

6860226/52 PD-AAF-675
1510 2221

FINAL QUARTERLY REPORT

NANCY WALLICK - PROJECT ANTHROPOLOGIST

A.I.D. Contract n° 686-081-79

Project n° 686-0226

PROJECT TITLE : TRAINING WOMEN IN THE SAHEL

FINAL REPORT. NOVEMBER 15, 1980
NANCY WALICK PROJECT ANTHROPOLOGIST
USAID PROJECT FORMATION DES FEMMES DANS LE SAHEL

I. Introduction

Rather than merely summarizing my activities as PFFS Anthropologist over the past year, I will analyze and critique every aspect and phase of my duties. I will then make proposals for a re-definition of anthropological inputs to community development projects. My contract requires that I submit a plan "detailing a proposed strategy for anthropological inputs to future projects involving women" as part of my final report. My proposals will be relevant to any kind of project deeply involved at the community level rather than those which are specifically aimed at women because women's projects can take on a wide variety of forms. I will address myself to issues related to women's projects in general and to PFFS in particular in the third section of this report.

II. Analysis of Position as PFFS Anthropologist

The duties of the PFFS Anthropologist are divided into two parts, implementation and research. There were questions at the outset as to which part was to be more important, my former supervisor holding that the stress should be placed on implementation while the REDSO Social Analyst felt that the primary emphasis should be placed on research. I thought that there should not be any question of emphasizing one aspect of the job over the other, but rather that the two must be integrated. My argument was this. The research outlined in my contract was referred to as replication research, but it was primarily evaluative. That is, I was to propose a strategy for replicating a women's project for the Sahel, but the proposal was to be based on an evaluation of what had gone before. This was not to be a simple evaluation of the project's overall performance, i.e. it did well or poorly, but a detailed evaluation of what worked or did not work and why that was so in the given socio-cultural context.

In order to do such detailed evaluation, I needed to be involved in implementation work. Such involvement was necessary if I was to be thoroughly informed of project activities in order to evaluate them. Secondly it was necessary so that I would be able to recommend changes based on my evaluation and then to monitor the effectiveness of the alterations. This did not mean, however, that the research should be seen as entirely secondary to implementation. If I were to have anything to contribute to implementation work on a daily basis, I would need a detailed knowledge of the socio-cultural context and of the language. Adequate baseline data on socio-economic variables in the project area had never been collected, and the language is difficult. Work on these two subjects would be very time-consuming and would have to be done independently of project activities. If the research were to form a coherent and complete whole, I would have to concern myself not only with socio-cultural inputs to the project but also with patterns of change taking place in the area independently of the project or its social effects. I felt it was necessary to do this in order to evaluate the role played by the project in the total context. This is beyond the measurement of the project's goal achievement, but a social impact evaluation is incomplete without it.

The role that I planned for myself was rather ambitious. Given the expected progression of project activities, a viable research situation, and the planned two-year time frame it would have been possible to carry out this role. However, given the actual occurrence of events over the past year, it was not possible for me to follow my original work plan and integrate research with implementation activities. Since my work in the areas of implementation and research were not, in the end, well-integrated, I will review each area separately.

A. Implementation

My duties in implementation were described in my contract as participation with other project personnel in "selecting, motivating, supervising change agents". I saw this primarily as my involvement in extension work, and I had

some ideas, based on anthropological critiques of other extension programs in Africa, of what this might involve. I did not, however, have any specific plans at the beginning. I formulated these as I went along.

A further specification of anthropological inputs to the PFFS was outlined in the Project Paper on page 46. There it is stated that an anthropologist might provide guidance in:

"kinds of village-level data to be collected--e.g. intra-and inter-village socio-economic relationships, caste and ethnic distributions affecting project activities, probable social impacts of various types of interventions, bases of viable group formation, and male/female relationships being affected by the project."

Much of this concerns work that I would have done myself as part of research and evaluation, but it also concerns the collection of data by field agents. Research design and data collection are an integral part of my discipline, so I expected that I should be involved in this.

With respect to "bases of viable group formation," my opinion was and is that people should be allowed to organize themselves as they choose. People generally do this along the lines of already existing forms of social organization. In the event that groups have to be organized from the outside, it is best that this be done along the lines of already existing forms of social organization. Additionally, any time one wants to persuade people to do something that they do not choose to do by themselves, they must benefit from the new activity, and the benefits must be apparent. Finally, there are certain circumstances under which groups usually do not function well. To organize a successful group, one must avoid them. They are: 1) the group has no clearly defined function, or the function is not thought to be worthwhile by the members, 2) the group has no mechanism for decision-making, or the mechanism is not understood or accepted by the group, and 3) the group is composed of members whose interests are opposed or who do not have interests in common. All of this follows from the massive amount of research already done on group organization as well as from common sense. The issue of group organization is more complicated than this, but these are the points most relevant to the project. What remained for me

to do was to investigate local social organization and to evaluate the functioning of groups formed by or for the project. I considered these tasks an integral part of research and evaluation.

The project paper also mentioned "probable social impacts" of project activities and "male-female relationships being affected by the project." I considered these issues to be part of evaluation rather than implementation. I did and do not see these matters as being crucial to planning or implementation for the simple reason that target populations always either adapt innovations to their own social system or adapt their social system to highly valued innovations when the former is not possible. This is not to say that nothing ever changes, but those aspects of development which cause drastic, unforeseeable, and possibly undesirable social change are processes like monetarization and migration. These processes are far beyond the scope of a community development project and are too big to be affected by single individuals making choices. Undesirable effects of interventions often result from misuse, for example misuse of health or nutritional innovations, or from poor planning and lack of foresight, for example long-term environmental degradation caused by programs which have short-term economic benefits. These, however, are matters for medical, economic, or environmental evaluation. They do not come directly under the heading of "social impacts." Designers of development projects sometimes worry about causing adverse social effects because they forget that, in the end, target populations accept only what they want anyway.

Finally, I thought that mini-project design should be a part of my implementation work even though this was not mentioned in any project document or in my contract. My idea was to modify standard mini-projects or design new ones to meet village needs or problems. The new mini-project would, for example, increase production or improve health by drawing on and developing viable economic or health practices already used by the population.

To summarize, I saw my implementation role as consisting of inputs to extension work, survey design and data collection done by the field agents, and mini-project design.

There were some general problems with putting this conception of an implementation role into practice, as well as some specific ones which will be discussed below. First and most important, the role is reactive rather than active. This comes partly from the way in which the entire job was conceptualized, as evaluative, and partly from the notion that my inputs should follow the problem-solving approach. Under other circumstances this may not have been a problem, but the nature of project activities to date made the ^{job} very difficult.

Secondly, neither I nor anyone else saw my job as that of a full-time trainer/supervisor since I was to spend a good deal of my time in research. I was to be an advisor. This goes with the conception of my job as evaluative and problem-solving. Again, this is not a bad idea, but given the circumstances of my position in the organization it did not work well.

At this point I will summarize the nature of project activities to date and my position within the organization. Project personnel had introduced the project into the villages as a credit project. There are a set of conditions precedent which must be met before credit funds can be released. The work needed to meet the conditions precedent was not completed or was not followed through. As of October 20 the conditions precedent had still not been formally met. To date, no credit has been given out. The project does have other components, so project personnel could have worked on other things. There were two problems which hindered work in other areas. First, the project had basically been "sold" to the villagers on the basis of a promise of credit. Since the project has not yet made good on that promise, villagers have been sceptical about participating in other programs and have become increasingly sceptical. Second, many of the project personnel themselves did not have a good idea of what else the project might do. The project direction provided no guidance or help. In fact, the director put the Project Agreement and several explanatory memos, including the one explaining my job, in his file drawer and didn't show them to or discuss them with anyone else. The direction answered requests for materials and supplies for health and agriculture interventions by saying that there was no money for such things.

As to my position in the project, there were a number of problems. Project personnel expected me to be able to get things from AID, some reasonable and some not, that I had no control over. All decisions in the organization were made by the director. He never asked for opinions or recommendations, generally ignored them when they were given, and even seemed to resent them as some sort of threat to his position. There were no regular staff meetings or any forum to exchange or discuss information until late in June. Before the staff meetings were started, the field agents were extremely reluctant to tell me anything about their work. The only lines of responsibility or authority went from the project director to every other employee. He drew up a diagram depicting this exact situation when the present project advisor requested that he draw an organogram for her. Thus until late June I had no way of getting information (except from villagers), no authority, no influence over project policy or action, and could not meet the expectations that project personnel had of me. Most of what I managed to accomplish in implementation work was done after that time.

The third general problem with my role was that it was vague. This itself was not a problem for me, but it exacerbated my difficulties in fitting into the organization. I expected to define the specifics of my role as problems and needs came up. However, I could not do much about getting the credit program under way, and that was the main problem. Furthermore, I don't think that some of the project personnel ever understood my role. A memo was sent and verbal explanations were made. But it is very difficult to make people who have had no experience with social science really understand what it is. This is even more true of people, like the field agents, who do not have a very advanced level of education. It is easy enough to give a general description of anthropology that is understandable, but most people still can't understand what might be done with it. They have to be shown, and I did not have enough opportunity to do this. This lack of understanding of my role probably contributed to the initial reluctance to share information with me. If I wasn't doing anything comprehensible I must be a spy of some sort.

Nevertheless I proceeded with my work based on my understanding of what it should involve. The most important part of my role in implementation was to have been my contribution to extension work. This follows from my view of extension work as an inter-cultural learning situation. I say this because the primary aim of extension work is the transfer of technical knowledge from its place of origin, usually an academic or research institution, to a population that is not well-versed in science or scientific methods. Often this takes the form of demonstrations of the efficacy of new methods without an accompanying translation of explanations of the methods into local terms. Whether this is the most desirable form of extension work need not concern us here, but extension work in the area of health and nutrition must include a translation of the knowledge/terms into local terms if it is to be effective. We have here two of the most important elements of extension work, organization of demonstrations and translation of knowledge from highly technical into local terms. A third element of the extension process, one that has often been mentioned as lacking in extension services in Africa, is a relationship of mutual respect and trust between the extension agent and the rural population. Given this view of extension work, I saw possibilities for inputs into the organization of demonstrations, the translation of technical knowledge, and the mode of interaction between field agents and villagers.

To introduce myself into the extension process, I held periodic consultations, both formal and informal, with the field agents and accompanied them to the villages when I was invited and was able to go. It became quickly apparent that there was not a lot to be learned from the semi-formal trips to the villages for committee meetings. There was much more to be learned from talking with the villagers once I had moved to the village, and listening to their understanding of and questions about the project. As for the consultations, they were of limited value until the field agents became used to me and we could really discuss problems that they faced in the villages.

By May it was clear that all project activities were dependent on the

initiation of the credit system. All village-level activities up to that time had been preparatory to the granting of loans, and, aside from water projects, the villagers had no idea of what else the project might do or what it was all about. Furthermore, the villagers felt that they had been promised credit, which they did not fully understand, and were already a little angry that it had not been given out. The primary problem that the field agents faced was that they were unable to deliver what had been promised to the villagers. There was and had been no problem with their mode of interaction with the villagers, with the exception of the village survey which had long since been completed. But the development of a relationship of mutual respect and trust between agents and villagers depended on something which neither they nor I had any control over, i.e. credit.

Treating credit as a topic of extension work, I discussed how one might translate the concepts of credit and interest into local terms with the field agents. This was done so that once the credit system got started, the villagers would have a better understanding of it. I also did a small investigation of traditional forms of credit. I found that there is nothing existing in the villages which resembles a modern rotating credit fund. It was then clear, to use the extension work idiom, that education in the concepts of credit and interest would have to proceed via demonstration. All explanations aside, the villagers might not really understand the rotating credit system until after they had had some experience with it.

Once the expansion of project activities to the Sebba area had been decided upon, I drew up a plan for the sequence and timing of project activities in that area that is designed to avoid the main problem encountered in the Dori area--working oneself into a corner by basing everything on credit. In this plan, I also suggested some changes in procedure to avoid other problems in project villages in the Dori area. For example, there is some apparent lack of understanding of the role of the village committees. I have suggested that the committees be formed for a particular purpose at the time when they need to

serve that purpose rather than at the beginning of project involvement in a village. I included recommendations for the formation of groups according to the principles mentioned above.

The plan also includes an outline of a training program for the new field agents. This too was designed to correct deficiencies. The agents in the Dori area have never had any course in community development, evaluation, or extension work (which differs from animation rurale), and some of them have expressed a desire for more training in health and nutrition. There is a recommendation, based on previously done critiques of other extension services, that individual field agents be given skills training in areas of interest to the villagers they work with. This is intended to increase the agents' abilities to respond flexibly to specific needs and interests. If the agents were able to teach skills which were wanted in their villages, their value to the villagers would be increased and their working relationships improved. Presently, the field agents are trained to do work in health and nutrition which is a culturally sensitive area and difficult to work in. They have training in agriculture which is covered by other services and which is not always of great interest given the precarious climatic conditions. They have training in credit evaluation and monitoring which is a valued service but which may seem to set them at odds with the villagers, e.g. in the cases of rejection of a loan application or failure to repay. I think they need to have something else to offer.

For two of the major elements of extension work, the organization of demonstrations and the mode of interaction between agents and villagers, there was little practical work to be done. This was true because of the delay in the initiation of the credit program which had become the sine qua non of the project's presence in the villages. There was room for recommendations for improvement based on an evaluation of the problems, and these were made.

Training in the translation of knowledge from technical into local terms is best done in a practical situation, but it is not impossible to deal with this

issue constructively in hypothetical situations. Doing this, however, requires instructional materials from which one can work in creating the hypothetical situations. These were lacking, or to my knowledge they were. There was some discussion of ordering development magazines, etc., but at the time the project had financial problems because several project checks had been lost. The instructional materials would have to wait. In July I accidentally discovered that there were some instructional materials already in the office, and I set about going through them to find selections suitable for use. By that time, however, the monitrices were scheduled to start their vacations. After their vacations were over, their work schedules were taken up with credit training and other preparatory work for the initiation of the credit program until the end of October. By then it was too late for me to start a series of discussion sessions with them. What I had in mind, and what I would recommend that someone do, is as follows. Use INADES pamphlets and articles from Famille et Développement concerning community development, agriculture, nutrition and health, or social problems--particularly the latter two--as readings for the agents which will form the basis of discussions. The readings themselves will usually include information new to the agents and would be valuable alone as training. Once it is clear that the agents have understood and assimilated the information, set up a hypothetical situation in which the agents must present the information to or analyze the problem with villagers. The agents should then act out the situation and evaluate their own performance. Once this kind of training has been done, it is not absolutely necessary to wait for an appropriate situation to come up spontaneously before doing the same thing in a real interaction with villagers. Hopefully the training would enable the field agents to better explain any matter involving new concepts or information whether the specific topic had been covered in a training session or not.

There were several specific problems with my involvement in extension work aside from the way in which the project office was run, which I referred to above. The first was the timing of my job. I arrived after the initial phase

of organizational work in the villages was already done, so there was no possibility of my having any input there. The initial work set the stage for most of the problems that came up in the villages later. I was well-placed to learn about those problems since the villagers themselves came to me with them. However, solving the problems was out of my hands.

Second, the way in which I was introduced to the project was not appropriate. I was formally presented as a student who would be doing my dissertation research. This was not really true, but what is more important is that this is the wrong introduction to give to anyone who is supposed to have any influence.

The problem of guarding of instructional materials in locked drawers and not telling anyone about them may appear to be the result of a personal idiosyncrasy, but it is not. It is common, and it is part of a more general lack of communication and over-concern with personal authority. My personal understanding of this is that it is a problem associated with the centralized system of administration in general, not just in the case of the PFFS. Information equals power, and what one has one keeps to oneself. This is especially true of official documents or any printed materials. To date there is no project library or central filing system. (One will be organized as soon as bookshelves, etc. which have been ordered arrive.) Image-series cards, which are designed for use by field agents in animation rurale, are kept in a file drawer and have never been used by the agents. Instructional materials are still kept secreted away. I found these things only because I had brought a few booklets to the office which, I had stated very explicitly, I wanted to make available to the monitrices. When I went to look for them some time later, I found them locked up in a drawer with some instructional materials.

Finally, I tried to work with the field agents in a collegial fashion, not because there was nothing else I could do, but because I prefer to work that way. I now think that that was a mistake. Authoritarian behavior is not acceptable in the local cultural milieu; it comes from outside. However, given the authoritarian way in which the project is run, nothing else is taken quite as seriously.

The second part of my role in implementation work concerned survey design and data collection. The village survey was nearly completed when I arrived. There were various problems with the survey questionnaires, but by the time I learned of them they were almost a dead issue. There was nothing to be done in this area until the expansion to Sebba came up. From problems mentioned by the monitrices and from a reading of the survey results, it was obvious that the village survey would have to be re-designed. I analyzed the survey results for a better understanding of all the problems with it before designing a new one. The first village survey included culturally inappropriate questions, an unnecessarily complicated format for recording information, and mixtures of subjects for observational, evaluative and direct-question inquiry on the same questionnaire. There were no instructions on the questionnaires themselves as to how the questionnaires should be administered. These were separate, and since the monitrices were not trained in the administration of the questionnaires they often did not use the appropriate methods. The original village survey was intended to be re-administered at intervals for evaluation purposes. However, the variables to be evaluated, those concerning health, income, and work time, are not suitable topics for investigation by direct questioning or by any other quick, direct method. Prolonged or periodic observation is necessary for the measurement of these variables. Therefore the ^{new} evaluation/monitoring system includes two phases of data collection: a village survey which is to be done completely by direct questioning, and follow up studies based on prolonged or periodic observation. Ideally, I should do the training necessary for the administration of the new evaluation/monitoring system, follow the progress of the field agents as they work with it, and analyze the first set of results to see if revision is necessary. This is not possible given the scheduling of project activities and the date of the end of my term, but I have written instructions and suggestions into the explanation of the system which cover all those tasks.

The third part of my role in implementation concerned the design of mini-projects with the aim of drawing on or developing practices already in use.

This must be done in the context of an actual need or problem at the village level. There was not much opportunity to do this, but I did design one small demonstration project involving milking goats. I will briefly describe the project to give a better idea of what developing a traditional practice amounts to. One of the monitrices reported that she was having trouble convincing the mothers of malnourished infants to give the children solid foods. The women believed that if they did this, the children would never learn to walk. The women didn't have access to any milk, either for themselves or for their children. If they had, they would give the children milk, not because they understood that the children were suffering from dietary deficiencies but because it is normal to give milk to children of that age when there is any. Thus there was a situation in which cultural beliefs blocked an innovative behavior, i.e. preparing and giving supplementary infant foods, and there was a lack of understanding of the child's health problem. The situation was probably caused by a lack of means, cow or goat's milk, which if used in the traditional manner would have prevented the problem. Merely supplying, somehow, the traditional means would not increase understanding of the problem or help to prevent the problem should a similar situation arise. The standard nutrition demonstration, involving the preparation of special infant food, was not accepted.

I would like to take the time to make some observations on the type of nutrition program which is common here. The most common and most severe nutritional problem in this area results from a lack of supplementary feedings for infants between six months of age and whenever they start to walk. Although I do not have any figures, cases of severe marasmus are not rare. Nutritional programs are designed for mothers of infants of that age range, and they usually involve a distribution of flour, powdered milk, and oil. It is a rule of thumb in nutritional work that wherever possible, one should work with foodstuffs already in the local diet to improve nutrition by altering their use or proportions. Introducing new foodstuffs just complicates and confuses the issue. Distribution of gifts confuses the issue even more. Other health

workers in the area have been told by village women that they are "on strike" as far as nutrition demonstrations are concerned; if there are no gifts they won't come. If the women saw other benefits from the demonstrations besides the gifts, it is difficult to understand why they would say this. I have no figures on the health effects of the demonstration and distribution programs, but monitrices, a CEJA school master and ordinary villagers have expressed doubts to me about how much of the free foodstuffs ever even get to the children. In short, it seems that a new approach to infant nutrition is in order.

Our monitrices insist that there is no understanding by village women of the relationship between diet and infant health. While I find it difficult to believe that this is not an exaggeration, it is clear that nutrition education is needed and that there are some new ideas to be introduced. The aim of the demonstration milking goat project is to introduce new ideas using traditional means and practices. To do this, milking goats are to be loaned to the mothers of malnourished infants for roughly one year. The mothers are to care for the goats and kids, especially making sure that the goat has adequate feed to give a good supply of milk. Monitrices are to work with the mothers who will have use of the milk and who, at the end of the year, can recover any funds they have spent in caring for the goat by selling the kid. Women who want to continue with the program will then have the option to buy the goat. Aside from the vaccination of the goats, no new practices or behaviors are being introduced.

Health demonstrations are always difficult because so many factors can complicate them. If the goats remain in good health (they will be vaccinated to help insure this) and the children do not contract any serious diseases (the monitrices will consult with the PMI to help insure this), the addition of milk to the children's diet should cause a noticeable improvement in their physical condition. In addition, the project will demonstrate the practical benefits and economic feasibility of keeping a milking goat in the concession and of keeping it well-fed.

If this project works, it can and should be taken in two directions. The first

concerns infant feeding practices. Once the idea that supplementary feedings improve infant health has taken root, it may be easier to get mothers to accept the idea of supplementary infants foods that are not necessarily milk-based. The second concerns *élevage*. There is nothing unusual about keeping a milk-goat or two in the concession, but it is not common practice to keep the goats well-fed during the hot season. It is more usual to keep larger numbers of goats. They are kept in the bush to survive as best they can at that time of the year, at present a questionable practice from an environmental point of view but one which worked in former times. People cling to this practice as an ideal, and those who do not have many animals aspire to it. While it probably isn't possible to convince people to reduce their herds, it is nevertheless desirable to demonstrate the practicality and benefits of a different type of *élevage*. Secondly, the project has a number of requests and will be giving loans to women to buy sheep for fattening and sale projects. Starting the idea that credit funds can be used for projects that have benefits other than straight monetary profits would be desirable.

I have discussed this project with the field agents who understand it and are interested in it. They feel, however, that they can't really get this project, or anything else, started until after the credit program has gotten under way.

I have already outlined problems with my work in extension services. As to survey and mini-project design, the main problem was timing. I arrived too late to do much about the first village survey and will leave before the new evaluation system is put into use. Because of other difficulties and delays, most village-level problems revolved around credit rather than other matters which could have been handled by the initiation of a mini-project. I will not be here to follow up the mini-project I did design.

B. Research

My research duties were defined in my contract as follows:

"The function of the research is to establish a strategy for WID projects...The data-base should consist of a representative sample of project beneficiaries...stratified into acceptors and rejectors of project interventions."

While I did draw up an implementation plan for the PFFS based on a certain strategy which may, if it works well, be of general use, this was not based on a sample of acceptors and rejectors because there aren't any yet. It was based on an evaluation of problems encountered up to the time it was written.

I did try to follow up on the issues mentioned in the contract as relevant to Sanelian WID projects, but I had what I would consider to be a limited success. This was because I did not find myself in a research situation which was really viable, at least from the standpoint of being able to collect data in a variety of situations from a variety of sources. The research situation was not viable partly for reasons having to do with the particular time and place, but also partly because of my situation as a member of the project staff. This has led me to question whether in-depth research is even possible in conjunction with implementation work in circumstances similar to those which exist in the Dori area. To examine this question I will review the value and requirements of research based on the participant-observation method.

In the initiation of research, one starts from a need to get information and often the information is needed as quickly as possible. The fastest and simplest way to meet this need is to design a research instrument, for example a questionnaire, and go out and use it. There are, however, limitations on the effectiveness of this method given that one needs accurate information and, as is usually the case in development work, one wants to maintain a good relationship with the target population.

The limitations are as follows. The first is communication. This is often overlooked when in fact it should be underlined. Good interpreters are hard to find, and it is often difficult for someone who does not know the local language at all to tell the difference between a good one and one who is less than adequate. Misunderstandings can result from a poor research instrument as well as from mistranslation, and one needs to know the difference. Additionally, even good interpreters sometimes try to be too helpful by suggesting, in one way or another, possible responses to interviewees. Secondly, not just any question will be culturally appropriate. For an outsider to design a

viable research instrument, time in the area to be studied or consultations with an insider are required. Questions can be culturally inappropriate because they are insulting or threatening or because they are irrelevant or incomprehensible to the interviewees. The third limitation is on the accuracy of the information gathered by this method. Sometimes interviewees simply lie, sometimes they tell the interviewer what they think he or she wants to hear out of politeness, and sometimes they answer to the best of their abilities but are mistaken. A researcher can notice some probable inaccuracies on the spot and try to correct them. Some discrepancies will show up later during data analysis. (However what sometimes appears to be a glaring contradiction may be true and may have a very interesting explanation behind it.) But the point is that without some kind of independent check on the data one can not be sure how accurate they are. Basing practical actions on inaccurate data can result in undesirable consequences. Finally, some populations and some individuals just simply will not respond to a questionnaire because they find the situation incomprehensible, silly, or threatening.

Nevertheless, there are certain topics on which an outsider can almost always gather pretty accurate information by using the questionnaire method. People will usually tell just about anyone what work they do, some aspects of how they do their work, what crops they grow, where and with whom they live, where they do their shopping, how many children they have, what public institutions they have access to. What is considered public information varies somewhat from place to place, but the topics listed here, at a minimum, are usually included.

There is always the possibility that an insider, i.e. a member of the society, does the research. It is difficult to say how this will affect the number of topics and quality of data that can be collected. An insider may be well-known or be a total stranger to the interviewees, and this distinction is almost^{as} important as the insider-outsider distinction. My Cameroonian research assistants found it easier to do survey work in their own villages than I

did, but in other villages I got more cooperation than they. The opposite situation is equally possible if the local population finds interviewing to be an odd behavior that is easier to tolerate coming from a stranger than from an acquaintance.

No matter where research is done, there are always topics on which people don't, won't, or can't answer questions. In the Dori area women don't say the names of their husbands or children. If one needs to know that information, one can ask anyone else, even in front of the woman, and this is perfectly acceptable. It is rude to ask a woman the names of her husband or children even though this is public information. Also in the Dori area, people won't discuss how many children they have or how many cattle they own. They won't discuss the number of their children because of a belief that one of the children may die if their number is mentioned. Questions on this topic shouldn't even be asked, not of the parents or of anyone else although this is public information. The same belief applies to a discussion of the number of cattle owned, but in addition people generally don't want anyone to know this information. It is not public. The kind of question that people in any society usually can't answer concern things that people take for granted and pay no attention to. For example, it is generally true that people can't accurately describe how they behave toward their children because they are not usually conscious of this or analytic about it. I found that married Cameroonian women could not explain their rights as wives although they certainly knew when their rights had been violated. Whenever one needs to know something that can not be learned from direct questions, another research method is required.

Topics of relevance to the PFFS for the measurement of goal achievement include income, health and work-time. Direct questions on all these topics are inappropriate in one way or another, but adequate information can be obtained from observation. Topics of relevance to the evaluation of a Sahelian WID project include sex-role behaviors and attitudes, inter-ethnic and inter-cast relationships, attitudes toward innovation, and the role of socio-economic and social-structural variables in affecting acceptor/rejector status. These issues

are far too complex for investigation by simple observation or direct questioning. Prolonged participant-observation is necessary.

This method involves an attempt by the researcher to gain some of the knowledge of an insider by participating in social life as do members of the society in so far as this can be done. One advantage of this over simple observation is that if the researcher is an outsider, he or she will inevitably make a lot of blunders. One might never observe the same errors or get an explanation of what people think of them. This also gives the researcher the opportunity to find out what is most correct and what is merely acceptable. This is useful for investigating attitudes and norms, subjects which are otherwise extremely difficult to investigate in depth among non-literate populations. By participating in everyday life, the researcher is better able to gain the confidence of and develop a positive relationship with the people than someone who comes around only once or occasionally. This, plus the researcher's obvious ignorance of local ways and desire to learn about them, enable the researcher to ask questions that would otherwise arouse suspicion and evoke evasive or untrue answers.

At the same time that the researcher is undergoing a process of immersion in the local social life, he or she maintains the perspective of an outsider in observing and recording information on things that the people don't discuss, take for granted, or are not objective about. This is useful for the investigation of variation in behavior, inter-personal relationships, and inter-group relationships.

Like any other research method, participant-observation has certain requirements. The first is the ability to communicate well. Participation is almost impossible without this. Secondly, the researcher must be able, to a degree, to participate as expected. This involves participating in the material give-and-take of life, which is usually much more extensive in non-industrial, kin-based societies than in industrial. Third, the researcher is not usually perceived as such but is seen as just another person. It is not possible to separate research activities, personal behavior, and other job duties because they

are all seen as personal behavior. In participant-observation, the researcher is the research instrument. This means that the researcher must not behave or be seen as behaving in any way which would ruin his or her relationship with the local population. If the researcher's personal position is compromised, he or she can not work through a proxy. Participant-observation has other requirements and strictures, but these are the most important for our purposes here. I will work backwards through these requirements and explain why they could not be met in my case.

Since I was working with a development project, it was inevitable that attitudes toward the project would include me and attitudes toward me would, to a degree, include the project. Other projects that work in the village, plus the initial work of the PFFS, had set up certain expectations of what a development project was all about. First, other projects give gifts in one way or another, one giving out foodstuffs, another putting in wells, etc. The villagers felt that they had specifically been promised credit in return for their agreement to participate in PFFS activities, which up to that time had consisted of the village survey and the formation of the village committee. The villagers did not particularly appreciate the former or understand the latter, but they were waiting for their credit. I could not cause this to be delivered. People did not believe that this was true, so the perceived failure of the project rubbed off on me. Second, I personally was expected to give out gifts of various kinds, particularly foodstuffs. I could not have done this if I had wanted to, I was seen as a representative of the project, and the project is based on credit and self-help, not gifts. To give an example of this, I did give out aspirins, non-prescription medicines for upset stomach and diarrhea, and treated minor wounds on request. Although the issue did not come up at the time, it is certain that the project's village pharmacy program would not have been accepted when such a service was available free. This did not occur to me until it became obvious that people who should've and could've gone to the hospital were coming to me instead. If advised to go to the hospital, they refused. I had given out harmless medicines because I felt I could not and had

no desire to refuse to help without seeing the possible consequences.

In addition to the issues of gifts and credit, I was perceived as having the power to intercede with other organizations on behalf of the villagers. This nothing unusual; it is a misconception that anthropologists often have to deal with. What was different in my case was that even people who saw that I could not get services from other organizations for them thought that I should be able to supply the needed services from the PFFS. That I could not do this was not accepted. I was, after all, on the project staff, and other members of the staff had said that the project could provide various services. Thus I could not do otherwise than fail to meet the expectations of the villagers. I was seen as refusing to represent their interests, and there was even the suspicion, expressed once or twice, that I must be blocking the delivery of the promised goods and services.

It was difficult for^{me} to participate in normal social life given this context of expectations. I have mentioned material give-and-take because this is the basis of all social relationships in the project area. Any refusal to give threatens the relationship. Normally one does not refuse to give; one pleads inability to do so. An outright refusal is seen as a positive expression of ill-will. The problem for me involved, first, the expectations as to what I must have and what I would give. Second, there were a set of expectations as to the circumstances under which I would give. These expectations did not come entirely from the fact that I was associated with^{the} project, but the problem was compounded by that circumstance. This set of expectations is often referred to as the "cadeau mentality". It seems to come from the massive amounts of give-away foreign aid that came into the Sahel during the drought and from numerous give-away programs that continued on a smaller scale afterward.

The expectation of substantial gifts usually applies to whites, who have been seen to come in, distribute large amounts of goods, and not expect much of anything in return or to simply go away. In my village this applied to the Voltaic monitrice as well. A number of women refused to talk to her because she does not distribute gifts. This went double for me. The ladies in ques-

tion took the opportunity of a committee meeting to come to my house for a gift distribution and stomped off in a grand huff when I said I didn't have anything. There was thus a segment of the population that I would have to buy my way into. I could not do this if I had wanted to because of my connection with the project.

There was a second segment of the population with a slightly different attitude. They did not make gift-giving the condition of having anything at all to do with me, but they expected bigger things than the usual and that those things be given outside the context of normal give-and-take. What I did give, as a neighbor, was seen as simply to be expected, as unimpressive or even inadequate, and as requiring no return of any kind, social or material. Normal give-and-take is truly reciprocal, is the usual manner in which one initiates a relationship with a newcomer, and is not at all the same thing as buying friendship or information. I could not make this work with a number of people.

Finally there were those who did not have unusual or overly grand expectations of me and with whom I managed to establish a social relationship. This group consisted almost entirely of middle-aged or elderly men and young girls--people who do not have much to do with project activities.

This situation would have been workable if I had been doing research with a different aim and had not needed a broad data-base. I was not, of course, trying to construct samples of acceptors and rejectors, but the issues I was trying to investigate require a broader data-base than what I had.

The final problem with my work was a communication problem. Language training was excluded under the conditions of my contract. This should not have been the case, and I should not have accepted it. I knew that other researchers in the area had studied Fulfulde for a year or more before starting their work, but I thought that immersion in the milieu and analysis of linguistic materials would suffice. It did not. Furthermore, I could not get an adequate interpreter so I was handicapped in dealing with the touchy situations I found myself in. It is true as a general rule that the more sensitive the

topic under investigation, the less likely it is that they can be investigated through an interpreter. Additionally, the more difficult the research situation, the more necessary are good communication skills. I was in a difficult situation trying to investigate sensitive topics without a good command of the language. It didn't work very well.

Some of the problems I encountered were specific to the village where I lived and some were specific to the area. The particular village where I lived was the recipient of services from a number of other projects and organizations. None of the projects has had much success there and one even pulled out in a huff, taking along the pump that it had had installed. Their experience with other projects had not led the villagers to any understanding of cooperation or self-help, two of the bases of community development. Rather, the villagers had learned that if they appeared to go along with the demands placed on them by project agents, they could sometimes get what they wanted and that there was a lot to be had. Under the circumstances I was a liability.

Problems which had to do with the general area concern the "cadeau mentality." I don't know how many development efforts were made in the Sahel before the drought, but the area has been almost flooded with aid and projects since that time. This is not necessarily true of the Sahel department as a whole, but it is true of the Dori area. The rapidity with which the projects came in, their number, the apparent lack of co-ordination among them, and the ill-advised practices which some of them followed have all contributed to the problem. This problem is of more general interest than my particular case because this is not the only part of the Sahel where the same thing has happened.

The question of doing independent research in a region with the "cadeau mentality" is different from the question of doing research in such an area in conjunction with project implementation work. The problems encountered by a researcher are compounded in several ways by involvement with a development project. When the development project is viewed as a source of free goods, the researcher will encounter the same problems that I had of having to disappoint people, of appearing to refuse to represent their interests, and of

lacking any way to gain entrance to normal social intercourse. An independent researcher would probably not be as subject to the expectations to distribute gifts and would be able to decide whether or not to do so based solely on the requirements of the research. A good relationship with the population is absolutely essential for participant-observation. I do not think it is possible to buy such a relationship, but it is important to be able to respond to local expectations of generosity.

When the development project itself has failed to meet expectations or to keep its promises, this causes problems for the researcher attached to the project that the independent researcher would not encounter. In a region with the "cadeau mentality" any project which does not distribute gifts is likely to fail to meet expectations at least during the first phase of implementation work. Whether there is any "cadeau mentality" or not, being attached to any project which fails to keep its promises, subjects the population to incomprehensible demands, or sponsors insensitive or threatening behavior on the part of project personnel is a liability.

Attachment to a development project can, and I would argue that under certain circumstances is likely, to be a serious handicap for the researcher. What, then, can be done when a project needs information on topics which must be investigated by participant-observation? This is the subject of the next section of this report.

III. Proposals for Anthropological Inputs to Development Projects

The first topic I would like to discuss is why, and under what circumstances, anthropological inputs are necessary. Any time that innovations are to be introduced into an area, knowing what already exists or is used is necessary from a practical point of view. This is true whether development is to proceed by the introduction of completely new technology, crops, etc. or by building upon what is already there. Development projects usually involve interventions in the areas of production, distribution, and/or consumption. In so far as direct questions on the level of income and amount of assets are not

involved, production and consumption can generally be investigated adequately by the questionnaire method, preferably in conjunction with short-term observation. Investigations of distribution systems are usually more difficult and time-consuming, but they do not necessarily require that a researcher live in the area for an extended period of time.

Community development projects, or any kind of project which requires a deep involvement at the community level, necessitate the investigation of more complex or sensitive topics. In addition to economic variables, a knowledge of socio-cultural variables, for example basic social organization, cultural constraints on innovation, or inter-group relations, is helpful and sometimes necessary. For projects involving women, information on sex role attitudes and behaviors, domestic economy and authority, etc. is also needed. None of these subjects can be investigated in any depth among non-literate populations except by participant-observation.

Whether and to what degree information on these subjects is necessary or merely helpful depends on how the project is initiated and designed. Ideally, a development project should be wanted by the target population and should be designed to meet their needs and desires. The most direct way to accomplish this is to initiate and design projects in response to requests from local populations. This isn't entirely unrealistic, but it requires a local population that is well-educated enough to know that this can be done, to know what development projects can offer, and to know what kinds of interventions are viable. (I received numerous such proposals from villagers while I was in Cameroon even though I explained repeatedly that I was not attached to any development organization. Unfortunately, the area I was working in is one of the most developed in Cameroon and therefore is not on anybody's priority list.) If this were the case, implementation would not be as difficult as it often is. When people are offered something that they understand and want, they will usually, within reason, go through any obstacle course in the form of rules, regulations and conditions that is put in their path. Under such circumstances, extensive base-line data is not entirely necessary.

It is more usual that development projects are requested from a higher level and designed by outsiders without extensive consultations with the local population. When it comes to implementing such a project, one can easily find oneself in the position of trying to persuade people to want what the project has to offer. This is not ideal, but as long as the project can offer interventions which are genuinely beneficial and do not violate too many cultural norms, it is not an impossible position to work from. When projects are initiated and implemented in this way, good base-line data and in-depth implementation planning and monitoring are needed. When such a project is intended to effect certain social changes, a follow-up evaluation of social effects is also desirable. Thus there is a need for anthropological involvement at three stages: design and planning, initial stages of implementation, and follow-up evaluation particularly of social effects. Each of these stages will be described as a separate job.

A. Collection of Base-Line Data and Project Design

Collection of base-line data during the pre-project phase should start as soon as a project is requested. It should last for a minimum of six months in the field if someone who already knows the language can be found to do the work or one year if this is not possible. Any six-month stay should include the entire agricultural season. Any one-year term of tenure should start with language training. Of course, the less that is known about an area the more time will be necessary.

The researcher should live in a village in the proposed project area. Regardless of what type of project is under consideration, data on economic variables should be collected. This includes basic information on agricultural production, élevage, other occupational specializations, distribution of resources, consumption, and to the degree that it is possible, marketing and exchange. What is more important than the simple measurement of these variables is the outlining of overall economic organization and the discovery of the economic rationality which underlies the economic system. Although traditional economic practices, even after some modification through the development process, may appear to an outsider to be overlaid with "irrational" social practices and

cultural beliefs, there is always an economic rationale behind them. It is very important to understand this rationale whether one wants to develop the traditional system or alter it. It is also important to gain an understanding of how the economic system fits with the social and cultural overlay (or base, depending on your point of view). No economic system meets only survival goals. There is always some social element of keeping up with the neighbors or keeping the in-laws satisfied, and there are always some cultural demands, e.g. participation in the "prestige economy", to be met as well. Any attempt to alter or develop a local economic system that does not take these factors into account may find itself in difficulties.

If the proposed project is to be a community development project, the anthropologist should do a study of general social organization. This should include basic information on stratification, kinship organization, residence and an outline of the authority/political structure. Since community development is generally based on cooperation and participation in development through community organization, these variables are all important in considering what form a community development project might take.

If the proposed project is to be a women's project or if it is to try to integrate women into community development, data on sex-role behaviors and attitudes will be needed. This kind of information is more difficult to collect and often requires more time than the study of economic and social organization. The study of sex-roles includes more than male-female relationships. What is often overlooked and is very important to the planning of a WID project is the analysis of women's roles. These vary by age, marital status, stage in the domestic cycle, caste or class membership, and sometimes by clan or kin-group membership. Other important issues include women's rights over income and assets and domestic economy and authority.

Something which must not be forgotten no matter what specific topic is being investigated or where is that change has already undoubtedly been taking place. The type and direction of changes already occurring is important to project design. If the changes are beneficial they may be built upon; if they are

harmful or cause problems an attempt may be made to correct or alter them. If it is possible to do so within the time allotted, every topic under investigation should be studied with a view to learning how it has changed since development in the region started.

In addition to data collection, the anthropologist working in the pre-project phase will sound out the population as to what is wanted and expected out of development, what their attitudes are to different kinds of projects and different interventions, etc. Before the design team actually starts work on the Project Paper, the anthropologist may act as a mediator between the village population and the project designers. This may include arranging meetings between the two groups and acting as interpreter and coordinator.

Finally, the anthropologist will participate in the designing of the project and will put a detailed analysis of the data collected at the disposal of project personnel.

B. Initial Phase of Implementation

The role of the anthropologist at this stage will be primarily in the area of implementation. The anthropologist should join the staff at the same time as other senior staff members. The anthropologist is to live in a project village with a view to monitoring project-village interaction, not primarily for doing basic research. In order to monitor project-village interaction, the anthropologist will need language training if he or she does not already know the language.

The other side of monitoring and evaluation will be the anthropologist's involvement in the planning, policy-making and carrying out of implementation work. This will include contributions to the three major elements of extension work-- the mode of interaction between field agents and villagers, the organization of demonstrations, and the translation of technical knowledge from technical into local terms. The anthropologist may organize and give a training session in extension methodology as well as participating in policy-making and the supervision of the field agents.

The second part of the anthropologist's duties in implementation will concern the project's information/monitoring system. This must be designed by or in consultation with someone who has spent time in the project area. It is desirable that the anthropologist who does this job be the same person who worked in the area during the pre-project phase. If this is not possible, the anthropologist should have the opportunity to have extensive consultations with that person, or have the time for extensive consultations with members of the local population and for field testing of research instruments before the information/monitoring system is finally put into place. As well as designing the system, the anthropologist will train the field agents in the methodology required for the system, supervise their progress in using the system, and analyze the results. Based upon those results, the anthropologist will modify or the system/recommend changes in project policy or practical work as is appropriate.

Third, the anthropologist will participate in the design of mini-projects. This will be done in conjunction with other members of the project staff. Field agents or villagers should be the originators of the design process, presenting problems or needs as the reason for the initiation of the mini-project. Consultations should then be held with other staff members during the design of the project. Finally, the project should be monitored with other staff members, especially with those whose area specializations are relevant to the project.

The precise relationship of the anthropologist to other members of the project staff will depend on the way in which the project is organized. If the project is to have an officer in charge of extension services, the anthropologist would be a good candidate for this role. If the project is to be organized in the same way as the PFFS, with all area specialists having theoretically equal supervisory authority over field agents and separate responsibilities in program design, this question becomes a little more difficult. The anthropologist's area specialization is less focused for project purposes than that of other staff members--agriculture/elevage, economie familiale, etc. It may be necessary to add to the anthropologist's responsibilities to create a substantive area that

will better fit the project's organizational structure. For example, the anthropologist may be charged with procuring ^{or} and preparing culturally appropriate learning materials to be used by the field agents in the villages. Thus the anthropologist's position might be entitled Evaluation/Monitoring-Community Learning.

C. Evaluation of Social Impact

As I implied earlier in this report, short-term social impacts are not likely to be drastic. Most often, short-term social effects are minute; general patterns of behavior change slowly. Measuring social effects involves collecting very specific data on narrowly defined variables in the context of before-and-after and acceptor-rejector comparisons.

The necessity of defining variables to be evaluated very specifically can not be over-emphasized. Let us assume, by way of example, that one wants to evaluate the effects of a WID project on domestic authority. This is a difficult topic to investigate, but it is an important issue in the assessment of the effect of development on women's roles. There are several standard methods for the investigation of this topic. The most effective for use among non-literate populations involves a combination of participant-observation and interviewing. If one were to attempt to investigate domestic authority by asking people a few questions about who has authority in the home and by observing some important events, it is highly unlikely that one could find any differences before-and-after or between acceptors and rejectors. One would probably find that everyone would say that the husband has authority in the home and that on public or important occasions this ideology is acted out. Real short-term changes tend to take the form of changes in frequencies of specific behaviors. Domestic authority does not resolve itself into specific, easily-defined, easily-observable behaviors. To investigate this topic one must develop a series of indices. This may involve such different things as dispute settlement, specific decisions, differences between men's and women's opinions on specific domestic issues outside the context of an actual occurrence, and observations on

what happens when that issue really comes up. The development of a series of indices requires a good knowledge of the area. The collection of the data is too complex to be done by field agents.

Both before-and-after and acceptor-rejector comparisons, or some approximation to them, are necessary. A before-and-after study of project participants is inadequate because one can not know from this alone whether non-participants have also changed or how. An acceptor-rejector comparison alone is inadequate. If differences are found between the two groups, one can not know whether the differences were there to begin with, and may have influenced the decision to participate, or whether the differences resulted from project participation. The ideal solution to the problem of construction of comparisons is to follow samples of acceptors and rejectors from early in a project's life through a period of time. I am not recommending this approach for reasons outlined above. If good base-line data has been collected for the project, the before-and-after comparison will not present much of a problem. If this is not the case, an attempt will have to be made to approximate this comparison.

The evaluation of social impact should start late in the project's life. It is preferable that the anthropologist who does the evaluation should have worked before in the same area. Whether or not this is necessary depends on whether there is good base-line data.

The length of time this task should take depends on the anthropologist's knowledge of the local language, the specific topics to be investigated, and the methods to be used. Although the research should not be confined to one village only, the anthropologist should live in one of the project villages. Participant-observation in the village of residence is intended to give the anthropologist greater depth of knowledge on the topics under investigation rather than to be the only source of data. Project records may provide some data on some topics. If the project's field agents live in their villages and know the villages well, they could act as informants. Field agents could also introduce the anthropologist into their villages and help with any interviews or observations which might be done. The fact that the project has been working in

the villages to improve, for example, production or health conditions should give the anthropologist a good introduction and should make the research task easier.

The anthropologist's relationship to other project personnel should be clearly defined. The anthropologist is not there to determine whether the project personnel have done well or badly, and this should be made clear at the outset. The purpose of social impact evaluation is to improve the planning of future projects and to provide guidance in the development of general strategy. Project personnel should share with the anthropologist any information that they have and not feel that they need to hide anything.

IV. Issues of Relevance in the Implementation of the PFFS

The question of social impacts is of particular relevance to the PFFS for two reasons. First, although I have described the PFFS as a community development project, it is a WID project. The PFFS has many of the elements common to community development projects, but it is aimed at women. The origin of the push for WID projects lies in negative evaluations of the ways in which development has affected the lives of women. The negative effects of development on women's roles have been first of all economic, but what has caught the most attention are the negative, secondary social impacts. The idea behind the WID movement is that integrating women into development will do more for them than just increase their incomes. Secondly, the social issue of stratification in the project area has been of concern since the Project Paper was written. Each of these issues will be discussed in a separate section.

A. The Integration of Women into Development

What does it mean to integrate women into development and what might the PFFS contribute to this? I think that this question can be answered best after a brief review of the ways in which women have been shut out of development.

The first major criticism of the idea that development would "liberate" women, an idea that had been around since at least the 1950's, came in 1970 from Ester Boserup in her book Women's Role in Economic Development. She

pointed out that in areas where women had traditionally been the primary agricultural producers, development had lessened the importance and the independence of the traditional female role. Cash crops and new varieties and methods for food crop production had been introduced to men only. Thus women had no part in modern agriculture except in cases where they were expected to perform tasks like weeding in their husbands' new cash-crop farms. Women had gone from being independent farmers to being unpaid agricultural laborers.

For the decade following the publication of Boserup's book, research and publication on how development had denigrated women's roles has been ⁱⁿ fashion. The idea was put forward that women in "traditional" societies hadn't needed to be "liberated" at all; they had in fact been quite independent until development came along. Not all of the work done on this issue has been of good quality, but the literature is too large to be reviewed here. I do want to mention a few of the more widely accepted results of this research which are relevant to an understanding of recent changes in women's roles in the project area.

Migration of men to urban areas was the earliest-mentioned aspect of development seen as causing problems for women. While some urban women benefitted from the increased demand for foodstuffs, their rural cousins were left with a heavier burden of agricultural and household maintenance work. Increased labor because of the absence of husbands is not as much of a problem for women in the project area as might be imagined. While many of the very young men are absent from the area, the villages are hardly denuded of able-bodied men. A husband's male relatives will usually see to his field work if he is not there himself.

It is likely that women in the project area have a heavier work load now because of population growth. Animal populations have almost certainly increased over the past 100 years, and the human population has certainly increased. As more grazing area was taken for agricultural use, what pasturage was left became increasingly over-grazed. Areas near Dori that were described by a traveler in the 1850's as forest are now bare. Over-grazing reduces productivity of herds, and this in turn increases dependency on agricultural pro-

ducts. In the Dori area, increased dependence on agricultural products means more time spent pounding millet. A writer describing the typical day of a Fulani woman in Dori in 1953 included a trip to the market every morning to sell milk, the entire afternoon spent spinning thread, and evenings spent in craft work or chatting. The Fulani women did prepare their own meals; this was not done by Riymaibe at that time. The same writer described the diet of the Fulanis as milk-based and that of the Riymaibe as millet-based. Today a typical woman's day includes no trip to the market and at most an hour or two of craft work. The rest of the time is spent in household chores, mostly millet-pounding.

Monetarization of the economy as part of development has itself had detrimental effects on women's roles through the monetarization of bride-price. There are two usual consequences of this phenomenon in other parts of Africa. One is a dislocation of the whole process of getting married--choice of partner, age at marriage, and likelihood of early divorce with the woman usually losing custody over her children--because of inflation of bride-price. Young men often do not have enough money to get married under these circumstances, and break-ups because of partial non-payment of the bride-price are more common. Another consequence of monetarization of bride-price is that with the shift from payment in animals or special prestige items to money, women often lose some of their rights as wives. What is happening in this respect in the project area is very interesting.

The traditional bride-price among the Fulani does not involve any actual payment. Certain cattle from the husband's herd are selected as marriage cattle. They are not given to the wife's family. They are kept in the husband's herd under his management, but they may not be disposed of without the wife's consent. The wife has full rights to the milk from these animals and may decide herself how to dispose of it. This system still exists in the Dori area, but it has started to change. I do not have enough data to say when or to what extent, but a monetary payment of bride-price is a not at all rare substitution for the marriage cattle. One informant had con-

tracted all three of his marriages under this system. The payment is made to the bride's father, and only part of it comes back to the marriage with her in the form of household goods. Again, I do not have enough data to say exactly what the difference is, but it is clear that under the money-payment system the wife does not have the same rights to milk as under the traditional system. Men seem to prefer the money-payment system for two reasons. First, compared to the monetary value of the appropriate number of cattle, a cash payment is cheaper. Secondly, divorce is easier under the money-payment system. Why? Well, if you don't want your wife when you have given cows, you can send her away, but you'll lose your cows. And of course you don't want to lose your cows. If she doesn't like you, she won't want to leave because she "drinks the cows." And she won't want to lose that. If you have paid money, it's not so bad. Losing some money is not so bad. (And the wife doesn't have the money to lose if she leaves.)

Another aspect of development frequently mentioned as having a negative impact on women is their lack of opportunity to enter the "modern sector." It is clear that women have not had as much opportunity to enter the modern sector as men have. Since the modern sector includes salaried and wage employment and import-export trade, this itself puts women at a disadvantage. They are relegated to kinds of work which pay less well, less regularly, or not at all--crafts, services, local trade, household and agricultural labor. Furthermore, many of the goods and services produced in the traditional sector have been replaced by imports or local manufactures from the modern sector. This results in the increasing dependence of women on men for cash. It has been argued that this dependence has the consequence of a loss in autonomy in personal as well as economic matters, and there is much evidence to support this.

This predominance of the modern over the traditional sector, and the lack of opportunity for women in the former, has also had interesting consequences for women in the Dori area. The literacy rate among women in the area is extremely low, much lower than that among men, so there are few women qualified to enter the modern sector. But in any event, about the only modern sector jobs open

to women are a few civil service posts and monitrice positions with development projects. This does not mean at all that the modern sector has nothing to do with women's roles in the Dori area. Much of the demand for the thread the Dori women of 1953 spent so much time spinning is now met by manufactured thread. This is not because of a lack of locally produced thread, but because the manufactured thread is preferred. Plastic mats have taken some of the demand for locally-woven mats. Other plastic items, like sandals, have a larger share of the market than do locally produced leather goods. Women are not usually shoemakers, but they do tan hides.

To summarize the effects of development on women's roles in the Dori area, we have the following: 1) reduction or loss of rights to milk, which formed the basis of the traditional female economic role, 2) decrease in demand for craft items produced by women, and 3) while it is not certain that population growth was caused by development, it is clear that population growth indirectly resulted in an increase in the performance of unpaid, non-productive labor by women. Thus, women's traditional economic role has been undermined. Opportunities to participate in the modern sector have not been available to make up for the loss.

All of these changes can be expected to have increased the dependence of women on men and to have reduced female autonomy. The problem with discussing this issue is that there is very little data on the subject from any earlier time. There are excellent data on the subjects of family economy and domestic authority among less sedentary Fulani, but sedentary and semi-nomadic Fulani differ in many respects. These issues may be among them. The author of the 1953 description of social life in Dori says that all adult members of a concession are "subservient" to the head of the concession who has full authority over all financial and personal matters. This is surely an exaggeration, surely an expression of ideology rather than practice. It is currently said that the husband is the head of his household in all matters. This is to be expected. Women normally do spend most of their time carrying out activities among

themselves without any male direction or interference, so it can not be said that they don't have any autonomy. It is also said that women have full rights of disposal over money they earn themselves. People were singularly reluctant to discuss any matter concerning income or assets with me, but this appears to be true. This does not mean, however, that women have a really independent economic role. They are not major contributors to the household budget. Both men and women expect that men will pay for ordinary household expenses. This is very different from Fulani women of semi-nomadic groups in Nigeria. They, on the basis of their rights to the milk of their marriage cattle, are responsible for the family food budget, purchase of millet included. And they will leave a husband who does not allot them the milk from as many of his other cows as they think he should. Women in the Dori area manage their small incomes and any small livestock they may own, but the husband is very much the financial head of the household. At the moment one can only speculate about what effect a real increase in women's incomes might have on family economy and domestic authority.

We are now back to the questions that this section started with--what does it mean to integrate women into development, and how can the PFFS do this. If one expects that most development takes place in or tends toward entry into the modern sector, then it is clear that the integration of women into development means their entry into the modern sector. Ideally this should be accomplished at least partly by developing and modernizing women's traditional activities. In many areas and with many activities, it may already be too late to do this. For example, it is not uncommon to find that as recently as 1950 women were the main marketers of agricultural surpluses. Most long-distance traders have always been men, but the local trade was in female hands. It is not uncommon now to find that sale in bulk is in male hands, even at the local level, while women have been relegated to the sale of miniscule amounts. Thus women's traditional role as local traders has not been developed; they have been displaced by men. Once this has happened it is almost impossible to reverse the situation.

In spite of the fact that most development, strictly speaking, takes place in the modern sector, needed goods and services are produced in the traditional sector. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that the traditional sector can be developed and will not continue to be displaced. As it is designed, the PFFS can do nothing to directly contribute to the entrance of women into the modern sector. Given the small size of the modern sector in the Dori area and the small potential for its short-term expansion, this is not to be criticised. It is realistic. The thrust of the PFFS is in the traditional sector, and it is more in the form of a replacement for women's lost traditional role than a development of it. A development of the traditional role might take the form of the modernizing of milk products production and sale. For example, methods of cheese-making might be introduced so that milk products could be preserved for longer periods of time. Cheese might then be exported from the area. This not possible under present conditions.

There are three aspects of the PFFS design that are of particular importance for the development of women's roles. The first is the reduction of the time needed for non-productive chores. This is necessary to allow women to participate more fully in productive or income-generating activities. The second is the provision of the means to enable them to do this, i.e. credit. The third is training in management skills to enable them to succeed in their endeavors.

There are still some questions to be answered. At present, who are the loan applicants? They tend to be older women. Older women are better-established in their husbands' families and are thus allowed more freedom--freedom of movement and freedom to control their financial affairs. They are also in a position to delegate some of their household chores to juniors. This is normal in Africa. The older and more established women are, the more able they are to be economically active and financially solvent. The provision of means to these women is not to be criticised in and of itself, but it does not substantially change the overall situation. The second question is what activities are the loan appli-

cants going to engage in? The loan applications are for petty commerce, craft work, and short-term small livestock fattening-and-sale projects. Third, what is the development potential of these activities? Petty commerce has and probably will continue to suffer from encroachments of the modern sector, but it will certainly not be completely displaced for a long time. Petty commerce is a worthwhile and needed activity. But unless the project pushes village women into modern forms of the activity which they apparently do not want, e.g. village boutiques, the development potential of this activity is low. Crafts have already been replaced to some extent by manufactures. A centre de' artisanat is being organized in the Dori area, and an attempt will be made to find new market outlets for the crafts so that production may be increased. Even with this, one must admit of the possibility of the displacement of craft items, e.g. blankets, by cheap manufactures. Thus the development potential of this activity is probably low. Finally, we have small stock raising. This would have good development potential if the problems of overgrazing and animal food shortage weren't so severe, but with new inputs to these areas the development of this activity may still be possible.

I have gone through this because I want to make some suggestions for improving the development potential of project financed activities. First, training in management is in itself valuable and should not be over-looked or under-emphasized. This includes training in practical as well as financial management. When better practical management can increase production, for example this is probably true of poultry raising, I think the project should actively seek to introduce management training by means of demonstration projects. It is not always necessary that a proposal or request come from villagers. To continue with the example of poultry raising, it is clear that people who raise poultry don't want to lose most of their chicks. But they often do. It is possible that they don't request assistance because they don't know that anything can be done about the situation or because they think that any possible remedies are too risky to justify the expense. I am suggesting that

any time such a situation presents itself, the project actively seek a solution to the problem. If there is a viable solution, the project should make this known and actively seek to demonstrate the solution.

Secondly, since many of women's traditional economic activities have been displaced, or could easily be displaced, by goods or services from the modern sector, the project should seek to introduce new activities. Again, it is not necessary to wait for a request, nor is it necessary to try to push people into doing something they don't particularly want. The project personnel could suggest the possibility of skills training of various kinds. They could respond to expressions of interest by training field agents in skills that they in turn could teach to villagers. This is the same idea that was discussed in part II of this report viewed from a different standpoint. Skills training in activities with greater development potential may have the added advantage of integrating younger women into project activities. Taking a loan to start a small enterprise is a bit much, in the local conception, for a very young woman. Skills classes held in the village that young women could participate in, possibly with their senior female relatives are a different matter. Obviously there are practical difficulties in integrating skills training with other project activities. I have made suggestions as to how this might be done in the outline plan for project implementation which has been submitted separately from this report.

The PFFS, by reducing labor-time and offering credit and management training, gives women the possibility of increased participation in economic activities. By seeking solutions to problems in production and by introducing new skills with more development potential, the PFFS can really integrate women into development.

B. Social Stratification in the Project Area

AID's overall goal is to help the "poorest of the poor" in the least developed countries. Thus it is natural that concern is expressed about what this will mean when working in a poor but stratified region. Two specific questions were asked in this regard. First, there were doubts as to whether

members of the lower social strata might be able to participate equally in the village committees and in the loan program. Second, there were fears that the benefits of participation by members of the lower social strata might be drained off in the form of prestations to the higher strata.

The first doubt does not appear, at this time, to have been justified. Village committees were formed on the basis of representation by quartier. Since the different social strata generally live in different quartiers, they all have representation. In cases where the committee president was chosen by the women themselves, the choice was made on the basis of personal qualities. Some of the committee presidents are members of the lower strata. Nor are the members of loan groups drawn disproportionately from the higher strata.

The second matter is a little more complicated but does not appear to be a problem. The special relationship between specific Riymaibe families and specific Fulani families still exists, but its nature has changed. Although the traditional form of this relationship is generally referred to as slavery, it was probably more comparable in some respects to serfdom. At any rate, Riymaibe still work for their Fulani families, but not on a regular basis. The work is probably irregular because it must be paid for now. The standard rate is 500 franc per day, a not insubstantial sum. Most Fulani claim that they do not receive regular gifts or payments from their Riymaibe. There are villages, though not project villages, where the Fulani do say they receive gifts. What appears to be the most usual situation is that some kind of yearly prestation is made to the village chief. The size and nature of the payment varies from one village to the next, sometimes it is merely symbolic but sometimes the payment is an animal.

So far, stratification has not presented a problem. The Bellah in project villages are all free. The Riymaibe are free to run their own financial affairs and to participate in project activities. Thus even though stratification is not a dead issue, it does not appear likely to hinder the attainment of project goals.

V. Conclusion

In part II of this report I analyzed the problems with my role as PFFS Anthropologist over the past year. Some of the problems with the performance of that role were specific to the situation and some were of more general interest. I hope that my analysis and recommendations will help to avoid the specific situational problems in the future. Part III of this report was devoted to a redefinition of anthropological inputs designed to avoid the general, non-situational problems.

Part IV was based partly on data collected as part of my research function. I regret that the data on family economy and domestic authority were too scanty for any further analysis. There were enough data for an analysis of changes in women's roles, and I hope the suggestions made for developing women's roles will prove workable.