Report from a seminar arranged by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 20–21 August, 1978

Women in Africa and Development Assistance
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PREFACE

The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies has worked for many years with the problems of modern Africa. One essential part of this work is the arranging of seminars on topics which both are important and close to the surface.

We were therefore very glad to be able to arrange a meeting on Women in Africa and Development Assistance in connection with the World Sociological Conference in Uppsala in August, 1978.

In my opinion it was not only an important seminar, but a very open and frank, at times hilarious, but always pleasant exchange of views on the problems of women. It is also the first time we have had a seminar of this kind and we are very pleased indeed to have had a chance to collaborate in the organizing of it.

The initiative came originally from Karin Himmelstrand of SIDA whom I would like to thank for her input of ideas and input of work in the organisation of the meeting.

Else Lijeberg, SIDA, Mette Mønsted and Kirsten Jørgensen of the Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen, Agnete Eriksen, NORAD and Nigel Rollison and the staff of the Institute have assisted in various ways in planning and reporting the seminar and I would like to thank them for their interest and for putting so much time and interest into making the seminar a success.

Finally, it is also my pleasant duty to convey the Institute's thanks to SIDA for financial assistance and to DANIDA for helping us to bring participants from Africa to this seminar.

Uppsala, November 1978

Carl Widstrand
INTRODUCTION

On 20-21 August the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies in Uppsala arranged a seminar with the topic: Women in Africa and Development Assistance. The seminar was initiated by SIDA after contacts and consultations with a group of African women researchers from the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD). SIDA financed the seminar and DANIDA contributed to travel expenses for African participants.

The participants at the seminar were African and Nordic researchers - all having the women's situation as their field of interest - personnel from aid agencies and journalists. Representatives of Nordic women's organizations also participated during part of the seminar.

The themes discussed after introductions were:

Impact of general aid projects (sector-based, technical assistance, rural development, etc.) on women in Africa. Introduced by: Freda U. Chale, Roberta M. Mutiso, chaired by Zenebeworke Tadesse.


The role of African authorities, African women's organizations and women's bureaux, foreign aid donors and researchers in changing the forms of aid. Introduced by Freda U. Chale and Terry Kantai, chaired by Mette Mönsted.
The report attempts to summarise the discussions held at the seminar. The summary has been organised topic-wise and not in chronological order. A statement by Zenebeworke Tadesse on the policies of AAWORD and a lecture given by Ms. Lily Monze, Minister for Technical and Economic Cooperation, Zambia, at the closing session are included. Birgitta Fahlander has prepared a bibliography on recent publications on Women in Africa for this seminar. The report ends with the list of participants.

Summary of discussions

Women’s situation in Africa:

In production and reproduction, in politics and decision-making

The African woman survives on subsistence farming. She tills the soil with handtools, she walks long distances to fetch water and perhaps even further to the mill to grind her corn. When she or her children need health care she walks miles to the clinic with a child on her back. Every day throughout her lifetime she spends many hours in a smoky house. Her work is hard and her workburden is not even relieved during her frequent pregnancies. Nowadays the children who used to help her fetch water and do odd jobs give her less help than earlier. They may be at school. Or perhaps water is available closer to home so why should the children help her? She gets little help from her husband. Women in the lower social strata are concerned mostly with trying to survive.

Development is organised by men, largely for men, and women tend to be left to carry on with their traditional job of wife-mother-teacher-provider-housewife and often as head of the household as well. The importance of this multiple job is never fully appreciated. It never leaves women enough time to assimilate the new ways of life generated by the development of the country. It usually means that they are in no position to take active part in politics and decision-making.

This is the situation of the great majority of African women, despite the different economic and political systems under which they live. A description such as this does not rule out, however, that women have different needs in different parts of Africa and even within the same country. Women of different social strata have unequal opportunities. Overlooked groups such as house-workers, whose jobs are similar to slave work, have their particular problems.

Being aware of regional and class-differences between African women, the seminar participants agreed to consider the situation of the majority of rural African women as described
above as a relevant background for discussing the issues of
the seminar, Women in Africa and Development Assistance: What
is the impact of foreign aid on women? What type of assistance
do women need to improve their situation? And which methods can
be used to improve the effect of aid on the women's situation?

Impact of aid projects on women
Experiences go far and desirable effects

A number of general and specific observations about the effect
of conventional aid projects on women's situations were put
forward during the discussions. Large, general, development
aid projects hardly ever imply basic improvements for women,
it was maintained. An example of this is the woman in Ethiopia
who used to fetch a pot of water once a day. It took her three
hours to walk to the well and three hours to return home again.
Then a well was built with aid money closer to her home. It
now takes her only one hour to walk to the well, but instead
the demand for water has gone up in the family. So today she
walks to the well three times a day, thus still having to carry
water for six hours every day to satisfy the needs of her
family.

Questions were raised whether constraints are put on aid in
such a way that it cannot all pass on to the masses. Money
channelled to the grass roots would help the peasant women
help themselves, but instead most of the aid money goes to
more impressive industrial projects.

Does aid create more dependency and how much does it hamper the
development of local initiatives, it was asked. Experiences
with food aid in Tanzania, for instance, had shown that aid
resulted in more dependency and passivity on the part of growers
since production was changed from local food crops to export
crops requiring inputs like fertilizers not locally available.

A basic concern of the seminar was the effectiveness of aid
projects and it was maintained that the best help for women
would be: aid that will help women to help themselves.

There are two objectives in this: the material aspect of
life, such as improved housing and health, access to land and
water, and income generating activities which help women to
raise their standard of living; and a non-material aspect of
life, such as increasing awareness and participation by women,
Roberta Mutiso said.

To give women a push is the basic, desirable effect of develop­
ment assistance. The issue does not involve millions of
dollars for spectacular projects, but instead requires equip­
ment, such as tractors, that will encourage women to take the
necessary step on the path towards helping themselves.

Relations between projects for women and research
Research topic priorities

It was generally agreed that research is an important pre­
condition for establishing effective aid projects for women.
Research is part of the struggle for women's equality in both
a political and an economic sense. Research into the situation
of women is neither a luxury nor an appendix, but should be
considered as part of the working society.

We need to know more about the situation of women. Regarding
documentation we know that women work had, but just how hard?
Women often have to legitimize themselves to be taken seriously.
Reports are required by all kinds of bodies and donor agencies
for which such legitimation and documentation is necessary.
Collection of more data is therefore essential. With a wider
knowledge of the situation we could plan better women's
projects. However, experience has shown that it is complicated
to take up sex-roles as such in research, Beth Maina Ahlberg
said. When the topic is included in more comprehensive studies
there is less objection from funding agencies. This has been
found in Kenya, for example, where surveys of women's groups
have been carried out by the Women's Bureau. Such research
is important to establish what the needs of women really are
and what research and project priorities should be. Studies
carried out so far have been in various fields but a compre­
hensive, integrated study is now being undertaken. The results
will be published by the Women's Bureau at the end of the year.

Research should not be an academic exercise alone, but ongoing, applied and action-oriented. This was the opinion of many participants. Preferably, research should be integrated with general aid projects and with women's projects. This allows for ongoing evaluation of projects at the same time as research can be applied immediately - a research for action. Research can thus be given the role of a tool in the transformation of African societies. A primary issue should be an evaluation of aid-projects which have already been carried out. All new projects should be prepared by thorough feasibility studies. Moreover, research also has an important role to play as a means of understanding the background to the women's situation in Africa and of understanding the present situation.

The colonial heritage is present in research in Africa as elsewhere, Zen Tadesse pointed out. We have to redefine all economic concepts. In choosing starting point we cannot neglect the fact that colonialism is still with us. When we establish our research priorities we have to be aware of this colonial heritage and be aware that the colonial heritage affects every aspect of community life. To understand these present realities the analysis must be made from a historical point of view. Prudence Woodford-Berger emphasised that research on women must include the aspect of international division of labour, since it also expresses suppression of women. We, the women, and especially the younger of us, are the cheapest labour force, and thus of importance to international capital.

One of the opinions voiced was that there is widespread scepticism about research in Africa, the reason being that priorities are set from outside. We Africans must consider priorities for research ourselves, Fatima Mernissi said. When funds are coming from outside, research is often steered by the donors. There have been almost unlimited funds available for population studies, and in fact a number of studies of more immediate concern had even been undertaken in the disguise of population studies, Fatima revealed. Since funding from outside puts strings on the research to be undertaken, it is therefore of primary concern for African women that a structure for carrying out research is established.

Filomena Steady emphasised strongly that descriptive research is of no relevance to African women. There is no need to document the negative impact of cashcrop production, for example. We know these facts already, she said, and women at the grass roots know what their situation is and what their needs are. Instead, research should concern the impact of foreigners on African society with regard to their privileges and life-style. Does the development expert set a model for the local population, and what is the impact of tourism? Through tourism the master-slave relationship seems to be maintained. Sexual exploitation of women in connection with tourism, as well as the impact on the women's situation, especially in the service sector, are important research topics. The impact of technology transfer on the situation of women should be another priority.

The position against descriptive research was not unopposed. Although African women know their own situation and their needs they do not understand everything. To learn more about our situation is part of decolonising ourselves, remarked Zen Tadesse. Although women feel they are exploited they do not always know why nor how exploitation works. Other participants felt the need for both descriptive research, analytical research and action-oriented research.

This should not imply that all research is useful. On the contrary, much research has proved to be irrelevant, partly because it has been undertaken by the wrong people and with their specific interests in mind. To give an example: women in Tanzania previously knew how to interplant and knew how to pick the healthier seed...
Research policies and research cooperation

The question: "Who should do research for whom?" was of great concern to participants. Very often research results are not disseminated to the country of study because research and evaluation studies are carried out by foreigners and not in cooperation with local researchers. Work for development and development research should be to the benefit of both parties involved - in this case donor agencies and recipient countries - to such a degree that the phrase "development assistance" in the theme of this seminar is misleading. What we are concerned with is cooperation rather than donation, Marja Liisa Swantz said.

One aspect of decolonization is decolonization of research. Knowledge has always been the privilege of the powerful. Research in particular has always been dominated by male westerners. In the West, research is largely controlled by competition, which in some circumstances may encourage a wish to block or filter free access to the knowledge obtained. We need to unite women in the West and local African women researchers to avoid this, Fatima Mernissi said. In Africa we often lack the knowledge of where to find funds. Western women could fill this gap and provide the links between us and the funds and help to explain research priorities in their home countries. Another functional division of labour would be preferable between African and Western women, Fatima maintained. Field work should be carried out by local researchers who have the social and cultural background to do this part of the research. Analysis, on the other hand, should be open to everybody. Indeed, analysis would gain by inputs from various points of view, she thought.

Several participants stressed how necessary it is to strengthen the research basis locally. However, far from agreeing with the idea of a functional division of labour between Western and African scholars in research, Sophie Perchiou said: "The idea reminds me of the situation when Africans were considered to be inferior - in this case left to do the field work. I fought my French teachers who held that a person of a certain country does not have the necessary distance to that country to do research there". Africans' studies and Western researchers' studies can support each other. As with all research aiming to be for the benefit of women, it is important that this research is militarily and action-oriented.

That content of research is more important than the question of who is doing it was emphasised by several participants. There is no need to put conditions like division of labour on research and neither do we have the capacity to release a counterpart for any project. For example, if a person comes in to study kinship systems we have no capacity for reciprocation, Sen Tadesse thought.

Seen from a tactical point of view, the suggestion for division of labour between African and Western scholars as sketched above could be unwise. If enacted, African scholars might loose the support of Scandinavian women researchers, Mette Mönsted feared. An alternative proposal was a framework for research by foreigners in Africa initiated by AWORLD and CODESRIA together which should secure results and cooperation with research institutions within the countries of research.

In general, it was thought, women researchers should put more emphasis on spreading their research results. In this field it is important that AWORLD encourages people to send in their research reports since AWORLD tries to avoid duplication of research. However, there are limits to how far African governments can go to enforce conditions for getting results from research. In Kenya, for example, the government has raised the fee for doing research considerably. The fee will encourage researchers to do a serious job, and at the same time the fee could be a support for local research.

It is important that policy-makers are informed about research results. Often they are not. There is also the problem of distributing results to ordinary people due to lack of communication. Researchers should think of alternative means of communication, Prudence Woodford-Berger suggested. Media such as posters, comic-books, songs, theatre, etc. can also be used in disseminating information about the women's situation. The question is, however, who is going to fund such activities.
Project priorities

Experiences, objectives and means

The central issue is how to integrate women in the sectors of higher productivity, Fatima Mernissi said. Women’s projects should not be confined to the home-economics sector, when the rest of the society is developing. It is time to stop arranging courses for women in subjects like poultry-keeping and embroidery. Such projects improve the situations of all members of a family or even result in more work for the women to do. By emphasising exactly such “women’s projects” the implementors have actively contributed to keeping women away from economic activities of more importance. The decision-making in the economy has remained the prerogative of men.

In Morocco, for example, the central parts of the economy are changing towards petrochemistry. Nevertheless, the economists still continue to encourage chicken-farms and small-scale businesses as suitable activities for women. Instead, they should introduce women to the new economic development. Otherwise women are maintained in the periphery outside the domain of men. We must fight the “chicken-policy”, was the convincing statement of Fatima Mernissi. It is a great mistake to believe that the position of women is improved by meeting basic needs - food, clothes, water and housing. That is no way to achieve equality between the sexes. Development in Scandinavia provides a good illustration of this. Scandinavian women have experienced that basic needs are fulfilled but this has not been the highway to equality, Camilla Odhöff said.

In rural development projects it is not unusual to find men that support women’s projects, especially the income-generating activities which often put an even heavier work-load on women, Terry Kantai said. But men are also afraid that women will dominate in the group. When an economic project is successful, men want to join the group to fill leader-positions such as secretary and treasurer. It is not unusual to find women’s projects where men make up the committee and women the low-paid labour force.

In many places, for example in Kenya, the mobilization of women in women’s groups is very intensive. Women organize themselves and are highly aware of their own situation. The structure of these groups is well suited for assistance, even though the spontaneous organization of the groups originally had other purposes, such as group savings schemes for roof-building, for water tanks or for buying land. It is estimated that there are more than 6000 women’s groups in Kenya. These groups are in need of assistance and have received little help and guidance so far. Assistance is important since capital and infrastructure are crucial when women’s projects are considered for rural areas. The groups are active in the traditional activities of women but also go outside the traditional division of labour, e.g. into fishing, beekeeping and transport. The women’s groups are small and there have been no cases of misuse of funds as is so often the case in male-dominated cooperatives or other voluntary organizations, Terry Kantai reported.

While it is most important that aid reaches women at the grass-root level, emphasis on women’s education, also at university level, is a crucial precondition. With more educated women the pressure on men will be harder and the chances of getting women into positions at government level and other decision-making positions are increased. However, before women can fully participate in education it has been seen in many places that women need other facilities too. New student homes and nurseries to which students can bring their children are examples of necessary facilities for women at university level. As the situation is now, very few women can go to universities and the rate of drop-outs is very high, said Freda Chale.

Family planning projects - a dubious undertaking?

Camilla Odhöff was particularly concerned about experiences with family planning projects in Africa. Scandinavian countries have spent and still spend vast sums on family planning projects, and yet there is a feeling that these projects are not fully appreciated. Since the turn of the century Scandinavian women have fought to create a situation in which a woman has control over her own body, over child-births, etc. Should research now be directed to questions such as: How does family planning work
in Africa? How should it be organized? Is family planning useless and should it be abandoned?

Zen Tadesse replied that it is a crucial issue to extend the rights of women to give them access to resources to decide and control their own body, births etc. But this has been used to push population policy and the ideology related to overpopulation and its approach to family planning. Most women programmes include aspects of family planning as a condition and an important part of the programme. The programmes, however, are generally insufficiently funded, and knowledge of dangers of infection, of the pill etc. is very poor. Few people are aware of the dangerous export of experimental medicines, pills etc. from Europe and the USA for testing on rural populations. Technology advocated by family-planners is very unrealistic for hungry, sick, and overworked women in the developing countries.

Family planning also has a class base. Abortion is only available to rich women. Why, for example, do Westerners introduce pills, injections and other dangerous contraceptives into Africa instead of supporting facilities for abortion? asked Fatima Mernissi. An advantage of the pill was that it originally gave women access to a medical examination which they would otherwise never get. But lately, projects of providing pills without a medical examinations have been launched in Morocco, for instance. In this context the pill may be endangering the health and life of rural women instead of lightening their burden.

Another technology used now is the intra uterine device (IUD). This method requires the healing of infections of the uterus before inserting the IUD but in rural areas of Morocco the IUD is inserted without previous examination and treatment. Research shows that approximately 60% of the adult women suffer from infections of this type, said Fatima Mernissi.

With regard to the physical danger to women and the class policy represented by family planning projects, African women participants were in favour of starting a campaign against the pill with the support of women’s movements. Large numbers of women are already converted to regulating their families and births, often without the support of men, but they object to the poor technology of family planning in Africa.

Means to accomplish useful projects for women

It was stressed again and again during the discussions that a basic condition for creating useful projects for women is that women are involved at the planning stage and not only as recipients of ready-made aid projects. One of the most important tasks it was considered, is to integrate women in rural development. They are in the majority in rural areas, since they remain to do the work while the men are away doing other things.

However, nobody can be integrated in development unless they are aware of their situation and are willing to be integrated. Women have to change the conditions themselves. When bringing up children it is important that they do not automatically socialize their children in the traditional sex roles. A structure through which women can be reached is necessary to enable them to work for better conditions for themselves and their children. Part of this structure may include voluntary organizations but they are insufficient when it comes to channeling government aid. The structure of women's groups therefore has to tie up with the government machinery. Through this structure extension services in new fields such as money-generating activities may substitute the hitherto traditional extension service to women.

The need for women's training was strongly emphasised by Ivy Matese-Casaburri. In short, no aid without a training element was the opinion of many seminar participants. And many different types of training are required: training of women to help them plan and manage projects, vocational training in agriculture, tailoring, small-scale business and marketing, not to forget training in sectors that women have traditionally been left out of or know little about, e.g. training in irrigation, storage techniques, plant diseases, veterinary sciences, etc. Some felt that such training should be directed to the grass root levels.
as a means of integrating women in development, to assist them to feed their children and to survive economically.

However, once again the grass-root approach was not unopposed. Fatima Mernissi, for example, strongly emphasised that full integration of women at all levels of society requires women’s education and training at all levels and in all fields up to, for example, engineering and similar professions. The training of instructors and political training of women to increase their receptability are also integral parts of this issue.

Although the concept “women’s projects” was used throughout the discussions without being strictly defined it was stressed that women’s problems are to be seen as an integrated part of problems in society at large. Women’s projects should be incorporated in development programmes. This is not only a question of integrating women into men’s development but also of integrating men into women’s development. When women are integrated into development the men become frightened. It is therefore also necessary to mobilize the men and to increase their awareness, said Terry Kantai. Besides involvement, however, funds are necessary. Women have been left behind for so long that large sums of money are now needed to support women in helping themselves. Individual women’s projects may require only small sums but often even these amounts are unavailable. This problem is particularly difficult for women involved in self-help projects. It does not imply that funds for women should be for petty donations only.

Larger funds are required for things such as training of instructors and for vocational training courses for women. There is a danger of putting too much emphasis on “seed money”. Seeing to basic needs does not bring about integration of women by itself. Funds must also be spent on encouraging women to enter the power structure. There is a danger that by concentrating on the rural women only they would be caught in that part of the economy which appears to be stagnant while men are in the modernised economy.

Problems for refugee women, particularly those of the national liberation movements in Southern Africa

The problems for refugee women deserve special concern. The particularly difficult situation of refugee women in Zambia from the liberation movements SWAPO, ANC and the Patriotic Front was referred to several times during the seminar. In the liberation movements the women fought along with the men, but following independence they generally get less support in the bureaucracies. Neither are the liberation movements themselves free from sexual inequality. Women of the liberation movements are aware of the patriarchal inheritance of the movements from the traditional societies and they now struggle for equality.

Refugees are generally completely destitute, said Madi Gray. There is a tremendous lack of basic necessities in terms of simple things like clothes, sewing machines and materials, sanitary goods, typewriters and newspapers, transport facilities, etc. for which funds are urgently needed. It was proposed that alternative channels had to be considered since the bureaucracies of the aid donors have difficulties in handling small funds and exceptional cases.

Moreover, women in the liberation movements must prepare themselves for the future. The need for education and training is tremendous, involving training courses ranging from agriculture, insects, diseases, accounting and farm management to storage techniques, chemistry and veterinary problems. But priority is also given to education at all levels, health training and for training in public administration. These needs of refugee women in Zambia were reported by Ivy Matsaepe-Casaburri on behalf of the liberation movements.

Participation of African Authorities and African Women’s Organizations

Constraints on integrating women in development and on planning useful women’s projects are to be found in the patriarchal structure and in male chauvinism in both donor and recipient
country. When, for example, a donor agency comes to Africa to discuss aid programmes, male representatives of the agencies meet and discuss with men who know little about women's needs. The presence of women in negotiating parties should be self-evident.

Some governments give aid to small-scale projects for women. At the same time the governments are making long-range plans on a national level, but it is frequently seen that the explicit consideration of the women's situation disappears as one moves from the small-scale level to the national level. Within a structure encompassing both voluntary organizations and government bodies more effective support could be channelled to women. But first, women have to be placed in the various government bodies. In Kenya, for example, the Women's Bureau has developed a structure of decentralised planning committees encompassing extension workers and women leaders from the women's groups. Together they plan local development projects.

But who were to be the women taking part in government negotiations with donor agencies and who should they represent? A number of women in influential positions do not understand or want to understand the problems of rural women. Often they concentrate on irrelevant issues such as handicraft projects. Local governments seldom make request for specific women's programmes and when women's projects are prepared they generally reflect the "women's role". When men think of a woman, Terry Kantai said, they think of their mother or their wife who is at home cleaning and cooking. To them an emancipated woman is frightening. Women's organizations in Africa have the difficult task of putting pressure on their governments. Pressures can be put in many ways - diplomatic or otherwise.

Since the International Women's Year, 1975, some strides have been made towards improving the lot of the African woman. A multinational programming and operational centre now exists under the auspices of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, carrying out its work of integrating women into development in cooperation with governments. Some countries have created national machineries to work with this structure. Kenya has the Women's Bureau and some countries have ministries for women's affairs. A number of political parties have women's wings. Women in countries without government structures are attempting to use voluntary women's organizations, but this is hardly sufficient to successfully reach the rural poor.

The role of donor agencies and development cooperation

The question was raised what aid donors could do to promote more women-related projects. The situation is such that the recipient governments decide how to spend aid money and women's projects usually range low on their list of priorities. Aid donors such as SIDA can only support projects given priority by recipient governments but are usually not prepared to encourage aid specifically designed for women. The organizational structure of SIDA, as of all donor organizations, is hierarchical, with mostly men at the top. Consequently, the women's aspect is not always given proper consideration. There are, however, three levels at which agencies such as SIDA could work in order to improve women's conditions, said Karin Himmelstrand:

1. The policy level: This involves scrutinizing and modifying policy statements, planning documents, projects, programs and evaluation proposals in order to make sure that women's interests are kept in mind and to make sure that what is written is correct and to the point.

2. The operational level: All projects of potential concern for women must be designed in order to make them realistic and easy to implement.

3. The field level: An informed and continuous dialogue has to be performed between representatives of governments in developing countries and aid organizations.

Of SIDA's total funds a small amount, 3.2 mill. Swedish kronor, are set aside for projects with women as a target group. SIDA also supports the women's program within ECA. But of course women profit from SIDA aid, particularly that given to the health and education-sectors, but also to programs in the field of agriculture. On the research side SAREC - SIDA's research
The basic features of the Nordic aid agencies are similar. In Norway, however, a committee functions as a consultant to NORAD and as an intermediary between NORAD and Norwegian women's organizations, Birgit Wiig explained. This committee was established only after pressure from the women's organizations who had discovered that most development projects had very little, if any, impact on the situation of women. The committee disseminates information about foreign aid to Norwegian women and analyses proposed projects from the viewpoint of the impact on women.

Some doubt was expressed regarding the channelling of funds for specific purposes. It was asked how much of the aid money goes to what it was really meant for? Ulla Lehmann Nielsen answered that the DANIDA board requires that the granted money is spent exactly in accordance with the budget of a project agreed upon between DANIDA and the recipient. DANIDA administration costs are covered separately.

Ulla Lehmann Nielsen also commented on the proposal for "seed money", small grants put at the disposal of rural women to help in solving acute problems. Although the idea is very fascinating, it is very difficult for agencies such as DANIDA to grant money without knowing in advance what it is to be spent on. This lies in budget procedures, auditor, monitoring, etc. However, over the past two years a lot has been done in DANIDA to inform the staff of this important aspect of the development cooperation.

DANIDA has now set up working groups, arranged staff seminars, etc. in order to promote the understanding and knowledge of the problems of women in the developing countries. DANIDA has also sent a letter to governments of the major aid recipient countries encouraging them to include women's projects on their priority lists. Attempts to press their governments to allocate aid to women have also been made by intermediary women such as researchers and women's organizations in Scandinavia. Such efforts have accomplished little but the pressure should be directed at governments at both the receiving and the donating end. This is a ground for solidarity between women in the developing countries and in the industrialized countries.

A proposal that a condition should be put on aid in order to secure that a certain amount would go to women's projects evoked intensive debate. Some participants felt that it was a very dangerous idea, especially since they had fought for years to remove the conditions enveloping aid. In the long run much stronger groups, than those supporting women, such as industry for example, which are also interested in conditions on aid, will win out, said Mette Mønsted.

A suggestion that aid should be provided for projects that guaranteed to employ a certain percentage of women was also criticised. "Aid with strings" will easily stand out as attempts by donors to interfere in internal affairs in the recipient countries.

The seminar did not see any easy solution to increasing aid so that it had better effect with regard to women. What should be attempted was a united force between the African women concerned, donor agencies and intermediary women in the donor countries who can explain the needs of African women. Such alliances are, of course, not independent of the relationship between donor organizations and recipient organizations. They are affected by the power structure and the role of the bureaucracies involved, and by the relationship between governments and women's organizations. Neither should it be forgotten that the international concern is now on basic needs and on a new international economic order. It is important to be aware of both the international and the national level in getting the women's aspect into the Third Development Decade programmes, said Hilika Pietilä. Researchers must press both at the international and at the national levels to have this aspect given close attention.
What stood out as a generally agreed "strategy" was that pressures should be applied at all levels, international, national and locally in the communities. All channels, official and unofficial, should be used for spreading information and aid, and both men and women must be mobilized to increase the awareness of women's situations and of the need to improve the conditions of women.

Yesterday I said a few words about what our objectives are but I would like to make a short introduction about the historical background of AAWORD (Association of African Women for Research and Development) and our objectives, problems and prospects. AAWORD is the result of a growing awareness and frustration experienced by African women scholars, African women concerned about changes in their situation, African women who work in the field and are searching for answers to the innumerable problems that have been mentioned during the last two days. We realized that very little effort was needed on our part as a collective to do something about it; on one hand to articulate it and on the other to attempt to change the situation. Therefore this growing awareness and need to form some kind of a network among African women came to the forefront at a conference which involved a confrontation between First World women and Third World women where Third World women, particularly African women, felt that they were completely excluded from any kind of impact on this international debate, which was about Women in Development. As a result of this frustration a research proposal was prepared by two African women who presented it to SAREC. The proposal was immediately accepted. The main point was to call a consultant meeting of about eleven women researchers in Zambia in December 1976. At this meeting we got together and discussed whether there was a need for a continent-wide organization and what we could possibly do as African researchers scattered all over this continent. At this point we set up objectives but decided that the best way to approach a formal formation of an organization was to meet at a workshop a year later. Therefore, as part of the initial proposal to SAREC we suggested this workshop, to which they agreed in principle as well as financing it. This second meeting took place in Dakar, Senegal, between December 12-17, 1977 and was attended by about 55 participants from thirty African countries as well as a
large number of observers, some of whom were Scandinavian women and representatives of UN agencies. This conference not only culminated in the formation of a formal organization but it was a forum where many questions were raised. What, for example, are the problems of women in Africa in general; what can we do about them? The question of research was the subject of one of the main debates, and it was emphasised that researchers should not conduct research for the sake of research alone or for recognition in the academic field but that research should immediately be used for setting up practical programmes or correcting programmes that are ongoing and have been found to be insufficient or inapplicable to women's specific situation. The emphasis was thus mainly on evaluative research. What kind of programmes exist for women? What are the problems and what can be done about them? Another question was that of the theoretical approach, which earlier has always been the domain of outsiders on the continent. Therefore, we formed a group on methodology which tries to conceptualize the condition of women in Africa, regardless of the specific form of oppression it takes. What are the methods needed to understand these questions, and what are other people doing that is relevant to us, and what are the situations that are very specific to Africa because of the different historical and cultural experiences historically? Another group is working on the problems of rural women. This group is convened by Freda Chale, whom you know is a field worker and a very concerned and experienced African woman. We will soon embark on a research programme called Focus on Rural Women, where different people will take part in programmes of comparative studies of rural women across the continent and specific problems that women in the rural areas face. A group is working on Psycho-cultural Aspects of Women, i.e. how the women see themselves in society and so forth. This is linked with their role in production and reproduction. Another group is called Urban Studies on Women, which focuses specifically on problems that face women in the urban areas. This also includes the question of migration, employment opportunities for women, and the specific problems of working class women in the urban areas, as well as, of course, other women who make up these groups.

The fifth division in our organization works with legal questions concerning women. Here we study the general legal conditions as they exist today, the customary laws that exist in our society, and the interaction of these two sets of laws with women's access to and recognition of them. We divided the work for the sake of convenience although we agreed to avoid departmentalization of women's life. What we emphasise throughout is not only the unity of research theory in practice but also the interdisciplinary aspect of the study in a real sense.

One of the strengths in our work is that we are social scientists and natural scientists. We have doctors as well who can see the aspect of women from very different angles and not just those seen by the sociologist or the economist. The emphasis is on interdisciplinary work and seeing women as a whole. By emphasizing this principle we can automatically link our research findings with ongoing activities. Now, having said this we have a bureau which comprises of a chairperson, a secretary general, two editors and two conveners for each of the groups I mention. In our plan of action we have a yearly journal and a bimonthly newsletter which we hope to work on as a priority this year. However, in the same way as any nongovernmental organization, we face the problem of funds. One solution to this problem is by our own donations to the organization, which have been very encouraging so far, and the other one is, of course, by writing proposals to donor agencies that support women's programmes or research on women. So far, an outstanding contribution has come from SAREC which has given us moral and material help throughout our formation. Then, of course, there is SIDA. Today we are here because of SIDA's understanding of our problems.

UNESCO has also given us two grants to follow up two different aspects, and there are different nongovernmental organizations that have shown tremendous interest. At present we are working on proposals to accommodate the different requests that we have been getting. Another form of cooperation and I think, one of recognition of the importance of this type of organization, has
come from the African Training and Research Centre for Women at the Economic Commission for Africa, ECA. In October we will meet to consolidate our areas of cooperation as the centre feels that there are several aspects that can easily be done by AAWORD. A meeting is being planned whereby we will in an organizational form consolidate this cooperation with the ECA centre. Here I should mention that about three of the experts working at the women's centre are not only members but one or two of them are conveners of our different groups, so technically there is already unity between these two organizations.

Now, to return to our problems. One problem has been that of finance as I said. However, people seem to expect a tremendous lot from us, which is both a problem and a prospect. Perhaps I should explain that we have existed only since December. The work is something we do in our spare time. AAWORD does not exist as an organization of fulltime workers. But on the other hand, we take it as a complement and as a recognition that we can indeed do something about women's situation in Africa, and we are trying as much as possible to meet these expectations. I am not saying that we do not try to influence policy but we don't expect, for example, having evaluated a programme, that the next day everything will change in accordance with what we state.

Now, I shall move on to our prospects. So far, we consider one of our successes the recognition by African scholars themselves, as well as by African male researchers, who have now become aware that the woman question has been neglected and that it is very important. At our congress some of the observers will remember that CODESRIA, one of the wellknown African regional research organizations, had asked us to join and, at that time, on a point of principle we had declined, wanting to maintain our own independence. Although we still want to maintain our independence we are receiving all kinds of recognition as an organization already, being invited to ongoing research projects and also to present our views on different panels. In the past we have usually been invited to participate as a window dressing. There are indeed women who can articulate the needs of women in their own ways and also influence policy. We have been receiving very encouraging letters from other African sisters who have not been able to attend our conference and we get tremendous amounts of letters asking for membership and so forth, which is very encouraging in spite of the low profile we have maintained.

Another question that I want to address myself to, is how we see the role of other women's groups in relation to ours. The basic thing is that we need a lot of solidarity and for us as an organisation this solidarity should first and foremost take the form of understanding that we are not competing with anybody. We feel that there is a lot of things to be done for women both in the West and in our own countries, and this forum should first of all understand why we need different organizations and how these can exist as two types of organizations which are interested in the same topic. So, for example, we appreciate those women's journals who run articles explaining what our objectives and aims are and so forth. Another form, of course, is to have members invited to conferences where you think policy discussions are taking place, so that we can come and express our views from a non-governmental point of view and also to distribute our newsletters. But on the whole, what we really would like from other women's organizations and interested groups is the spirit of solidarity that there are some African women who are trying to get going in terms of articulating their needs and in altering policy.
WOMEN IN AFRICA AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Speech by Lily A.W. Monze

It is a great honour and privilege for me to participate and thus represent my country and my continent at a seminar preoccupied with an issue very dear to my heart: the uplifting of the lot of women, with emphasis on the African woman. I am particularly pleased to exchange ideas with you on the aspects dealing with development assistance since that is my sphere of operation.

I have found the last two days very fruitful indeed, both personally and in my professional capacity. We are always learning something new and no-one can claim a monopoly of knowledge. Coming to Scandinavia has been a very great experience in that I have come to understand and appreciate your programmes better, which promotes fruitful cooperation. My thanks and those of my government go to the organisers of this seminar, the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, and the government of Sweden, through the Swedish International Development Authority, for the kind invitation and for enabling me to visit Sweden. The only regret I have is that the time allocated will not permit me to go into as great a detail as I would have liked.

It is right and proper that this seminar should be taking place here in Sweden where there is so much evidence of the much-debated liberation of women. We in Zambia regard Sweden as one of the countries in the forefront of development assistance matters. On the international level Sweden is one of the few industrialised countries that have achieved and exceeded the United Nations target of 0.7% of GDP in official development assistance in line with the new international economic order. Much of what I have said about Sweden in connection with development assistance is to a certain extent true of the other Nordic countries, Finland, Norway and Denmark. Nordic initiatives on development assistance issues have gone a long way in influencing favourably the approach and the attitude of the international community, particularly the attitude since 1975, the Women’s Year, in implementing some of the recommendations of the Mexico Declaration. The present seminar is one such positive contribution, another was the seminar earlier this year in Belgium. In this way there has been a growing awareness by those in the developed world of the need to enter into dialogues with women from Africa. It is hoped that meaningful cooperation will grow out of these dialogues. In no way should this be taken to indicate that there is no cooperation already established. These is a lot already on the ground, for which we are grateful, but if we are to be fair and completely forthright on this issue, most of it stems from a paternalistic angle. It is now that the African women's point of view is shaping official policies at all levels.

Before continuing I would like to try to put this topic into its true perspective. There is a great temptation for me to talk about development assistance in detail, or even about the subject of women's development in Africa, but time limitations force me to keep to the topic as it appears on the agenda. Although for those of us who are gathered here the starting point is that development assistance is a going concern and acceptable by both parties, i.e. those in the developing and the developed world, I shall attempt to share with you what I understand by development assistance. Coming from the Ministry of Economic and Technical Cooperation, I would have been happier with the term 'development cooperation'. After all, Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway and many other countries have Ministries of Development Cooperation and not Ministries for Development Assistance. So why should a change be made at this seminar? It is a pity that for some people development assistance means that the developing world approaches the developed world with cap in hand to ask for assistance. When the issue is closely considered you will find that the developing world has also got something to offer to the developed world in this cooperation. There is even an exaggerated example here: one of the British newspapers, reporting on my President's visit to the United States earlier this year, when he had occasion to sing his favourite national song "Tiende pamos" or "All work together", said that Kaunda had something to sing about because his pocket has been lined, but this was a reference to a loan not even a grant. So you can see the ridiculous extent to which this subject can be misunderstood. However, in the case of Scandinavia I would say that we are partners in development cooperation. Time does not permit me to describe in detail how African and other developing countries also make contributions to cooperation in this respect. Who assists who? Who are the partners in my definition of development cooperation? In the present case
before us you have all the women of Africa on the receiving end, and friendly foreign governments, institutions, the UN and its family and non-governmental organisations, voluntary organisations, including women's organisations and individuals on the other side in the developed world. Already there is an imbalance because we are talking of women on the other side as an institution weighed against the other institutions mentioned earlier. It would perhaps have been easier to talk about how far development assistance has helped the Africa region. However, having said that I suppose I should pause to explain why we are concerned with women and not men, and why just Africa. The answers are very obvious, because I am very convinced that there is a real need for the international community to focus on issues involving the development of women. Despite my hesitation over the word 'assistance', I therefore accept the topic and, in fact, later you will notice that I am contradicting myself by strengthening this view of someone bending down to give to someone who is receiving from above. The issue is part of the new international economic order, the bridging of gaps between those who have and those who do not have, putting the issues in their proper perspective, creating a balance between the various forces of development. So until this bridge is achieved we shall continue, in my opinion, to have such seminars. What form does this assistance take? There are several alternatives: financial, where capital is made available on a grant basis via loans or credits with certain conditions, both favourable and unfavourable for development purposes; technical, where personnel come to help the developing world and where equipment is delivered. Some aid is specifically for projects, others for certain sectors within the development programme. There are scholarships for the training programme, volunteers who come out to render services, there is commodity aid for specific commodities, food aid, and many other types of aid, each with its advantages and disadvantages.

Finally, how should the assistance be given? There are several alternatives: financial, where capital is made available on a grant basis via loans or credits with certain conditions, both favourable and unfavourable for development purposes; technical, where personnel come to help the developing world and where equipment is delivered. Some aid is specifically for projects, others for certain sectors within the development programme. There are scholarships for the training programme, volunteers who come out to render services, there is commodity aid for specific commodities, food aid, and many other types of aid, each with its advantages and disadvantages. Ideally, how should the assistance be given? Here, established channels should be respected or many problems may arise. Ideologies in the developing world must be respected. Some countries are socialist-oriented, others are capitalist-oriented. Whatever the ideology, there is a need for the donor to respect it. As for the size of the assistance, it depends really on the capacity of the donor and also whether there is a need. Ideally there should be a mixed approach with both small and large projects. On this issue I can perhaps refer to the discussion earlier, when projects involving seed money were criticised. A start must be made somewhere so that people at low levels receive seed money before they can reach the higher levels. But at the same time we must not forget that there is a group which needs greater challenges than just baking scones and making puddings.

Now, how are we to gauge this impact? I believe we must be very careful as to which perspective we use here, that is to say, whose values are we using, who are the judges of this impact? To me, impact suggests a major change for better or for worse. A change for the better is what all of us here today are seeking. Has there been any change for the better in the situation of women in Africa? Change for the better assumes that the women were in a certain situation, perhaps ignorant, poor materialistically, in poor health, exploited and discriminated against, etc. What role has development assistance played to better the situation for these women? In other words, have these women become more integrated, are they enjoying higher standards of living, are they more productive in their areas of operation, are they enjoying the fruits of their labour, are they better equipped to play their multiple roles in society, have they been freed from male domination and are taking their rightful places in society? If this is what we are preoccupied with, we are then talking about women the world over, but here, however, we are concerned with the African woman. Development assistance can only do a certain amount about the situation I have described and no more. The rest must be done by the African governments and peoples themselves, communities in those countries. Therefore we must be very careful before we make sweeping general statements - which fortunately I haven't heard at this seminar - that it is development assistance that has caused the situation for the woman in Africa to be what it is; that the women have remained where they are because there is little government assistance. There is much we can do ourselves at home. In fact, development assistance is just a bridge over the gap for whatever the shortage is on the capital and personnel aspects. We find in the Africa region that we do not have all the resources necessary to match our development programmes. This is where development assistance comes in to fill the shortage and it can only be for the time it takes us to become self-reliant. Of course, then we cannot say 'no more
cooperation', because no country, even the most developed, can isolate itself. Even the most developed countries cooperate among themselves.

I shall now outline my approach to the topic under consideration - the impact of development assistance on African women. First of all, since organisational structure is a major prerequisite for development, we shall examine the structures as they pertain to women in Africa and see what role development assistance has played and can continue to play. Then I shall briefly take a few case studies in the Africa region to give you a clearer picture of what actually happens on the ground. We shall then concentrate on constraints and general problems to be tackled, and suggestions as to the role that Scandinavian women's organisations, their governments and other interested parties can play.

The women of Africa have long emphasised the need for national, sub-regional and regional structures to promote and accelerate their own development as individuals and as members of their society. Since the declaration of the United Nations on women, African governments have gone a long way in implementing plans of action and advocating for more participation and contributions of women in development projects in their countries. My task, therefore, is to attempt to analyse what role development assistance has played in this exercise. Since we have listened to so many excellent speakers explaining the meaning of development assistance, as I myself have attempted earlier on, I shall go straight to the heart of the matter. I shall start with the organisational structures.

In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at the headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, an African training and research centre for women exists. The Centre hopes to ensure full integration of women in development in the Africa region through various activities, such as running workshops, encouraging appropriate technology, arranging exchange visits, carrying out research into problems hampering women's development, publishing useful manuals, encouraging voluntary services of a technical assistance nature, etc. Very soon it will start a small-scale crafts section. In April this year I chaired a Review Mission into the Centre's activities, I can speak with some authority in this context. Up to now the Centre has relied very heavily on support from friendly countries and organisations.

This support has come in the form of capital funds, technical assistance, personnel - including the staff of the Centre plus the Director herself -, equipment, consultancies and funds for conferences, seminars, workshops and research. The Scandinavian countries, Sweden in particular, have played a very constructive role. The report of the Review Mission is now ready and interested parties may acquire copies from the E.C.A. headquarters. The E.C.A. Centre for women carries out its programme in close cooperation with the governments in the region and the various machineries that have been set up at all levels - national, sub-regional and regional. At regional level a conference on the implementation of plans of action for the integration of women in development was convened last year in Mauretania under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. With financial and other support from some friendly countries and organisations, a lot of time in Mauretania was spent on discussing the strengthening of structures, and the following structure was agreed upon. The base should be the national machinery in each member state, taking various forms and shapes; such as Ministries for Women's Affairs, as in the Ivory Coast; Women's Councils, as in Ghana; Women's Bureaus, as in Kenya; Women's Wings of political parties, as in Zambia and Tanzania, and so forth. The aim is not only to avoid a duplication of effort but also to ensure that there is a single entity through which major projects and plans can be executed and funds from donor agencies expeditiously transmitted. Whether this is happening or not is answerable by other people but I am sure you have heard something of what is happening in Kenya and Tanzania. I hope to be able to tell you about the situation in Zambia a little later.

In line with the ECA policy of decentralisation of these activities in order to reach the grass-roots, sub-regional machineries have been set up alongside the ECA multinational programming operational centres, known as MULPOCS. The first meeting of the Eastern and Southern Africa sub-region, of which Zambia is one the seventeen member states and is also the headquarters, took place in Lusaka in June this year. Here, as representing the host country at that time, I want place on record our grateful thanks to those
friendly countries, notably Sweden through SIDA, who came to our assistance in mounting such a worthwhile exercise. There is a golden opportunity for developed countries to support subregional programmes for women through contributions to the ECA MULPOCs.

For instance, for the Lusaka MULPOC, one of the agreements was that there is a need for the employment of an officer, preferably a woman, who will be responsible for coordinating women's activities at the sub-regional level. So here is a challenge for the women's organisations represented here today as well as those in other friendly countries. I understand that two other sub-regional committees have been formed in Africa since our last meeting in Mauretania. The last step which was agreed upon in this structure was the formation of the Africa Regional Coordinating Committee to work closely with the women's centre in Addis Ababa. The various sub-regional groups already existing will be responsible for electing the members of the Regional Coordinating Committee. Even though it cannot be said that the formation of these organisational structures has established very much, I must emphasise the importance of having one's work well organised in order to achieve tangible results. It is hoped that more concrete improvements for women will emerge from the new structure.

I shall now continue with a few details of what happens at national level in my own sub-region. In this respect I am privileged to speak as Vice-President of the Africa Regional Committee as well as Chairperson of the Lusaka-based sub-regional group. You will have noticed that we have all been very reluctant to speak for the Africa region as a whole, but on account of the portfolios I mentioned just now, as well as the fact that my Ministry has a lot of dealings with the Economic Commission for Africa, I look at problems from the regional level and not only the national one. In addition, the information I am going to give was submitted by the member-States themselves at the ECA inaugural meeting of the sub-regional committee on the integration of women in development.

I shall start with Kenya. She is an African country which has not only successfully established a Women's Bureau for coordination of activities for governmental and non-governmental organisations, an effective generation of funds received for women's development programmes, but is also a country whose women through various well-run organisations, such as the Women's Council, Maendeleo ya Wanawake and so forth, have drawn up meaningful projects which have earned some funds through self-help and from various bilateral and multilateral donors like UNICEF, FAO, UNDP, Ford Foundation, etc., to mention a few. Kenya is clearly doing well in integrating the rural women in most of these programmes.

Lesotho. The National Council of Women is a voluntary organisation to which five women's organisations are affiliated, and which itself is attached to the Ministry of Rural Development. It aims to create, sustain and promote cooperation among women's organisations, community welfare, non-profitmaking organisations and government and non-government agencies. So far the following projects have been achieved with the help of funds from FAO and through self-help efforts: foot-bridges, water supplies, vegetables gardens, fish ponds, sanitary facilities and community centres. The Women's Council is currently executing an integrated project for rural girl-school leavers training in specific skills, such as basketry, pottery, leatherwork, etc. as well as turning out day-care teachers with a view to encouraging self-employment or cooperatives. UNDP, UNICEF and ILO are some of the financial mainstays behind these projects.

Apart from the 17 member states, our sub-region - which is served by the Lusaka MULPOC - caters for the unliberated countries of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Our sisters in these countries still suffer from the imbalance between men and women created by the oppressive colonial settlers that still inhabit and rule these countries. These women, therefore, are denied many rights, especially those of employment, which extends to trades and industries. We shall take Namibia as an example. The South-Western African Peoples Party, SWAPO, is the political party which is trying to correct this situation. This is done by intensive adult literacy and educational programmes in all SWAPO refugee centres in the neighbouring countries of Angola and Zambia. Some of the women from these centres are sent for advanced training in such fields as child-care, nutrition, community health, cooperative management, telecommunications and secretarial work. However committed the party may be to the integration of women in the liberation and
development process, it has limitations concerning facilities for training women in the relevant skills. The United Nations Institute for Namibia provides assistance to a great extent. I am making a special appeal here to all peace-loving and progressive forces with funding capabilities to contribute generously towards such deserving causes as those for women in the liberation movements.

Lastly, my own country, Zambia. The women's national machinery is the Zambia Women's Council of the Women's Brigade of the United National Independence Party. To this coordinating body are affiliated some of the other women's organisations, such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Home Economists' Association of Zambia, etc. Even those that are not yet affiliated, such as The Catholic Women's League, Business and Professional Women's Club, etc, participate in the affairs of the Council. Although Zambia enjoys a lot of support from various friendly bilateral and multilateral donors, it is difficult to gauge what assistance comes in through official channels specifically for women's projects. Most country programmes are drawn up on a general developmental basis following the national plan. Since the plan does not include a special section for women's development as such, this is reflected in the programmes entered into with our partners. If women benefit at all in such programmes, they benefit as nationals and not because they are women. Take our cooperation with SIDA, since Sweden is one of our greatest cooperators. Within our country programme there are no funds that are earmarked for women's development as such and yet when it comes to the health sector, training of nurses and midwives is one of our projects, so women do benefit. Support for the cooperative and agricultural ventures is for the benefit of both men and women. The same goes for the educational sector which involves training technicians at one of our schools and support for the School of Mines at the University of Zambia. I could give you many examples of SIDA's involvement in our development programme. This is the pattern that most of the development assistance has taken and this also to some extent applies to Kenya, Lesotho, Tanzania and several other countries which I need not mention. Therefore, it behoves that both sides should do something to help women specifically, to help them better than has been the case now if we are to bridge that gap. In Zambia the need to supply certain services women has been identified. We have asked SIDA to help us start a women's training centre because training is one area of need in Zambia. SIDA is willing to help but as you heard for yourselves this morning not only from SIDA but also from DANIDA, in the absence of facts no funds have been allocated. Speaking in my position as head of the Ministry dealing with these projects, I cannot foresee at present the day when we can present the well-documented projects necessary for the release of these funds. So we have to face this issue realistically. Perhaps in such a situation the best approach would be to accept that due to certain factors women have not reached the stage when they can deliver these well-documented projects. There are certain constraining factors: lack of education in the past was one of them.

Would it not be advisable for SIDA and the other donor agencies to contribute within the country programme to a fund for women's development, from which we can draw as projects become available? This is a different approach to the one we discussed earlier when it was suggested that SIDA might consider allocating funds for a certain project only on the condition that 10-20% of the employees were women. As regards NORAD, I would say we have made a break-through of a kind, that in our country programme we agreed to have certain funds for women's projects. Admittedly, the first sum is very small indeed but the principle has been established and very soon a course in leadership training will be undertaken. As usual there are several conditions for this project but some of them are very favourable to women: one being that 50% of the participants at this course should come from rural areas. This is very good and agrees with our policy of developing the rural areas. Another condition states that the money can only be given to the institution that we need it for when the list of participants has been drawn up. Thus having made an important break-through, one's enthusiasm is dampened because of the various conditions placed. As regards the institution in question, they are finding it very difficult to recruit the leaders for this course without knowing how much money there is available, or even whether it will be forthcoming at all. However, this is perhaps an administrative problem, and I only raised it as an example of some of the problems we have to face.
Another example of the conditions we have to fulfil is in the aid given to Zambia through volunteer organisations from Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Britain etc. But frequently this aid cannot be implemented since the organisations place a deadline for their volunteers on a certain date. Naturally, this makes it difficult for us since there are many different organisations involved and two Ministries - my own Ministry which does the coordinating, and the Ministry interested in the sector in question. Frequently, the lengthy correspondence involved, as well as bureaucracy on both sides, leads to the volunteer being lost. There is a definite need for some of these conditions to be relaxed. Another problem is the slow movement of some of the donor agencies. An offer is made and everyone gets excited, but when the project is identified nothing happens for, perhaps, eight months or so. Then there is the question of the rejection of projects, which I referred to when we discussed research yesterday. Although these projects could easily be accommodated within the framework, though perhaps not exactly to the point because of various problems at the national level, they are still rejected. We have a case in point where some women in one part of Zambia wanted support for a fruit and vegetable preservation project. We can all agree that food storage is one of the most important aspects in helping women. But the donor in question had certain ideas about the research behind the project. One condition was that it had to have replicability so that it could be followed up in other parts of the country. But this is a very easy type of project to sell, since everybody is interested in knowing how to preserve thier fruit and vegetables. Then you have the aspect where some countries say that only those who speak, for example, French, can be admitted to a certain course. Now, Zambia was under British influence throughout the period of colonial rule, so we have very few French-speakers. Therefore it is futile for us to try to follow up this offer since the people are just not available. Then there are those who offer, say, twenty training places for post-graduates in medicine. But in Zambia we need every single trained Zambian doctor on the job. Could we really afford to send twenty to another country at one time, as much as we need the possibility for post-graduate training? We can only afford perhaps three or four at a time. So what happens to the offer of the remaining seventeen places? It just collapses. Here is a clear case for more flexibility, since the funds earmarked for these seventeen doctors will go to other areas of development.

I would now like to continue by identifying the general problems facing women on the basis of what I have just said and what has been brought up at this seminar. The problems will not be mentioned in order of priority.

The lack of influence on policy-makers is a question to be considered at both ends - the developed and the developing. For instance, the question has been put why there are so few requests for specific women's projects in country programmes. In fact, women's programmes are generally of low priority among men on the planning committees. I think we can confidently say that there should be more women on the policy-making bodies as negotiators and so on. The problem here is, as I pointed out earlier, not because in a given situation the authorities are not interested, but there are other factors; women lag behind and do not have the qualifications needed to sit on those Boards and other such forums. This can be traced back to our past colonial history, and is not so much a lack of democracy in the governments in power now but an issue that extends further back. The women themselves should stand for these posts. I would suggest here that it is not only from our end in the developing countries that pressure must be exerted, but also you in the developed countries must act as pressure groups in influencing donor agency Boards, Governments etc. on this matter. There is a real need for more resources to flow into specific programmes for women in the Africa region. The question of conditions and restrictions could also be considered along these lines, i.e. changes can only come about if those who are convinced about an idea can put pressure on the people who make the decisions. As for priorities - as I have already mentioned - they certainly belong to the developing countries, but unfortunately we have not yet reached the happy situation when this can be said to be so. The ignorance on both sides also poses a big problem. By ignorance I mean not being aware of existing opportunities where donor agencies can help the woman's cause,
nor do we, at the other end, know where to go for support when we have a need. This is why the structure I mentioned earlier is very important to us in the Africa region. We hope that by giving support for our national machinery, support for our sub-regional structure and support for our regional structure the various people in positions of responsibility will be able to channel the aid where it is needed and direct the women there to where the aid is forthcoming. This has been done in Canada where they have an organisation on a voluntary basis which channels aid on a match-making basis; it is even called Match. If a given institution in a developing country needs some support from a Canadian organisation this body studies the request and passes it on to one of their main organisations to see whether they could help. They themselves do not handle the funds but are just a kind of clearing-house.

Another major problem is that women lack capital, they lack credits, they lack extension staff, trainers, equipment, technical know-how, technology, facilitating devices, etc. All these points provide fertile ground for support from the developed world. For some reason, I know not why, there is a certain reluctance on the part of the donor agencies to give something that will have an immediate impact. It is a sad situation, but true. There are a few cases I could refer to. The Canadian Government run what they call a mission, which has a fund available for immediate use. It is wonderful to be able to go to the High Commissioner on behalf of a women's cooperative group in some part of the country who need a tractor, and obtain from this fund, which is outside the country programme, immediate assistance. Admittedly, this happens very rarely but the possibility is always there. There has been some criticism from DANDIDA that in such cases there is no knowledge of where the money will go. But this is money handled through government channels and is subjected to scrutiny by the government auditor so there is a safeguard that the money is used for the correct purpose. I think there is a need here to reconsider some of the present conditions. Here I think I should emphasise the point I made earlier about ear-marking funds within the given country programme for women's development. I am sure that nobody would object to this proposal as it is the most practical way. But, of course, first all the donor agencies must agree to this approach. Lack of infrastructure has been mentioned, the lack of transport and communication problems, the need of magazines and newspapers to spread information about women. Then there are the common ills which we have had for such a long time; ignorance in the other sense of not knowing how to read or write, disease, poverty, and their offshoots such as malnutrition etc. I am sure that the way is the one that has been discussed here around this table: scholarships, training, seminars, conferences etc. should be encouraged. I know that donor agencies often consider that seminars or conferences are impractical but I can assure you that the opposite is the truth. If there had been no conference in Mauretania there would have been no talk now of the structure I outlined earlier. Similarly, no fruitful exchange of ideas would have occurred had the present seminar not taken place. There is thus a real need to change some of our ideas about areas of support.

Support for voluntary organisations is very important provided it is done through the right channels. The volunteers do a very good job, especially for school-leavers in Zambia. Income-generating activities of a self-help nature should be encouraged, as well as research, more challenging opportunities for the woman who is more qualified, exchange visits within the region or even outside it, transfer of technology, day-care centres, training of trainers etc. The administration has to be looked at as bureaucratic at both ends. Something must be done to streamline the procedures so that the impact can be felt by the women for whom the aid is meant. The point of too much money being spent on overheads has already been discussed here. Again I must emphasise the need of more flexibility and realism appropriate in this issue of cooperation. The criteria that have been set up for giving aid may not necessarily be the best, i.e. the income per capita.

We must support each other as women, we must build each other up if we are to make any break-through. Minor jealousies must give way to major objectives.

Finally, I would like to say that in our work with Scandinavian donor agencies we are partners, and it is my hope that the same situation can be replicated throughout the world. There is a need for policy to be influenced for better conditions, for
flexibility, etc., there is a need to strengthen the administrative structure and organisational structures, there is a need for programmes which will reduce dependence and generate resources, if possible encouraging self-help, and a need for all-round development with our men-folk and an increasing awareness of what is going on. Unless women in Africa are assisted in this manner, Africa risks a retardation of development programmes that I am sure the developed countries would wish to avoid.

WOMEN IN AFRICA
A select reading list. Literature published since 1975

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