic projects.

Women's role in contributing to development had become very much a permanent element of the information gathered in most country situation analyses. The importance of providing credit facilities to disadvantaged women had also become more accepted and implemented. This might take the form of a revolving loan fund, grants, and banks loans, as demonstrated by successful experiments in Nepal and Bangladesh.

One could say that the new and the old were becoming more and more indistinguishable. Some ambivalence about very strong support of programmes for women in development still lingered. But what was good from the old was grafted onto what was new and thereby produced continuously-evolving programming objectives for UNICEF. Different types of monitoring and measurements of results needed to be found to assess success. These are being developed. In sum, it appears that the activities in 1986 were more firmly based on the realities of the circumstances of women in the Third World.

Two major events occured at the end of 1986 which need to be highlighted for the important impact they will have on strengthening UNICEF programmes so that they respond to the needs and concerns of women.

1. An Inter-Organizational Top Management Seminar on Women and Development, organized by the UN Joint Consultative Group on Policy (JCGP) member organizations (UNICEF, UNDP, UNFPA and WFP), was held at the UNICEF Secretariat in New York on 18-19 December 1986. The objective of the seminar was to call upon the four chief executives to actively support policy directives that would ensure that women's concerns be fully incorporated into the management, policies and

programmes of the four organizations. The Seminar closed with expressions of strong commitment on the part of the chief executives to support this objective.

2. In response to the 1986 Board request, a policy review paper has been finalized. Entitled "Implementation Strategy for UNICEF Policy on Women in Development, it delineates organizational measures to ensure that the gap is bridged between policy directives and implementation both at Headquarters and in the field.172/

   Recommendations include:
   - strengthening the situation analysis in this area;
   - developing and administering a checklist which will ensure that UNICEF programmes address women's needs and concerns;
   - reviewing the impact of sectoral programming on women;
   - revising programme strategy to focus on women in development issues
   - specifying programme objectives, implementation strategies, a time-frame and identifying relevant data;
   - systematic monitoring and evaluation of the specific relevance of programmes to women in each country, expected and unexpected impacts, and identification of mid-course corrections.172/

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Where are we now? - forty years at a glance

Forty years have passed. UNICEF has matured as has its relationship with women. Enormous distances have been covered in its perception of women and their impact on children, and the way programming has been altered to react to that understanding.

In the beginning children were the clientele of UNICEF with women considered only in their role of pregnant and lactating mothers. Then came mothers in a more general sense, who were seen as intimately linked to the well being of children from birth through their infancy. As UNICEF expanded its conception of the elements that provided security for the child, it moved to looking at women in their roles not only as mothers but as responsible members of the family and the community who could take decisions that would affect the entire environment of the child.

There were many factors that contributed to this sometimes stormy voyage, but two stand out.

First: a flexible programme approach along with a creative field staff, a receptive headquarters staff and an enlightened Executive Board. It was a tripartite system dedicated to exploring every possible route that could be taken with governments and others that could help children. Though there was no map to guide them, when women turned out to be one of the main avenues leading to some of the solutions, they took that road.

Second: the impact of the UN Decade for Women, which stimulated all UN bodies, governments and NGOs to examine the situation of women and come up with a Plan of Action for the Decade and ultimately Strategies for implementing the plan for the period up to the year 2000. It was a two-way street. What helped women inevitably help children and what helped children benefited women.

Programmes in UNICEF have reflected the development of UNICEF's capacity to expand its vision of how women, in so many areas and in so many of their roles, are vital to the well-being of the child.

Programming for women over the past four decades has paralleled the expansion of knowledge about what elements impact on a child's daily life and influence her/his survival and development . It has also demonstrated UNICEF's determination to use that information wisely in helping countries take advantage of those many factors - including women, to accelerate their policies and actions to take care of their children.

The seeds of most of UNICEF's programming were planted very early in the life of UNICEF. Food, Health, Training and Education were the staple, fertile plants which multiplied and expanded rapidly in their own broad areas. Following is a short summary in chronological order listing the programmes that touch or are touched by women.

The very first programmes in 1946/7 featured Feeding, Nutrition and Health - pre-and post-natal health, and the health of pregnant and lactating mothers.

Training followed very quickly. This involved training the people who delivered the health services. In the main these were also women: nurses, aides, birth attendants, etc., starting in the late 1940s and continuing up to today.

Education came next: the education of mothers to care for their children and the training of primary school teachers - often women. Also, training of home economics and day care workers, usually meant training women.

Non-formal and pre-vocational education began to be seen as another area that would touch girls and women. Teacher training was needed to train those who would be teaching the girls and women.

Women's Groups as separate entities began to be spoken of and were popularly considered as including the population that would benefit most, and transfer those benefits most efficiently to children, from education and training in literacy, child care and handicrafts. Women's programmes came into the UNICEF terminology in the late 1950s.

Family Planning or Responsible Parenthood was the natural extension of basic health care. Women were its focus and it became a modest part of

country programming. It has not become a major, overall programme activity in UNICEF.

Primary Health Care was health again but on a much broader scale and more closely linked with community participation. It was another area that massively involved women.

Appropriate Technology with a primary concern for the problems of water, food storage and preparation although not spoken of as being a woman's programme brought more attention to women and the need to lighten their tasks if they were to be enabled to spend more time on the care of their children.

Special Groups of Women (and children) also had to be included in UNICEF's programming: those who were victims of wars and natural disasters, were refugees, or displaced and integral members of liberation movements.

Income-generation activities for women, a straightforward attack on the problem of poverty that hangs over so many mothers of children at risk, moved UNICEF further into its role as a development agency. First concern was with the rural woman but in recent years the urban woman has been added to the list of those in special need.

Food Security for the family often depended on the woman farmer but in both rural and urban areas benefitted dramatically from UNICEF help. Entrepreneurial skills were recognized as an integral need for women who were trying to generate income for their families.

Despite all this UNICEF, which was so inherently involved with programming for women, and interacted with women on a continuing basis throughout the developing world has not reached the point of taking an active leadership position in the international community for women of the developing world - advocating their needs, concerns and even rights.

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What does the crystal ball show?

1986 is already a part of history but it is a good moment to take a very quick look into the future An author has the privilege of looking into the crystal ball not only for understanding the past but for predicting the future. It is a dangerous pastime but people do it all of the time.

The past shows that in fits and starts substantial progress has been made by and for women, and the future, which is built upon the past, will also have its ups and downs but will have women becoming ever more integrated into UNICEF planning.

- The "dynamic" decade has sensitized countless Third World women. Their voices will be heard, not stridently but firmly, and children will be

benefiting even more from women's participation in planning, implementing and monitoring. UNICEF will take advantage of that.

- The momentum may slow down at times for a variety of reasons - financial, cultural, and political but it will not die and will enrich the programming of UNICEF.

- UNICEF's ambivalence about programming for women will fade away.

- Specific indicators will be developed and used more frequently for monitoring - nationally and by international assistance agencies - the impact or outcome of programmes for women. Maternal mortality rates will become one of the indicators.

- Social mobilization for action in behalf of children and women will become an important element in seeking solutions.

- UNICEF will become more and more an advocate for the involvement of women in the development process and economic benefits will be calculated for most programmes. Funding will come more readily from general resources.

- More attention will be given to the health, nutrition and later, the educational status of the girl-child.

- More senior UNICEF officials, including an Executive Director will be women.

Actually everything is possible in UNICEF if the solutions are logical and need to be acted upon.

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ANNEX I

Women of UNICEF

The situation of women professionals in UNICEF may not be a mirror of the progress that has been made in programming for women, but it has a similar history, from seed to bud. It has not flowered yet, but in recent years it has had a sturdy, tenacious, and useful growth.

In its early days UNICEF had a handful of senior officers who were women -- beginning in 1949 with Alice Shaffer, who was the first field officer in Latin America, and Gertrude Lutz, who was head of the UNICEF mission in Poland; both continued with UNICEF in other senior posts until their retirement -- Alice Shaffer in 1969 and Gertrude Lutz in 1971. Margaret Gaan started in the UNICEF regional office in Bangkok in 1950 as a locally recruited secretary, and retired at the end of 1974 as its Deputy Regional Director. Nora Edmunds was director of the Greeting Card Fund from 1951 to 1964. She was succeeded by Margaret Sharkey who hold that post until her retirement in 1976. In 1957 Adelaide Sinclair became Deputy Executive Director for Programes and continued in that position until she retired in 1967; previously she had been the Canadian representative on the UNICEF Board for ten years and had been Chairman of the Programe Committee and Chairman of the Executive Board. There was also a sprinkling of other women who held responsible posts both at headquarters and the field, but the list is not long.

By the 1970s the Executive Director, Harry Labouisse, and his two deputies Dick Heyward and Charles Egger, along with others in the secretariat, notably Jim McDougall, Regional Director for the Eastern Mediterranean, were increasingly convinced of the value of professional women in carrying out the enlarged scope of UNICEF work. Along with pressure exerted in this direction by a number of women staff members, the efforts which had been started were given considerable impetus as a result of a 1975 Board discussion on an administrative survey of UNICEF. The Board passed a resolution requesting the Executive Director to improve the situation of women in UNICEF and report to it on the progress made.1/

The progress was substantial. In 1974, 14 percent of all international professional core posts were held by women; by 1980 it had risen to 23.9 percent and at the end of 1986, 20.0. percent of all these professional posts were held by women. The number of women in senior professional posts (P-5 and above) also increased, from 2.2 percent in 1974 to 16.0 percent in 1986, as is shown in the following table:

1/ Report of the UNICEF Board session, E/ICEF/639, 1975, para. 127.

International professional core posts held by women
(Excludes national officers and project posts)

	P/5 and above		P/1-P/4		All int. prof. posts
	Number of posts	Percent	Number of posts	Percent	Percent
1972					12.0 */
1974	2	2.2	37	19.0	14.0
1978	9	7.0	66	27.8	20.8
1980	14	10.1	88	30.3	23.9
1984	19	10.8	109	32.4	25.0
1986	33	16.4	125	36.5	29.0

*/Breakdown by level of posts not available.

In recent years a similar upward trend has taken place in the national professional officer posts (all in field offices), held by women. At the end of 1986 they were in 33.0 percent of NPO posts, up from 25.3 percent in 1980 and 28.5 percent in 1984. This was also true of the government sponsored junior professional officers assigned to UNICEF. At the end of 1986 women numbered 34 or 70.8 percent. In 1984 there were 20 or 58.8 percent

Also more women have recently been placed in Director or higher post levels. In 1986 of the six Regional Directors, two -- Teresa Albanez for the Americas and Mary Racelis for East Africa -- were women. Previously Titi Memet had been Regional Director for East Asia and Pakistan, and Aida Gindy had been Regional Director for East Africa and later Director of the UNICEF Office for Europe. Margaret Catley-Carlson was Deputy Executive Director for Operations from 1981 to 1983 when she left to become President of the Canadian International Development Corporation. In 1985 Karen Lockhaug became UNICEF Comptroller. At the end of 1986 UNICEF had 59 Country Representatives of which 13 were women, or 22 percent. Seven of these women were in Africa, of which four were in East Africa.

For short periods two posts at the Assistant Secretary-General level were held by women--Estafania Aldaba-Lim as Special Representative for the International Year of Child in 1979 and its preparation, and Lucille Mair to follow-up on the broader policy implications for UNICEF of the 1980 UN Decade for Women's Conference, for which she had served as Secretary-General.

As Mr. Grant, UNICEF Executive Director since 1980, has said, although gains have been made, it is still insufficient and UNICEF's object is to reach 33 percent by 1990. If the percentage at the P/5 and above level would also reach 33 percent, it would be a giant stride. This, however, would be considerably more difficult given the current budgetary strictures that have not only slowed down recruitment but have also meant not replacing those who retire. Another realistic problem is that faced by women who are married and/or have family responsibilities and cannot easily be moved around the

world. UNICEF posts tend to require the ability to move and not necessarily to locations that have the facilities that children and a husband are accustomed to and often need. A solution to mitigate this is being sought.

Other problems have surfaced along the way, often over the question of promotions. The problems have been the same as in all other bodies of the United Nations affecting both men and women, but women more so: great difficulties in moving out of the General Service category into Professional posts and promotions from one grade to the next higher one (at a normal pace or an accelerated one).

Getting women onto the Appointment and Promotions Committee was one step that had some impact on the situation, as was the appointment of a woman as Chief of Recruitment (Jane Campbell, from 1978 to 1982). In addition, the informal women's staff network was growing stronger and was very supportive and valuable, not just in encouraging promotions but in suggesting candidates for existing or potential posts. When Ms. Campbell was assigned to New York Headquarters after having been in the field, Mr. Labouisse said to her, "We have to do something about women". As indicated above, support came from both Mr. Labouisse and Mr. Grant who followed him.

The road has not been an easy one for women. Where educational, experience and language levels among women are higher than men, it hasn't reaped any great gains. Even in UNICEF, the now age-old axiom that women must be better qualified than men for the same job continues to be heard.

The membership on the Executive Board of UNICEF was still another factor in moving and monitoring UNICEF's action on the movement of women staff. There have been vocal women on the UNICEF Board ever since its first meeting. Some few have chaired the Executive Board and some several more have headed their delegations at the Executive Board meetings. There has, however, been heightened interest on the part of women on the Executive Board, especially from 1975-1985, about the situation of women staff in UNICEF and support in recommending a closer attention to reporting on programming for women in countries as well as the attainment of recruitment goals for professional women staff in UNICEF. It has become a custom for women Board delegates to meet informally with women staff to review the situation each year at the time of the annual Executive Board Session.

The Global Staff Association has acted as a watchdog for issues and concerns of staff. Amongst other topics, it took up the question of the resignation of four professional women staff members who had not received what they considered to be deserved promotions. A subsequent staff/management discussion led to the appointment by Mr. Grant of a Task Force in October 1984, chaired by Eimi Watanabe, Chief of Asia Section, to analyze the situation of women in UNICEF. Representatives from management and staff (international, national, professional and general service) worked rapidly and produced an interim report within a month. The final report came out in March 1986. In summary it recommended the following: 2/

2/ "Final Report of the Task Force on the Situation of Women in UNICEF, CF/TFSW/IC/1985-1, April 1985, pp. 25-27.

- UNICEF staff generally, and heads of offices in particular, should be requested by the Executive Director to search for and identify qualified female candidates. Governments should be strongly encouraged to nominate women candidates, particularly for senior posts;

- Recruitment missions should better target their missions and word their advertisements for vacancies so as to encourage women to apply;

- Monitoring of numbers of women and men in posts should be carried on;

- The Staff Development Review should apply to all categories of staff, each of whom should be reviewed at least once every three years. In addition, a one-time special review of all women within UNICEF staff should be held in late 1985 or 1986 to identify women primarily for career development purposes; (Reviews were held in both 1985 and 1986)

- Procedures should be set up for staff training;

- UNICEF should establish a minimum of 10 L/1-2 trainee posts to give general service and junior national officer staff assignments that would give them exposure to international professional environments. Priority should be given to women in filling these posts;

- Given that it would not be practical to apply the percentage of 33% equally to all professional levels, the Task Force recommended the following indicative projections:

1990 Indicative Projection

Level	Percentage	Number
D1 +	20	13
P5	30	38
P4	33	52
P3	40	42
P2/1	33	162

In addition, women in the national officer category should be increased to 33 percent globally by 1990.

- The Division of Personnel should establish a policy on part-time employment and flex-time to facilitate the careers of staff members with young children and those who wish to further their work-related studies. It shoud also review facilities and pratice regarding child care/crèches and similar support services for staff members with young children.

- A policy on the employment of spouses of UNICEF staff should be established.

- Monitoring mechanisms were proposed that would enable the Executive Director and others to review quarterly the situation of women. The Women's Task Force should review progress annually in December until 1990.

Other mechanisms were proposed to assist in planning and monitoring progress by the Task Force.

At the 1986 Board session, some countries praised the level UNICEF had reached in employing female professional staff but asked for a greater effort to have more at the senior levels in order to promote sensitivity to women's issues. In addition, it was proposed that responsiveness to women's issues should be a part of staff performance appraisals.

Reporting to the UNICEF Executive Board at its meeting in April 1986, Mr. Grant summarized the progress made during 1985/86 concerning staff training and development. He referred to UNICEF's cooperation with UNDP, UNFPA and the World Food Programme in forming a Joint Consultative Group on Policy (JCGP) in developing modules for staff training and development to address on women's concerns in training. Further, women's concerns had been a compulsory subject in all UNICEF staff development workshops. The Senior Policy Specialist, at Headquarters on Women's Activities, Nadia Youssef, who had been trying to service all UNICEF offices on a solo basis had recently had a Junior Professional Officer working with her, and a programme officer on household food security was collaborating closely with her as well.

The action to set up the Task Force was reported on by Eimi Watanabe at the International Women's Day meeting of the UN Ad Hoc Group on Equal Rights for Women in the United Nations (now the Group on Equal Rights for Women of the UN) at its March 8 (International Women's Day) meeting in 1986. The initiative of UNICEF was lauded and the action was recommended as a model for other UN agencies to follow.

At the same meeting, Mercedes Pulido de Briceño, Coordinator for the Improvement of the Status of Women in the UN Secretariat, spoke of the fact that the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental experts appointed to examine the administrative and financial crisis of the United Nations had no woman on it.

Reacting to the concern of women in the United Nations generally, the UN has set up a Steering Committee to advise the Secretary-General on improving the situation of women. They produced their first report in July 1986 with constructive and concrete recommendations for consideration. An effort is being made that will show its results only in the next few years.

The United Nations, in urging the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, is scarcely a role model for its Member States, and questions are arising in all the bodies of the UN family. But UNICEF is among those agencies with a relatively better record. Some have said that is because UNICEF has been thought of as being in the welfare field - an area that is traditionally where many women are employed, more than in the development arena. But more give greater credit to the active support and initiative of the Executive Directors and a number of UNICEF staff members, especially of women, and the UNICEF Executive Board of UNICEF.

ANNEX II

Women on the Executive Board

Women on the Executive Board of UNICEF have also made a difference. The history of the Executive Board shows a slow and very gradual increase in the number of women delegates, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total number of delegates. Only four of 25 Board Chairmen, or 16 percent, have been women. This probably is a higher ratio than most other United Nations bodies. The proportion of women delegates in the Board, up to 1986, has averaged 18 percent. The actual percentage for a given session has ranged from a low of 5 percent to a high of over 30 percent in 1982. During the first decade (1950s) the percentage of women delegates was close to the 40-year average of 18 percent, dipped to 12.4 percent in the 1960s, inched up to 19 percent in the 1970s, then climbed to 25 percent between 1980 and 1986.

This gradual increase reflects two changes. One is the increase in the number of countries sending women representatives to the Board, from a handful of delegations in the early days of the Board, to 26 of the 41 Board members, or 63 percent, at the 1986 Board session. The other change is the notable increase in the number of women in each delegation. This is due, at least in part, to the overall growth in the size of delegations.

In the early years of the Board, the majority of women delegates were from developed countries. Women such as Katharine Lenroot and Martha Eliot (US), Adelaide Sinclair (Canada), Zena Harman (Israel), were heads of their delegations and others from Sweden and Switzerland played an active role on their delegations. With the passage of time and the increased awareness resulting from the women's movement, the proportion of women on delegations from developing countries has grown; in 1986, they represented almost half of the women on the Board delegations. In 1984, Dr. Haydée Martinez de Osorio (Venezuela) became the Board's first woman Chairperson from a developing country.

It could be argued that it would have been logical for women to play a more visible role in the governing body of an organization which is all about women and children. However, the participation of women in the Board seems to have been influenced mainly by overall attitudes towards women, in the countries concerned.

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