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9. ABSTRACT <p>This paper discusses women's participation in LDCs, with a broad and divergent set of countries represented but documentation drawn most fully from Africa. It is addressed to the concerns of two reader audiences: researchers and programmers. In the last decade, studies have shown that economic growth in itself does not ensure equitable distribution of benefits. A recognition of how economic stratification acts to filter and skew services has led analysts to further differentiate and disaggregate rural residents according to land size, income, and crops. Similarly, sexual stratification has affected the allocation of services within households. Further understanding of the complexities of rural development cannot be reached without an awareness of how class and sex interact to stratify benefits. The linkage between economic participation and political participation needs to be fully explored. Economic participation alone will not build workable relationships, or establish accountability, between women as a clientele and administrative agencies. A prior or complementary condition--organizational participation--can initiate, facilitate and sustain those clientele relationships. Initially this can be accomplished through separate women's organizations, establishing multiple linkages with programs and agencies. Various aspects of such women's organizations are discussed, including incentives, representativeness and organizational autonomy. A model is introduced for assessing programs and staff, focusing on the dichotomization of work roles between the sexes. In certain societies an integrated organizational strategy may be more appropriate than separate groups. Such a strategy requires a thorough consideration of the benefits and harmful consequences of programs for women's access to productive resources.</p>	
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WOMEN AND PARTICIPATION

by

Kathleen A. Staudt

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PREFACE

This paper is addressed to concerns of two reader audiences: researchers and programmers. It attempts to cover women's participation in the developing world, a broad and divergent set of countries with numerous differences within and between them. Though the paper aims at comprehensive regional coverage, my field research was conducted in Africa and my specialization in comparative political study is Africa; thus, documentation is drawn more fully from that region. For a more holistic perspective, both research and organization strategies have been integrated into the text. The need to speak at a level of generality which encompasses both divergent areas and audiences, while at the same time address more specific research needs and program ideas has been difficult to reconcile. The time in which this document was completed, five weeks, further aggravated the difficulty. It is hoped that this paper will be seen as a working, idea-generating mechanism for this important and urgent rural development issue.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, studies have shown that economic growth in itself does not ensure equitable distribution of benefits; a reliance on "trickle-down" theories of growth may lead to quite different consequences than those anticipated by planners. A recognition of how economic stratification acts to filter and skew services has prompted analysts to further differentiate and disaggregate rural residents according to land size, income, and crops. Similarly, analysts are beginning to recognize how sexual stratification affects the allocation of services, and the shortcomings of "trickle-down" approaches within households. An awareness of how class¹ and sex interact to stratify benefits is essential to further understand the complexities of rural development.

The purpose of this paper is to address women and participation in rural development. I will argue that the linkage between economic participation and political participation needs to be fully explored, for which fuller documentation and more comprehensive monitoring and measurement of programs are necessary. Women's economic participation in program benefits affects organizational participation, yet economic participation alone will not build workable relationships, or establish accountability, between women as a clientele and administrative agencies. A prior or complementary condition--organizational participation--can initiate,

facilitate, and sustain those clientele relationships. This organizational participation is argued to be initially and temporarily approached through separate women's organizations, which establish multiple linkages with programs and agencies. This strategy is fraught with a number of dilemmas, later considered in the text. Various aspects of women's organizations are addressed, including incentives, representativeness, and organizational autonomy. A model for assessing programs and staff is introduced, which focuses on the dichotomization of work roles between the sexes. Based on the model, women's organizations may be less appropriate in certain societies than an integrated organizational strategy. An integrated strategy requires thorough consideration of the benefits and harmful consequences of programs for women's access to productive resources.

A. Women and Participation

That women participate in rural development through agricultural and domestic work is well documented (Boserup, 1970; Levine, 1966; Mbilinyi, 1972; DeWilde, 1967; Lele, 1975, pp. 26-27; Deere, 1976; Riegelman, 1976; Chakravorty, 1975; Boulding, 1975; Hay, 1976; UN/ECA, 1972; Pala, 1976; Simmons, 1976), though our knowledge about the extent, variance, and potential of what participation is limited. That women vote, hold office (however infrequently), and belong to organizations is also clear. Nevertheless, we need to go beyond the latter conventional indicators of

political participation, or the former more vague economic conceptions, to understand women's participation.

1. Developmental Participation Defined

Political and economic resources are intimately tied to one another, with economic resources augmenting political resources on a cumulative, self-sustaining basis. In a development administration context, the distribution of government resources and services, as well as community responses to those patterns, are bound up in more comprehensive conceptions of participation. For this reason, the umbrella concept of "developmental participation" is used in this paper, and includes involvement in decision-making processes, implementation, benefits, and evaluations of rural development activities (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, pp. 5-6). Given those studies which show a positive relationship between local organization and national agricultural productivity and social welfare (Uphoff and Esman, 1974) and between project success and small farmer involvement (Morss, et.al., 1976), as well as the mandate to promote participation in development (Hapgood, 1969), it is assumed that women's participation needs to be addressed by researchers and programmers as well.

2. Women's Participation

The following questions may distinguish women's participation from that of other groups:

--How does sex differentiation in access to resources differ in form and extent from differentials between other groups? How do degrees of that differentiation affect women's productivity, participation, and local participation?

--Women may be situated in a dependent relationship within a household or upon a man, which generally affects access to land, resources, political identification, and action to a greater extent than men. Will these competing affiliations, a phenomenon thought to dissipate corporate political strength, have consequences unlike those for other groups because of the continuous and intimate nature of ties? How do such competing affiliations vary between economic strata?

--How does women's reproductive capacity give rise to values that exclude and reduce women's participation by either limiting the scope of issues about which women can legitimately comment or the political behavior considered appropriate for women?

Frequently these factors culminate in men representing household interests, into which women are subsumed, thus raising important questions about strategies, incentives, and goals of women's participation.

3. Organizations as Resources

Organizations can replace or compensate for women's lower access to economic resources as well as values that exclude or reduce women's participation. A collective resource, organization, facilitates the use of size, scale, and cohesion among a populace. Organizational participation may enhance political skill, as well as counteract the advantage of high socio-economic status usually associated with conventional participation (Huntington and Nelson, 1976, pp. 87, 169). Collective action is as intimately tied to developmental participation as control over economic resources, and provides an opportunity to increase access to resources and augment political resources on a self-sustained basis as well.

4. Women as Clientele

The study of women's participation requires an examination, or at least understanding, of within-household participation in order to study their participation at the broader community level. A woman's access to resources within a household, as well as the general status of her household, affects female developmental participation or nonparticipation in the larger community. Such access will affect whether women are seen as clientele of bureaucratic agencies. The political strength of a bureaucratic clientele partially determines the responsiveness, equity, and effectiveness with which it is served (Rourke, 1969; Montgomery and Esman, 1972, pp. 360, 367; Selznick, 1949).

Ideally development administration is based on a bureaucratic model of neutrally dispensed rules, services, and advice. In most political systems, bureaucratic accountability to clientele is a firmly established principle. Yet most bureaucracies operate in a political context and are responsive to economic resources and collective organization among clientele. The increasing documentation of women's non-participation (Coombes, 1974; Boserup, 1970; Rohrlich-Leavitt, 1975; Brokenshat Nellis, 1971; Tinker and Bramsen, 1976; Pala, 1976; Moris, 1970; Lele, 1975, pp. 76-77; Staudt, 1976a, 1976b; ILO/UNDP, 1972, p. 64) suggests that administration operates within a sex-differentiated power context as well, and that maleness may be an added, de facto resource in bureaucratic-clientele relationships. The conception of

women as "wives" rather than as farmers and traders--found in programs and documents--further exacerbates this bureaucratic tendency.

Other developments counteract the tendency toward women's limited relationships with bureaucratic agencies. The expanded scope of government activity into areas clearly bound up in women's activity as mothers, family planning "acceptors," homemakers, water carriers, food producers, processors, and traders, may offset what appears to be a limited clientele relationship. Even in these administrative activities, however, economic resources and collective action will affect the quality of the relationship between the agency and clientele, and its priority in the larger political context.

II. WOMEN AS PART OF THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The "what of developmental participation" (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977) includes participation in economic benefits or harmful consequences, and permits focus on the absence or presence of clientele relationships between programs and women. Increased national and international efforts to improve the "status" of women exist, yet little consideration is given to just what this "status" means, women's participation, its definition and measurement. If by rural development, we mean the increased productivity of human resources to enhance both economic growth and the quality

of life in a self-sustained manner, do our conceptions of ultimate aims for women contradict or coincide with this meaning?

In the minds of early and some contemporary observers, farm modernization is a state in which men specialize in farm management and work, while women, in home and children. Here in the U.S. and European farm model represent "modernity," and dichotomized work roles between the sexes, as well as female exclusion from farm work, becomes an indicator of progress.² The applicability of general U.S. and European models of "modernity" to other parts of the world has long been criticized, but may linger with regard to relations between the sexes. Sole focus on the quality of life, amount or type of work women do, and how this changes over time--without a consideration of their implications for access to economic resources--may reflect this rather narrow concern.³ Other studies examine expanded opportunities, in education or civil rights for example, which may have improved in an absolute sense for women (Andreski, 1970; Goode, 1963; Patai, 1968). Relative differences in rates of change between men and women offer less optimistic conclusions, however. Finally, some analysts treat only the household and assume women share in its benefits. The lack of indicators beneath the household precludes fuller investigation.⁴

In this paper, productivity is conceived of as the capacity or potential for production, rather than simply increased production. To achieve increased productive capacity, the

structures of production, or relations between people, may require change (Uphoff and Ilchman, 1972, p. 75). Increased productivity is a result of changes in several factors: technology, resource bases, and organization, each complementing the other.

A. Impact of Development

This section will raise methodological and research issues which are essential to further study women's productivity as it relates to participation. There have been several distinct, but related trends in the literature on the impact of development on women. In one conception, development benefits are argued to by-pass women, lodging them in the "traditional" or subsistence sphere (Boserup, 1970). For example, economic opportunities and technical advice are seen to be systematically channeled to men. Taking this a step further, the second argument assesses women in a broader economic context. Changing technology, both nationally and internationally, reduces women's proportional control over resources and contribution to development in the larger economy. While women's access to income and opportunity may increase, changes in the wider economy reduce their proportional control over resources. Machines that replace women's labor, manufactured or imported goods that successfully compete with women's crafts, and the advantage of large-scale trade that competes with small-scale women's trade decreases access to income-earning opportunities (Mintz [Africa and Caribbean], 1971, p. 251; Remy [Nigeria], 1976; Simmons [Nigeria], 1976;

Robertson [Ghana], 1976). These factors affect both men and women, but occupational and training opportunities offset this tendency for men. Development also differentially marginalizes women as a group. In my study of the delivery of farm services in Kenya, all women had less access to services, but low income women farm managers were the most disadvantaged, relative to men, of all economic strata. Low income farms with a man present had access to services similar to that of higher income female managed farms (Staudt, forthcoming).

B. Measurement and Research

If women had less access to resources prior to intensive development, and if development tended to exacerbate those differences, cumulative advantage and disadvantage is expected to heighten and quicken negative impact, a process similar to the dynamic posed in relations between unevenly developed countries in an international environment (known as the "development of underdevelopment"). Yet our examination of impact, either negative or positive, direct or indirect, or obscured by class, is hampered by the lack of uniform and precise indicators of what development means for people's status, both men and women. In order to proceed, such studies must disaggregate household units and subsequently aggregate and compare them to one another.⁵

We also need to explore the conditions under which women's marginality is fostered, maintained, or arrested.

Government activity is increasingly recognized to perpetuate, institutionalize, or transform relations between the sexes. Civil rights, inheritance, land reform, educational and employment policies are examples of such activity. What variations exist among governments in what is alleged to be women's deteriorating position relative to men? Are certain political systems associated with more or less differentiation between men and women? How are differences in political systems affected by variant cropping patterns, landholding, and other ecological factors? To what extent can governments intervene to arrest the alleged deteriorating position of women? What circumstances provoke government attention to the issue? Findings about local organization and its impact on national productivity might be put to test on productivity between the sexes. What effects do women's organizations have on arresting the marginality of women? Considering the world, or regional areas within it as an undifferentiated mass, does no more than call attention to the problem.

C. Women's Productivity

Most women are clearly productive persons (Mintz, 1971; Boserup, 1970, see cities in I-A) engaging in work which has an impact on rural development. It is difficult to identify any part of the world in which women are not involved in the agricultural cycle, either preparing land, planting, weeding, harvesting, processing, and trading crops (or combinations thereof). Though frequently unrecognized, there is no

question that women are "integrated" into rural development; whether women are integrated into the development administration network is another issue.

Studying women's productivity as it relates to developmental participation occurs both where women manage farms and work on farms. Programs must take into account such variations, which may present revealing findings once examined systematically. A methodologically sophisticated study of farm managerial efficiency in East Africa compared female to male managers and found women to be "more technically efficient maize farmers than the men." The author reported "that a woman obtains 6.6 percent more output at the mean levels of input use than does a man." (Moock, 1976)

Expanded notions of women's productivity at both the community and national level further illustrate this previously unconsidered dimension.

1. Example: The Community

In a study of the effects of irrigation on two villages of South India, men in the dry village took advantage of non-agricultural opportunities to diversity employment and trade activities, while women in that village continued to farm for subsistence and family consumption. Hailed as the more productive area compared to the wet village (in which economic stratification was reinforced by irrigation), men in the dry area were labeled as more productive because women absorbed farm tasks. Women had little independent income as all cash

transactions were handled by men, and no time for dairy work, a source of income to women in the wet village (Epstein, 1962).⁶ What productivity loss occurred because of women's nonaccess to cash and control over significant family resources for incentive and risk-taking in agricultural innovation?

2. Example: The Nation

In a study with wider generality, women's productivity is argued to allow men to sell their labor at less than subsistence familial wage to underwrite profits in the capitalist sector. Women's contributions permit the non-capitalist sector to absorb the costs of the production and reproduction of labor power (Deere [Latin America], 1976). These female survival strategies result, among the most economically disadvantaged women household heads, in what one writer has called a "desperate independence." How do wider economic patterns contribute to women's marginality and how does a rural woman's work contribute to economic stability in various political settings?

3. Expanding Nations of Productivity

In both these examples, women's work enabled either men or employers to enhance their more readily quantifiable work, while women's subsistence activity remained unconsidered, much less quantified. The lack of measurement is due to the nature of subsistence work, work in which women predominate. Yet problems abound with measurement. The work men do, either in the sale of goods or labor, tends to be quantified,

because it transcends the household, while that work women do is absorbed or consumed within the household, thereby remaining unquantified. If women's responsibilities tend to be oriented toward household maintenance (for example, in growing food, processing it, and feeding the family), it is unlikely that the value of that work will be enumerated. Women's productivity may be hidden or distorted as well, as men may be reluctant (for prestige reasons) to admit that women of the household do field work (Epstein [India], 1962, p. 71; Youssef [Middle East], 1974).

Not only it is necessary to examine "subsistence" more systematically, but there is a need to look beyond the conception of farm productivity simply in terms of yield per acre. The ultimate return of an acre to a household is also affected by crop storage and processing, as well as the method and time of distribution, which may be women's work. Inputs into farm productivity such as labor, its efficiency, income to purchase seeds and fertilizer or hire laborers, or gifts and reciprocal labor exchanges are broad aspects of production and ones which also involve women. As reproducers and nurturers of children, women's dual roles augment and sustain household labor supply. Research must examine the household and its participants, both as units and as autonomous parts, each with productive potential realized to varying degrees.

D. Small Farm Households: A Typology

With literature demonstrating the variety of households over time and across societies, we have reached a point where we must justify the continuous focus on "heads," who invariably are defined as men.⁷

1. Past Preoccupation with "Head"

Why were past researchers and programmers preoccupied with "heads?" Speculations of their major assumptions follow. Households are headed by a single individual who protects, supports, and makes major decisions about household affairs, the members of which share common interests. This individual also represents households in legal and governmental affairs, and relevant information, burdens, or resources acquired from the exchange are passed onto other members of the household according to some standard. This apex model transcends all household affairs, including economic, legal, social and political. Convenience in research methods is also a consideration: interviewing one informant or establishing interchange between members of the same sex are factors here.

a. Non-Transcending Authority

The household model described may be inaccurate or incomplete in many societies, for two reasons. First, authority in one sphere does not necessarily transcend to other spheres, particularly in societies where economic contributions and resources are more balanced between household members, or in contrast, where spheres of influence are extremely dichotomized and segregated. On the latter point, the assumption of unbridled

male authority in Muslim households and the actual variation in practice is instructive (Lewis [Ivory Coast], 1976; Simmons [Nigeria], 1976). In parts of Asia and Southeast Asia such as Korea and the Philippines, women may control financial affairs within a family, yet operate under social constrictions unmatched for men (Misch, 1975). Finally, the model inaccurately reflects areas with matrilineal land tenure.

b. Non-Universality in Family Form

Second, the model assumes common family forms, with a man at the apex. In parts of Subsaharan Africa, fiscal independence and autonomy between spouses is an actual and sometimes, preferred marital arrangement. A particularly striking example is the monetary lending between spouses for trading or business ventures, which as one scholar so aptly described is provided at only slightly less usurious rates than those of moneylenders (Robertson [Ghana], 1976b). Distance between spouses, either a result of migration of traditional separate residences, further reinforces the autonomy, and spouses may neither know nor willingly share information about income they have earned.

Male head focus leads to the unintended neglect of female headed households as an aberrant or temporary condition. Migration may span a man's working life and visits may be as infrequent as once per year or less, leaving women as de facto heads. In large parts of Africa, the number of de facto female heads is estimated to number between one-third and one-half of rural households, resulting from urbanization and mining labor

patterns.⁸ Without recognizing the fluid, rather than static nature of households, large segments of a rural populace remain ignored.

In high male migration areas, with therefore large numbers of female headed households, aggregate figures of money remitted from urban to rural areas reveal as little about the actual distribution of amounts in families as household income figures of per capita figures. A broad variety of remittance patterns within one community may exist. In my own field research, equal proportions of the following three patterns were observed. Some women received regular cash amounts; others, irregular or seasonal amounts; and still others received nothing and had been, in effect, abandoned by their husbands until their retirement and return to the land (Staudt, 1976b). To be sure, this is channeled land rights and cash proceeds for communal plot work (on which both men and women worked) to "households," which in effect meant men. Women traditionally had control over money acquired through the sale of crops on which they had labored as well as land rights. When men were questioned about whether women should have a part of the cash proceeds, three-fourths of the 75 men polled said women should receive at least 10 percent; 11 percent of the men said women should have a separate field or small portion of plots; three percent said the government should handle it, and the rest, that no action be taken. Though the terms of this sharing are hardly generous, they were noticeably better than the government community

development commissioner who said the issue should go unraised because it would cause discontent between husbands and wives (Brain, 1976, pp. 275-276).

New sources of cash and land reform are markedly transforming household resources and will invariably affect relations between spouses. While cooperation and sharing is essential for survival at the most economically marginal levels (such as among the landless) there are other levels in which the degree of imbalance to those resources will affect family relations and most probably, productivity of individual members.

C. Unintended Consequences

Why and how are some persons chosen as heads? Maleness appears to be an important criteria, regardless of whether male residence or authority is present (viz. Kenya Rural Development Survey). Symbolic rather than "real" headship has perhaps captured the focus of research attention. In one study, persons under 15 and over 55 were included in a "dependency ratio" figure, yet in the same chart, mean age of "heads" was over 55 (Spencer [Sierra Leone], 1976). The exaggerated focus on male heads leads to some unintended consequences in development administration and research.

First, if heads are uninterested in a particular economic sphere and if their authority and expertise is not explained largely by low men's wages, inadequate to serve family needs; exploitative economic and wage patterns contribute to maintaining rural women's economic marginality.

Migration studies have often assumed that the most able and skilled members have left a community. To the extent that an ability structure exists among both men and women, and to the extent women are constrained from migration due to familial responsibilities, the ability structure may be most balanced among women rather than men, and higher proportions of able women than men remain in a community. This explanation was offered for women's greater farm managerial efficiency (Moock, 1976), and suggests that higher proportions of female headed households may be most amenable to innovation and change.

The assumption of shared income and responsibility within households may be unwarranted as well (Mintz [African/Caribbean], 1971; Boserup, 1970; Nair [India], 1961, p. 55; Robertson [Ghana] 1976a; Hafkin and Bay [Africa], 1976, p. 6). Within-family contributions may reflect a fairly strict adherence to perceived responsibilities. For example, it may be the duty of the father to pay school fees and the mother to feed the family, or for absent men to contribute cash to replace their responsibility to prepare land for planting by hiring laborers to plow with oxen. This again calls attention to the problem of assuming "trickle-down" benefits in households. Access to resources and opportunities to meet those responsibilities change in response to economic development and may vary by sex.

It is questionable whether and to what extent women would have legitimate claim to men's cash income, even if it were

higher. A telling illustration is found in a description of an Ujamaa village in Tanzania which extend from one area to another, information may not be accurately transmitted by a head, or even transmitted at all. Moreover, heads may hold inaccurate or incomplete knowledge about household affairs. A study of a Moslem community in Nigeria vividly portrays misinformation about household income structure with the absence of information from women (Simmons, 1976).

Second, in families in which each spouse has his own responsibilities and income and where minimal common interests exist, channeling services or income to a man may disrupt the financial and work balance and lead to women's lessened commitment and ultimately, productivity. One study explains women's begrudging work on cash crops with their responsibility for feeding the family and working on food plots. Cash crop work interfered with food crops and women shared little in their proceeds (DeWilde [Africa], 1967, pp. 22; 51-55).

2. Household Typology

Clearly, a focus on the distribution of work, responsibility, benefits, and incentives in households requires examination of more than the head. A recognition of joint decision-making and action, or realities which counter research assumptions about uniform households structures, will require focus on several household members or various types of households. A typology of household structures in small farmer communities is proposed below, types which are expected to vary within

communities, across economic strata, and among age groups.

Such considerations are a prerequisite for researchers or programmers aiming at securing information or participation with farmers.

What has been known as "male managed" includes extended families, nuclear families, households with male off-farm employment, symbolic headship, and male presence with only intermittent interest in agriculture.

What is known as "female managed" includes both permanent and temporary household types. A more permanent female headship occurs among widows, women abandoned by male migrants, or female property owners (including divorced and single women). On a temporary basis, female managers can receive intermittent financial, labor, or informational support more regularized aid from absent husbands, or operate in an autonomous manner.

Separate spouse residences present the most obvious case for revising assumptions about household types. Distance and ensuing autonomy presents either widened or narrowed opportunities for spouses, reflected by their access to resources and autonomy. How do we assess genuine joint or corporate management, whereby decisions are based on consensus and cooperation? Moreover, the spread and acceptance of high yield varieties, within a community, may grow into "tradition," setting precedence over any individual action. A further complication is that women may simultaneously belong to several types of households (Vellenga [Ghana], 1977).

3. A Resource Model

The need to consider women managers in programs and participation strategies is a visible one; women within households, including male managed farms, require further consideration as well.

I propose that we examine and compare men's and women's access to and control over valued resources within households and between households in the larger community. This examination must take into consideration the variety of household structures and what factors contribute to their change over time. Resource studies permit an examination of the distribution of political resources for linkage as actors and clientele, (especially important in implementation and evaluation), and of economic resources for productivity and incentive (necessary for studies of decision-making and benefits). The study of the structure of economic and political power is composed of the following.

--Land: How are land ownership, usufruct rights, and joint tendency differentiated by sex?

--Labor: Who controls the allocation of spouse or children's labor? If one sex has control over the unpaid labor of another, how does this affect sex differentiated need or ability to hire other labor for economic operations?

--Income: Who controls income distribution within households? What proportional control does each exert over income? How are responsibility and income available to meet that responsibility distributed between the sexes? The access to and amount of capital accumulation is expected to affect risk-taking behavior.

- Children: Which spouse has rights to children upon marital dissolution? Are children valued as economic assets or liabilities?
- Information: How is education, literacy, numeracy, and technical expertise differentiated by sex? How important are these assets for changing productivity needs?
- Contacts: How do contacts with prestigious persons, administrative staff, and organizational affiliations vary by sex?
- Oneself: How differentiated by sex are physical integrity and control over decisions about one's body? To what extent do physical abuse, intimidation, and mobility freedom differ between men and women?

It is predicted that the fewer the distributional differences between men and women, the less the political participatory differences between them as well. To the extent, however, that resources are sex-linked, participatory differences between women and men may continue. These differences are expected to affect economic productivity and opportunity within households, and sex differentiation in local organization. Each is dealt with in turn.

a. Implications for Productivity

Male control over the channels for raising productivity is expected to affect women's productivity and general rural productivity. Resources, advice, tools, and machines profoundly affect labor and its productivity. Therefore, how and to whom these assets are channeled within households will critically affect the productivity of individual units. How do program structures reinforce men's access to resources? To what extent do men receive technical training in agricultural

and income-earning possibilities from that access, while women receive domestic training such as cooking, sewing and nutrition, oriented toward labor consumed within households? Programs which confine women into subsistence level "specializations" in non-income, labor-intensive domestic work reduce the ability to capitalize on some of the ablest members of a community, particularly in those areas with high rates of male out-migration. How do these programs tie into the alleged growing marginalization of women in the wider economic context?

A division of labor within households implies a difference in incentive to reduce labor and/or increase the efficiency of labor. Are alternative programs available to promote sharing in income-earning and labor consumption within households? If "incentive" affects productivity, there is no reason to suspect it will not similarly affect female productivity. A number of studies support the importance of examining how sex differentiated access to resources affects female farm productivity.

One author predicts that women, particularly young women, increasingly lose interest in farming as a result of both discrimination and imported western sex role models in programs (Boserup, 1970). Another discovered that women refused to work on crops from which they had formerly derived some income, but which were then marketed through cooperatives with membership and payment collection controlled by men (Apthorpe [Kenya], 1971). If women are concentrated in the subsistence sector where risk-taking may compromise family survival, what is the effect on

risk-taking behavior? Another study in a densely administered settlement scheme found men collecting all income on crops over which women labored in a context where no provision was made for a family food plot. The net effect was an increase in rice black-marketing among women in order to acquire money to feed their families (Hanger and Moris [Kenya], 1973).

Does "family membership" in cooperatives rather than male membership significantly change collection or income distribution within the family? An intriguing quasi-experimental research design would measure and compare, over time, cooperative types with individual productivity and benefit distribution within families. The types include male membership, family membership, and individual membership. The first two patterns are expected to inhibit female membership or participation unless special recruitment occurs. In individual unit participation, income is derived on the basis of labor input and work points earned, according to varying criteria. Yet even this approach may be detrimental to women whose responsibilities for time-consuming, domestic chores may prohibit more extensive participation on plots. This is the classically cited problem in rural China (Diamond, 1975) and in some Tanzanian Ujamaa villages as well (Storgaard, 1976; Brain, 1976). If domestic chores are not considered a public or social activity to be compensated for, or if domestic work is not shared equally, sex differences in income will always remain.

b. Implications for Local Organization

Sex differentiated access to resources is also expected to affect local organization and participation. Specifically, it is predicted to affect the extent to which the community local power structure is male dominated and the scope of issues in women's participation. How does marked sex differentiation interact with "more" and "less" locally organized societies (dual distinction from Uphoff and Esman, 1974)? Hypotheses here are difficult to draw because political participation and local organization are more direct, planned, and intentional than economic change, and highly contingent upon government stimuli and political system types. For this reason, I now turn to a fuller consideration of issues in organizational participation.

III. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

As demonstrated in the previous section, economic participation in the benefits of development is expected to influence productivity and collective action. At the same time, collective action is itself a resource, with a potential capability to redress or compensate for nonparticipation in benefits. This potentiality is affected by several key issues in organizational theory and action: the mobilization of shared interests, organizational strategies, and the representativeness of organizations, and organizational survival, including the autonomy-integration dilemma. These issues will be discussed in turn, but first a simple framework will be introduced to later expound upon what theorists call the universality of

"sexual asymmetry" in human life (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Lamphere, 1977).

To identify and explore the place of males and females in psychological, cultural, social, and economic aspects of human life, anthropologists have introduced the domestic-public distinction. Domestic "refers to those minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized immediately around one or more mothers and their children; 'public' refers to activities, institutions, and forms of association that link, rank, organize, or subsume particular mother-child groups." (Rosaldo, 1974, p. 23). This opposition is argued to underlie cultural stereotypes and evaluations of the sexes. An elaboration of the "public" aspect is discussed in the organizational strategy section.

Women's subordination to men provides a justification for the consideration of women's participation as distinct from men and for the recognition that women share at least some interests. Whether and how this social significance as a group is translated into political significance is a question soon considered.

A. Mobilization of Interests

This section considers women's interests as a basis for group action, develops a typology of women's organizations about which research has been conducted, and explores the relationship of governments to those organizations.

Governments have a profound capacity to stimulate or channel resources toward groups such that individuals act on or inhibit the expression of common interests. The capacity of governments to initiate group action has been long recognized (Huntington and Nelson, 1976, p. 169; Edelman, 1964, 1971; Wilson, 1973), but the application of this knowledge to the emergence or submergence of women's organizations has only recently been considered. Through legal structures, policies, and political processes, governments create, transform and perpetuate sex-linked participatory patterns.

1. The Analysis of Interests

Interests are those issues which materially affect peoples' life chances. Persons need not be aware of those issues to be affected by them, though some shared awareness is crucial to organizational emergence. Thus, interest groups are defined here as collections of persons who pursue shared interests with agreed upon strategies.

Interests defined in this broad manner could conceivably include all issues. Peoples' life chances are affected in both long and short-term perspective and in direct and indirect ways. Reconciling individual with group interests further complicates the setting of boundaries to interests. Consequently, those who articulate interests and establish boundaries around these interests are of critical importance in any analysis of organizational strategy. Whether and to what extent group members,

group leaders, or external forces predominate in interest articulation will have lasting consequences for the effective and satisfactory resolution of group interests. Given the near inevitability of elite control in organizations, which Michels called an "Iron Law of Oligarchy," the probability that elite material interests and perspectives are reflected is great, unless countered by leadership representativeness, member accountability, and awareness of options in organizational goal setting. Telling examples are women leaders who articulate women's interests on the basis of their past experience with early government women's programs that tended to have limited income-generating prospects and set forth an alien conception of "modern" womanhood that did not comprehensively address women's economic interests in rural development (Staudt [Kenya], forthcoming). Similarly, the kind of education women receive may create an elite "less prepared to participate in development." (Hull [Java], 1976, pp. 19-20). Presumably, it is these elite women who will disproportionately lead women's organizations.

a. Group Emergence

Certain conditions are associated with the awareness of shared interests among group members and activation into organizational form. These include the opportunity to interact and communicate with one another, the absence of strong, competing affiliations, and shared values or deprivations. Whether women as a group meet these conditions will vary in degree according to local context.

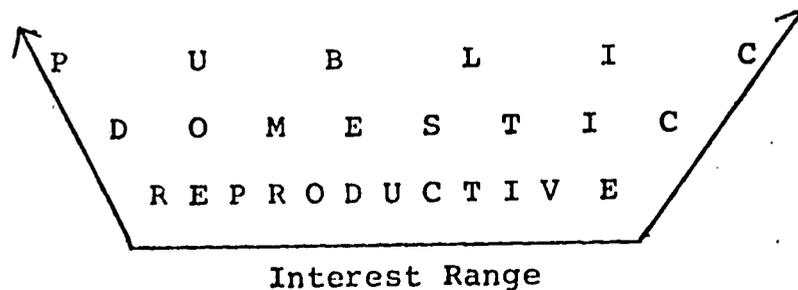
Yet the social structure affects group awareness and action in two important ways. An initial consideration is whether group expression and action is considered legitimate, particularly among subordinate groups like women, who may have little access to resources, leadership, skills, and organizational alliances that foster the successful achievement of group objectives. A subsequent consideration involves analyzing government catalysts that define the shape, scope and style of collective action. Catalysts occur in both subtle and overt forms, as well as in historical and contemporary perspective, and will be considered in the section on government initiated groups.

b. Hypothetical "Women's Interests"

With the exception, perhaps, of reproductive issues, there are few universal, world-wide women's interests, because societies vary in the type of work women do, the context in which they work, and relations between the sexes. General development issues such as improved health care, expanded education, increased markets and economic infrastructure will affect rural residents, including women. The growth of state structures, the expansion of state services, and the thrust of economic development--all factors which appear to have disproportionately benefited men--have made more uniform the existence of explicitly "women's interests" across societies, at least at the analytic level. It is difficult to locate societies in which women, because they are women, do not face:

- less access to agricultural and vocational opportunities, training and support services for those occupations than men,
- less access to education than men,
- stereotyping in schools, resulting in differential skills between the sexes and a more narrowed range of occupational choices than for men,
- imbalance between the sexes in domestic work and compensation, a result of men's work patterns outside the home and a cause for women's more limited work options outside the home,
- legitimacy of overt physical abuse towards women or covert abuse continued through a reluctance of political authorities to interfere in "private" matters, and
- underrepresentation and nonparticipation in the political, institutional, and bureaucratic structure (a dimension that spans and affects other interests).

These issues reflect a broad range of possible women's interests and can be delineated according to priority in local contexts, differential effects among women, amenability to policy intervention, and likelihood of positive-sum gains for households. Household affiliations and interests compete in priority to hypothetical women's interests. Because of women's differential position in the social structure, interests do not uniformly affect women, and women stand to differentially gain or lose in support of certain issues. The chart below (utilizing the anthropological distinction on page 28) illustrates this differentiation.



For example, the advocacy of more secondary schools for girls will be of little interest to a woman who cannot afford to send a daughter to primary school. In such a context, the advocacy of women's higher education may mask class interests, as higher education is of most immediate benefit to the wealthier strata in society.

In defining women's interests, or organizing women as women, caution must be exercised to articulate those issues which affect women most uniformly or comprehensively in a society. To further illustrate, in societies where women work or manage farms, improved agricultural services are clearly a women's interest. Yet even on this very immediate and far reaching issue, agricultural services can be disguised class interests rather than women's interests, depending on the selection and recruitment procedures utilized in women's access to the service. An example is a Gambia women's vegetable project for which recruitment was controlled by the local chief. Those women who participated were wives of wealthier men in the community (Morss, et.al., 1976).

Further research might investigate the spread effects of introducing innovations to men and women elites. It might be hypothesized that in societies where women's organizational affiliations cross class lines (present among women in some African rural communities) innovation diffusion might occur more quickly or comprehensively among women than men. To the extent women are more uniformly affected by

government services and are joined by such cross-class organizations, dense communication patterns among women than men might prevail.

c. Women: A Homogeneous Group?

This discussion of women's interests suggests that the different priority and stake among women with regard to particular issues may call for an organizational strategy which recognizes those divergent interests and supports a variety of groups rather than one. The likelihood of group cohesion may thereby be enhanced. The creation of a women's representative, or a single women's association in a community, is based on the assumption that women are a homogeneous group. This assessment can only be made after careful observation of a community, as well as observation of existent women's organizations or informal networks in various economic strata or neighborhoods. Adding one woman to a board, or one group to a multitude of groups, is not expected to redress severe imbalances in the distribution of resources between men and women. The structural effect of numeric disadvantage is borne out in various studies of community organization, particularly for relatively powerless groups.⁹

As societies become more differentiated, the prospects that women are uniformly and comprehensively affected by women's interests may lessen. In such economically differentiated settings, an externally initiated women's group, or an appointed women's representative, raises the question of whether all women are represented, or which

women's interests are reflected. A single woman or group will exacerbate selection and recruitment problems and perhaps pave the way for elite control over the articulation of women's interests.

On the other hand, in local settings, either in which a tradition exists for group cooperation among women across kin, class, and neighborhood lines or in which the degree of women's subordination to men is marked, prospects for the representativeness of a single women's organization may be heightened. The absence of hierarchy between peasant women in some Arab villages illustrates this enforced solidarity and "declassed" situation of women. In a dialogue about reciprocal obligations between women, one woman said to another, "they are not better than us. It is forbidden." (Rosenfield [Israel], 1975, p. 144). Moreover, a premature recognition and institutionalization of divisions among women--without assessing efforts to mitigate the effects of the division--will foreclose group scale and linkage and thus dissipate the potential empowerment afforded by a variety of women acting within one group. One unified women's group may reduce problems of duplication and coordination between government ministries as well.

An important research area would assess the conditions under which all-encompassing women's groups exist and the extent to which they most comprehensively resolve member objectives. A cursory glance reveals that this potentiality may be realized in only a number of African societies and

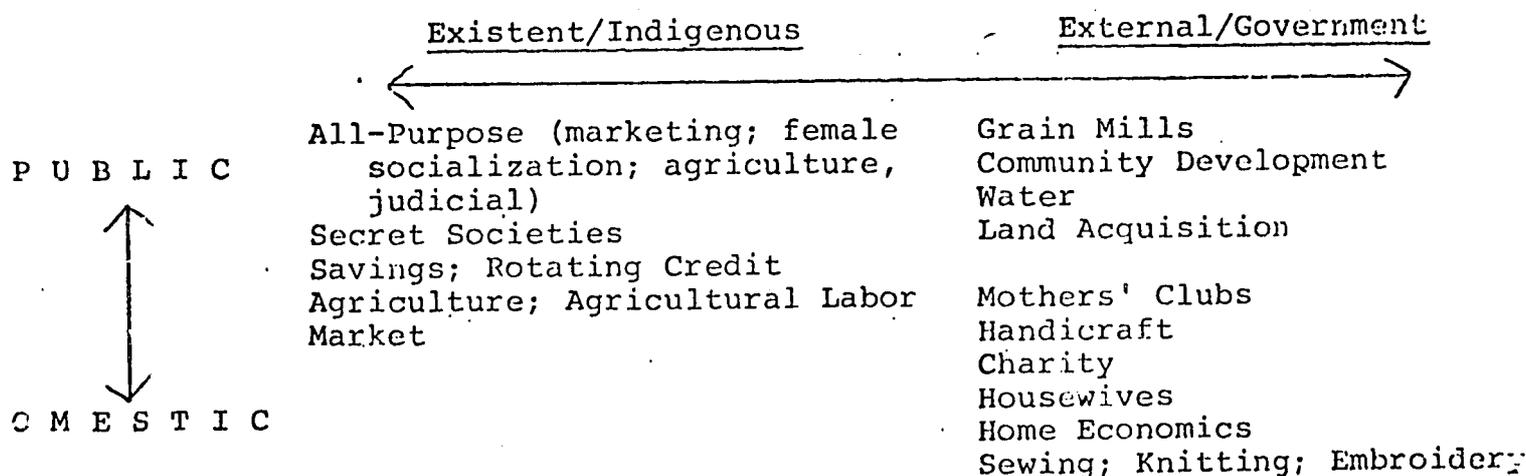
in advanced technological societies, suggesting that the development process itself, and the growth and institutionalization of both class and state structures (and the way structures consolidate male interests) inhibit effective, broad-based organization of women as women.¹⁰ Identifying the factors associated with the inhibition of collective organization is a critical concern. We know dependency inhibits participation by the poor (Huntington and Nelson, 1976, p. 69); this is expected to affect women's participation as well.

At this point, it will be useful to examine the types of women's organizations, including existent, indigeneous organizations compared with their government initiated counterparts. Given the relatively recent growth of state and class structures in most of Africa relative to other parts of the world, this is the area where women's indigeneous organization predominates. This distinction is also a useful way to consider the prospects and problems associated with "traditional" and "modern" organizations (Uphoff and Esman, 1974, p. 85).

2. Typology of Women's Organizations

Below is a table which distinguishes the two important dimensions of some twentieth century rural women's associations. The horizontal continuum denotes existent, indigeneously inspired women's groups and government, externally initiated groups, while the vertical continuum reveals the domestic-public opposition framework introduced earlier (page 28).

In accordance with the productivity focus, it is assumed that groups of the public type are directly associated with expanding the potential productivity of women and increasing rural development. To the extent that domestic focus is associated with limited productive potential, groups of this type are assumed to reinforce women's lower access to resources. What is most revealing about the table is the wide scope of public activities in which women are engaged. Organizations distinguished by task are plotted on the table, though for the all-purpose multi-task women's organizations of Africa, plotting becomes difficult, as they span the domestic public dimension.



a. Description of Existent Groups

Subsaharan Africa is an area where all-purpose, multi-task women's organizations exist or have existed in recent history. The organizations reflect the division of labor and interest of women in those societies, and foster women's management of their "own affairs." Given the broad range of public tasks in which women are (or were) involved, their

sex-assigned "affairs" necessarily include a broad range of developmentally oriented sectors. It might be hypothesized that multi-task groups are best able to develop multiple linkages with bureaucracies and other organizations. Multiple channels of influence have been emphasized in other analyses of local organization (Uphoff and Esman, 1974). Yet for newly emergent organizations, achievement of limited goals may be the first sequence to later multi-functionality (if the organization survives at all). A description of some of these groups follows.

Igbo society has been labeled a "dual sex political structure," in which a woman (Omu) represents women's interests in the community, and has jurisdiction over the market and judicial cases involving women. Though the colonial government recognized and paid only the male representative (Obi), there has been a resurgence of the Omu role since independence, with a still sex-defined jurisdiction over the market place and prices, weaving cooperatives, and community self-help. An Omu is reported to retain a "mouthpiece" who transmits messages to women (Okonju [Nigeria], 1976).

An analysis of two villages in the Niger Delta provides another illustration of multi-purpose women's organizations, and the conditions which foster their emergence and survival. These associations function for judgment and legislation about matters that concern women's sphere, particularly market affairs. The groups have service and solidary orientations as well, in community improvement, mutual aid, loans, and dance (Leis [Nigeria], pp. 235-236.)

Another example of an all-purpose society is the Sande secret society of the Mende women which corresponds to Poro, a men's secret society. Besides a socializing function, such organizations protect women's rights as defined in that society and serve as political support networks to women who hold political office (Hoffer [Sierra Leone], 1974).

In East Africa, women's councils among the Meru function in instructional, disciplinary, religious, and domestic tasks (Holding, 1942). Similar organizations among the nearby Kik have also been documented. Ngwatio groups, differentiated by ages, function as socializing and cultivation groups. Ndundu were ongoing organizations with economic, social, and judicial functions which enforced group definitions of social behavior under threat of fine, but with group benefits of cooperative cultivation (Stamp, 1976, pp. 24-25).

Similarly, lower class neighborhood women's clubs in Suriname are multi-functional, and include socializing, mutual aid, communication, and food distribution. Complex systems of reciprocity serve to make groups cohesive, and an entrepreneurial orientation of clubs is reflected in entertainment organized for profit, which is later redistributed through group welfare (Brana-Shute, 1976). Similar functions are reported for lower class women's neighborhood networks in Lebanon (Joseph, 1976).

Single-purpose societies include market associations, occupational groups such as breadbaker's cooperatives, fishmonger

associations and butcher unions, which recruit women on the basis of economic activity and serve members through mutual aid and price arrangements and linkage to government (Klingshirn [Ghana], 1971, pp. 232-235). Community self-help, agricultural communal groups, agricultural contract labor groups, tree-planting, mutual aid, lending, savings, and rotating credit societies are also some of the many public group activities that have been identified in research on women (Lewis [Ivory Coast], 1976; Pala [Africa], 1976; Korten [Korea], 1977; Kincaid, et.al [Korea], n.d.; Staudt [Kenya], 1976b; Epstein [India], 1962; Robertson [Ghana], 1976a; Kaberry [Cameroon], 1952; Misch [Korea], 1975; Hull [Indonesia], 1976, p. 24). Women working cooperatively to accumulate capital, defend interests and promote community welfare have long-standing precedents in many parts of the world.

Two characteristics emerge from this brief survey of existent organizations. First, the distinction between public and domestic is not sharp. Second, participation in group activities offers access to resources not available to individuals. Organizations can create conditions that may facilitate information and labor exchange, provide the advantage of scale in operation, and serve as a link to other organizations. They are thus critical to the rural development process. Women's networks and organizations, as well as women's participation in community organizations, may be equally important links for sources of innovation as the household institution.

A number of theorists have argued that colonial neglect or non-recognition of these institutions contributed to their decline and the "political invisibility" of women in Africa (Van Allen, 1976; Okonjo, 1976; O'Barr, 1976). Indeed, the separate spheres between the sexes and the desire to retain autonomy in each may explain the reluctance of some women's groups to identify their economic institutions as political, thus further contributing to their invisibility (Klingshirn [Ghana], 1971, p. 228).

i. Research Prospects

Research on existent women's groups has only begun to evolve, limited by what appears to have been a pervasive male focus on the part of early ethnographers (Reiter, 1975). Here again, the preoccupation with "head" accounts for incomplete information on women's organizations. Moreover, as many women's organizations exist autonomously from the state, they may be invisible by choice. Field site research presence or specific inquiries about women's groups will make such organizations more visible.

We need more documentation on why women's organizations emerge in some areas and not others; about what types of political systems and economies are associated with their emergence or collapse. What societal division of labor and task environment is conducive to cohesive women's organizations? Agriculture and the prospects for labor saving techniques might foster group emergence and expansion, while market competitiveness

may detract from cooperative behavior (Lewis [Ivory Coast], 1976). In parts of Moslem West Africa, women are involved in the public sphere, selling processed food for example, yet no formal women's associations exist (Simmons [Nigeria], 1976), while other Moslem areas have flourishing and numerous such associations (Lewis [Ivory Coast], 1976). What factors account for variance in group emergence? Who joins women's organizations and who doesn't? What incentives are developed within groups to enforce or encourage group cohesion? Which groups are associated with entrepreneurial activity and which, instead, focus on service and redistribution? What conditions are associated with each?

ii. Existent Organizations as Mechanisms for Development

Existent groups in the public sphere would appear to be a useful mechanism to involve women in developmental participation. Indeed, arresting the deterioration that theorists allege for such groups is of immediate concern. Already engaged in economic activity that reflects their interests, such groups resolve on their own the problems of group creation, sustenance, recruitment, leadership selection, and compensation. Strengthening these organizations would enhance women's productivity, participation, and access to resources. More female participation can capitalize on existent organizational assets such as cohesion and manageability in size.

Yet existent groups may not be most conducive to goal transformation which reflects rural development. Predefined

organizational goals, and leaders with vested interests in their maintenance may inhibit transformation, reduce organizational flexibility, and forestall linkage to the larger political process. Groups exist in a changing environment, with changing criteria for leader and group efficacy in the larger political process.

The prospects for organizational transformation may be dependent on the political environment and existence of new resources. An analysis of successors to Ndundu among Kikuyu women suggests that traditional organizational patterns are utilized, but that women themselves criticize the conservatism of older groups and contrast them to present-day self-help groups. As one woman commented, "Ndundus were for eating only. Modern groups are for eating and remembering tomorrow." (Stamp [Kenya], 1976, p. 34.)

Are indigeneous groups viable and effective in the contemporary political context? The autonomy of existent women's groups may enhance organizational vitality and prevent the intrusion of seemingly unrelated political conflicts, yet at the same time, such autonomy inhibits the linkage necessary to acquire group resources in the larger political process or press claims to officials with which they are integrally concerned. Abijan women's market groups illustrate a powerlessness in pressing officials to reduce market rental fees. Energetic delegations, chosen for possible influential connections and knowledge of French, awaited audience with officials to no avail (Lewis [Ivory Coast], 1976, pp. 145-146). Without

effective linkage, or with leaders that lack political clout, existent groups may be increasingly unable to meet the needs and interests of members. It is with this issue that we now turn to government initiated women's groups.

b. Description of Government Initiated Groups

Returning once again to the table, externally initiated groups appear to fall along both ends of the public-domestic continuum. The groups may be characterized according to whether they are of the older or newer¹¹ types. Based on a perusal of externally initiated groups, it appears to be in only the last decade that efforts of a decidedly "public" focus have gained limited prominence. As a result, programs tend to have a domestic focus, with limited potential for increasing women's access to resources, and in fact, may reinforce women's subordinate position. Indeed, by channeling women's energy away from income-earning orientations, such efforts may also reinforce the subordinate position of rural poor households. Rather than doubling access of household members to productive opportunity, older programs dichotomize the sexes and sustain the dichotomization of work and resources between the sexes.

i. Older Groups

Older externally initiated programs appear to have been based on middle class women's clubs of the western world, for which there were administrative or mission program precedents.

The focus was on specializing and upgrading the status of women within the home through cooking, sewing, needlework, knitting, flower arrangement, marriage training, house decoration and beautification. This orientation also encompassed health training, prenatal care, nutrition, and sanitation. Instruction, aimed at women and staffed by women, was frequently institutionalized and segregated within a ministry. In many areas, it was the only part of government directly addressed to women as a clientele. Often an explicit focus was participation; that is, the creation of clubs to disseminate program information. Middle class women's clubs in Bangladesh engage in social welfare or charity activities for the less advantaged in general or poorer women (Johan, 1976, p. 29). Current programs continue to focus on women within the home; Mothercraft classes in the Philippines and Housewives classes in Korea are notable examples (Misch, 1975).

ii. Newer Groups

Newer externally initiated programs appear to more directly address the work women do. They furthermore recognize the need for income-earning orientations and clearer relationships to general developmental needs. As far back as the late colonial era, community development efforts were aimed at women in a broadly-based way. In Kenya, chiefs initiated collective organization among women to participate in land reform, soil erosion prevention and agricultural training (Staudt, 1976b; see also Wipper on Maendeleo ya Wanawake, 1976). Grain mill societies were fostered among women to alleviate

time-consuming food processing and free their labor for other productive activity. Currently in Kenya, some women's groups form either companies or cooperatives to acquire group loans from the government (not all are successful) in order to purchase land, shares in business, and agricultural inputs such as fertilizer (Stamp [Kenya], 1976; Watchell [Kenya], 1976). Some women's self-help groups in Kenya associated organizational emergence with the presidential call of Harambee just after independence. Such groups combine leadership skills of older, more traditional women, with literacy skills of young women (Pala, 1974). The organization and collective sale of handicrafts is also a focus of some governments. Several other recent experiments deserve special comment.

Mothers' Clubs initiated by the Korean Planned Parenthood Federation facilitate the dissemination of family planning ideas, and are generally supplemented with income-earning or consumption-oriented savings activities, such as credit unions, cooperative stores, land purchases, agricultural and construction projects (Kincaid, et.al., n.d.; Korten, 1977; Misch, 1975). An innovative credit program directed at women in marginal rural areas of Colombia encourages their participation in non-familial economic activity in order to channel more resources to women, as well as to demonstrate the functional interdependence of the sexes in both the household and economy (Cebotarev, 1976, p. 15). Cafetero production groups and later Profamilia women's clubs in Colombia were

founded to promote family income diversification and meet family planning needs, but exist primarily among the prosperous coffee growers (Misch, 1975). Finally, some governments are beginning to integrate women as clientele within the sectoral areas in which they work. The extensiveness of such new commitment, resources channeled in these directions, and overall impact on the productivity of women and their share in rural development needs further study.

iii. Research Prospects

A host of research questions are raised in the assessment of indigenous versus government initiated women's participation, and the interaction between them. Considerations as to the most effective placement for pilot programs are important as well. Some level of economic development is necessary in order that groups can accumulate resources and invest in projects, yet the most successful all-women's programs about in Korea appear to be found in marginal areas, perhaps due to greater felt need and community, rather than individual problem-solving (Misch, 1975; Kincaid, et.al., n.d.).

Historical and contemporary research on the assumptions, strategies, and goals of government women's programs provide lessons for future administrative strategy. The amount of resources channeled into programs of the domestic type and the time period over which they occur provide useful insight into contemporary women's groups. Moreover, as government initiated and institutionalized stimuli for women's activity

such programs help to explain the contemporary character, style, and scope of women's participation in rural development. What is the range of contrasting approaches to women's programs, and is the range wider or narrower than those designed for men? Do programs for women contain a resilience that is less than, greater than, or similar to programs developed for men? We have little research on who participated in government programs, and who did not. Questions about incentives to participate and the overall impact of programs on women's comparative access to resources and their relationship to the evolving class structure are useful as well. The interaction between indigeneous and government sponsored groups will subsequently impact on organizational goal transformation of each. The extent to which programs mesh, overlap, or contrast with actual activities of women would in part explain this organizational transformation. We need comparative organizational studies addressed to how and why they vary in structure, maintenance, relationship to the local power structure, and ultimate empowerment. Despite the broadness of some multi-purpose groups, women are still confined to a "women's sphere." Is this inevitable when organizing women as women?

c. A Woman's Program: The Dilemmas

The review of government initiated programs, particularly those of the older type, show some of the detrimental effects of creating women's programs upon premises which inadequately address women's actual work or relation to overall development. The conception that women are confined to the domestic, rather

than domestic as well as public sphere, appears to have pervaded both program and scholarship endeavors. Ultimately such premises become incorporated into government activity, programming, and bureaucratic agencies, and acquired a life and resilience of their own. A women's program, based on the notion that the work men and women do is extremely dichotomized, confines service, as well as potential linkage, for women as a clientele. As a result women's services are segregated into one staff and one agency, rather than broadly addressed by agencies, programs and staff that focus on the work women actually do. With few participation opportunities and with only one agency and staff addressed to their needs, women lack the means to influence and activate bureaucratic responsiveness in areas of vital concern such as agriculture, water, and general rural development. It might be hypothesized that the more bureaucratic channels women have access to as clientele, the more comprehensively they are served. At the same time, several channels with similar, yet uncoordinated, ends (as is the case with some domestic programs found simultaneously in community development and home economics) may be counterproductive.

Yet the fundamental dilemma is that without special women's programs and a segregated agency and staff, women may be totally ignored, given their lack of resource base and a certain intentional or unintentional avoidance in the service delivery process. Furthermore, women's programs may

have the capacity to transform themselves. For example, some home economists trained in traditional fashion, have developed broad-based agricultural and income-earning programs. Segregated programming, however, is at best a temporary strategy; on a long-term basis, such programs may reinforce differentiation based on the artificial existence of sex-differentiated inaccess to resources.

d. Female Staff

The question of female staff and paraprofessionals is an important one, and their incorporation into development administration is far more critical than the justification that "a woman's point of view is needed." We would no more expect one woman to represent all women, than we would for a corresponding male representative. Rather, women staff would appear to facilitate two forms of women's participation, given the constraints women face in the delivery of services: communication and contactability. This section relates to one aspect of the "who of participation" (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977).

i. Communication

In some societies, work and technical communication occurs more often among members of the same sex, rather than across sex lines (Smithells, 1972; Ascroft, et.al., 1973). This pattern may be unintentionally reinforced by government announcement mechanisms addressed to men. A result is that formal overt communication may occur between technical advisory staff and men. The substance of women's communication may be derived from different sources than men.

In western Kenya, my research showed that women farm managers were twice as likely to receive information about husbandry practices associated with hybrid maize from non-agricultural staff sources, such as other neighbors, market women, and seed stockists, than members of jointly managed farms, in which a man was present (forthcoming). Women's exclusion from the agricultural technical service network limited their knowledge about agricultural service availability (such as location of demonstration plots or training opportunities), procedures for loan applications, and contacts to make use of those services. This was especially true for women farm managers, (who numbered 40 percent of the sample, and 36 percent of households in that district according to the government census) but true for women in jointly managed farm households as well. We cannot always assume that this information is transmitted from husband to wife.

Women's communication networks, either informal or formalized in women's groups, may represent a significant and underutilized channel for information diffusion in rural development. According to research on the Korean Mothers' Clubs, working through clubs was more effective than individual door-to-door visits. Open discussion and active involvement not only facilitated understanding, but participation appears to have reverberated onto women's participation in other activities as well (Korten, 1977).

ii. Contactability

In a different, but related point, female staff present greater prospects, (or perhaps the only viable prospect) to contact women's groups or women clientele themselves, particularly in societies where contact between unrelated men and women is discouraged. Training and compensating women leaders to disseminate agricultural information might maximize spread effects of government programs. Yet there are costs and benefits to incorporating different types of women leaders, measured in terms of spread effects. Unnecessarily high educational standards for recruitment found among young women, for example, may be counterproductive. Moreover salaries and externally derived authority add new dimensions to group leadership selection and accountability.

Our dearth of knowledge about women, their affiliations, and groups is based partially on this absence of women researchers and female staff. It is expected that data collection and knowledge about rural development would be significantly expanded with more female staff and wider access to all members of a given society.

iii. Research

Research is necessary to assess the costs and benefits of the staff sex composition in order to understand and act on those patterns which facilitate maximal and productive contact between staff and their designated clientele. Such research could presumably be easily fitted into a quasi-experimental design by comparative program analysis at the community level.

In agriculture, for example, how do female and male staff structures compare in task implementation and amount of contact with clientele, differentiated by sex? The few female staff integrated into agricultural extension (in contrast to home economics), limits the number of areas in which such applied research could be conducted; comparisons within the same job definition are necessary.

It may be that men's and women's work, and communication patterns about their work, are best augmented by technical advice and assistance through sex-exclusive channels for a limited time period, in accordance with sex-exclusivity in the social structure. Such generalizations must be tempered, however, by a consideration of both the ultimate aims of such a staff structure and the prospects for effective contact with clientele.

On ultimate aims, presumably rural development services will best be delivered on the basis of merit, skills, and interest rather than by sex. On prospects for serving clientele, the lack of sex parity in the field service combined with sex-exclusive and issue-confined staff structures can spell adverse effects for women, given their underrepresentation in staff structures and the low political priority of women's programs. A relatively simple way to measure parity is to examine the proportion of female staff at various levels of the agricultural hierarchy, or combine that hierarchy with home economics. (The latter figure was

two percent women in the district of my research). Such examination is necessary not only for host country staff composition, but also for foreign expatriate staff. Measure to integrate both staff and clientele imbued with an awareness of how women clientele are intentionally (or unintentionally) malserved would appear to be crucial. Research is also necessary to identify incentives to induce male staff to serve clientele, regardless of their sex.

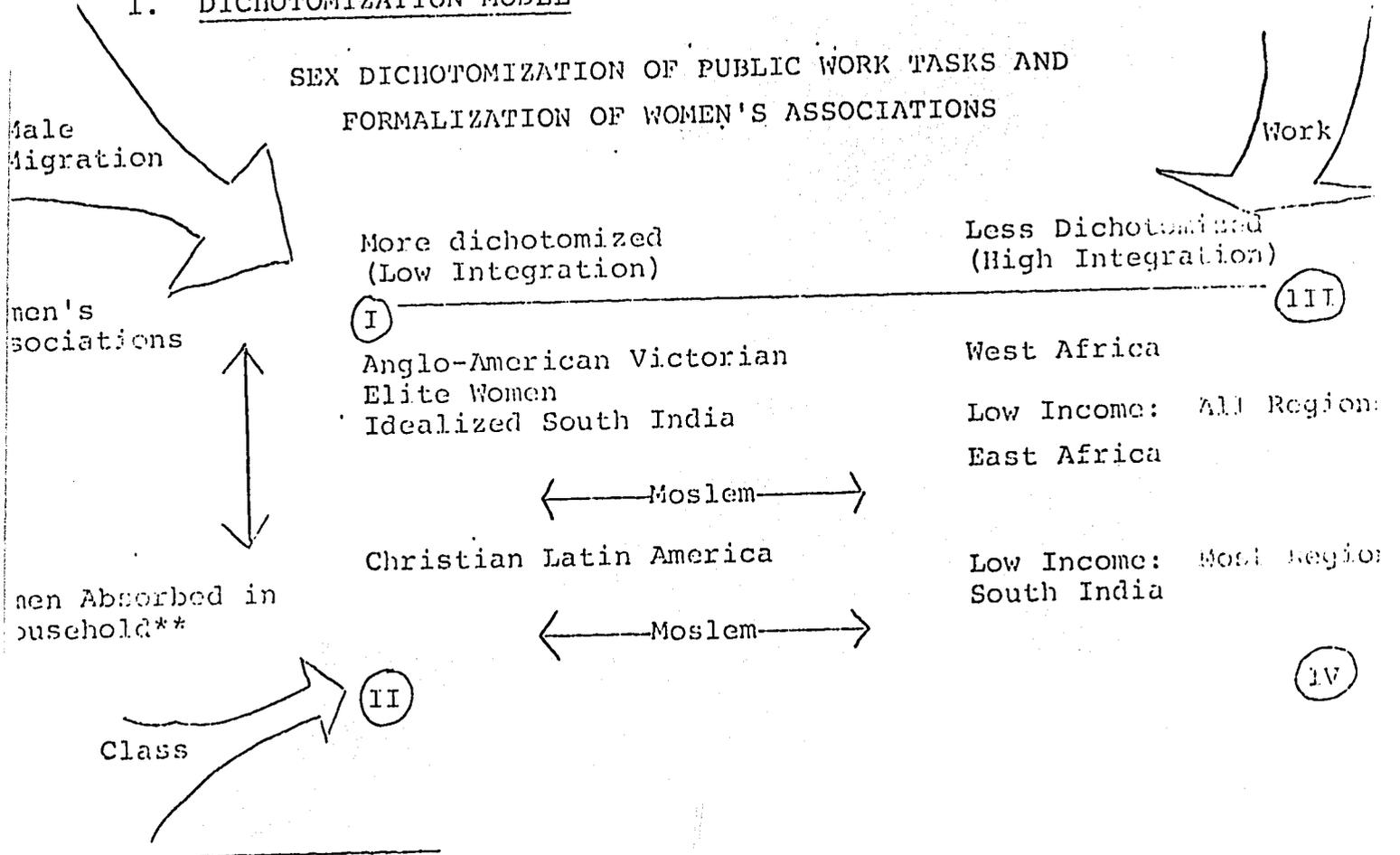
B. Organizational Strategies

Earlier in this paper, the anthropological distinction between domestic and public was introduced. One shortcoming of this distinction is that it does not permit a full appreciation of the variety of ways in which women are involved in "public" affairs--activities broader than the mother-child link. I propose that we look more closely at how and to what extent women are involved in public life and that we categorize societies according to two dimensions: the degree of dichotomization between the sexes in work and economic sectors, and the formalization of women's associations. These particular two dimensions were chosen for the implications they suggest for organizational strategies, and the "how of participation" (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977).

The domestic activity of women is assumed as a givens, while the public sphere is one needing more specification. There is no society in which women are not doing some public

activity* though the degree of dichotomization between the sexes varies immensely. Dichotomization appears to be associated with societies in which religion is heavily bureaucratized and class differentiation is present (Sacks, 1976, on class). The model appears below.

1. DICHOTOMIZATION MODEL



* Public activity includes all tasks subject to potential productivity change, including farm work, domestic animal care, water acquisition, food storage, and the like. If both men and women work together on a particular task or within a work sphere, there is low dichotomization and high integration between the sexes.

** Informal networking among women may be extensive, however. Theoretically, this quadrant would include women integrated on a non sex-differentiated basis as well. Such a society is assumed to be non-existent at this time, however.

The model is affected by three factors: migration, class, and public work itself. Male migration is expected to decrease dichotomization, because male labor shortage (especially critical in crises) has the effect of integrating women into usually male-defined tasks (Blumberg, 1976; Chafe, 1970). Increasingly rigid class differentiation is predicted to increase dichotomization, as is higher economic position. Nonetheless, this is counteracted by the advantage and opportunity to women of a wealthy strata to avail themselves of public work (to the extent norms sanction such activity). Finally, public work itself becomes dichotomized into formal (wage type) and informal (subsistence). Productivity of both is a function of government service and/or opportunity structures.

a. Research Questions

This model suggests several broad hypotheses. The more dichotomized the society, the less the actual or recognized share of women's contribution to household activity. Extreme dichotomization is associated with highly sex-differentiated access to resources and more marked underutilization of human resources, and thus requires significant structural change to realize potential productivity. Finally, the ways in which women exert power are expected to differ according to the extent to which a society is dichotomized.

b. Program Strategies

Merely suggestive theoretically, the usefulness of this model rests on its implications for organizational strategy. These are specified below, by quadrant.

In quadrants III and IV, the prospects for supporting or initiating women's associations aimed at strengthening their work, resource base, and integration in the economic sector are high. Moreover, the likelihood of incurring hostility among men is predicted to be low. Programs of this type are particularly appropriate for areas with high rates of male out-migration and consequently high rates of female headed households. Women's groups organized around agriculture, particular crops, water, and other neighborhood improvements are promising. Female staff integration is feasible for serving both men's and women's administrative needs, and may be a prerequisite to reaching women. In societies where there appears to be a genuine partnership between men and women in work patterns, such as among low-income Javanese (Hull, 1976), the creation of separate women's organizations may be unnecessary, or even counterproductive.

In quadrants I and II, the mother and wife roles are likely to be deeply entrenched notions to both men and women, and a central source of women's self-esteem. To legitimize women's participation, the only feasible organizational strategy may be to incorporate these notions in initial organizational activity, unless participation is accompanied by widespread revolutionary or social transformation. Female staff are essential to reach women. The approach may be likened to "bringing women out of the home in the name of the home" a phrase describing 19th century western women's movements. It

may be that initial stages of women's organizational activity necessarily reinforce sex stratification--a strategy to forestall hostility and obtain support and approval of husbands (Kincaid [Korea], n.d.; Staudt [Kenya], 1976b; Misch [Korea], 1975). A major research question involves determining the degree to which that stratification can be reinforced without undermining the group's reason for existence. The paradox of this general strategy, however, is that activity of this type may simply reinforce the dichotomization that exists between men and women, and contradict other rural development goals.

To counter possible reinforced dichotomization, this strategy must be supplemented with task or income-earning orientations aimed at increasing productivity and integration. Multi-functionality is perhaps a pre-requisite to resorting to this organizational strategy. Alternatively, a strategy may be developed to incorporate men into women's work spheres. The prospects of men's hostility to women's participation out of the home is greatest in these quadrants, thus strategies must recognize not only that women's source of self-esteem is lodged in such dichotomization, but men's self-esteem as well.

A tragedy is that quadrant I appears to have been the prevailing premise of most women's programs, diffused and institutionalized around the world. Yet such a premise is inappropriate or incomplete in societies where work roles between the sexes are less dichotomized.

2. Incentives

A key criteria for group emergence is the felt need for collective action to achieve group interests. Individual aims and prospects for successful goal achievement, conversely, make collective organization unnecessary. Collective goals imply that objectives are available to a large category of people, objectives that one theorist labels "public goods" (Olsen, 1965). A dilemma inherent in organizations is that a broad public good, once achieved, will be available to members of a social category whether or not they invest time and resources in an organization. If persons seek to maximize benefits and minimize costs, they may not join an organization whose goals, once achieved, would benefit them anyway. Consequently, a central task for groups is to devise incentives to induce member contributions and participation.

a. Incentive Types

Several options are available to overcome this organizational "public goods dilemma." A first is to make membership involuntary for all potential members of a group, an incentive utilized in such diverse groups as trade unions and some sub-Saharan African women's organization. Compulsion as a sole incentive is likely to have limited success, and perhaps, detrimental consequences. On the other hand, compulsion in the creation of women's groups may legitimize their political activity in face of male disinterest or resistance (Staudt [Kenya], 1976b). In contexts where the social structure severely curtails women's public political voice, the compulsory

creation of women's organizations may be the only strategy. Whether group creation and subsequent compulsion is an initiative from above or below is an important consideration, though the cooptation process makes it difficult to differentiate between them. Compulsion is an established precedent among some Nigerian women's associations (Lewis, 1974; Okonjo, 1976); a key criteria of success appears to be the legitimacy of those who introduced the strategy. In an aura of government illegitimacy, compulsion may backfire and reinforce traditionalism (Massell [Soviet Central Asia], 1974). Some organizations, such as Korean Mothers' Clubs, administer fines to members already recruited into the group who do not attend (Kincaid, et.al., n.d.).

A second strategy is to provide selective benefits, often of a material nature and available only to group members. Yet as theorists have commented, the distinction between material and involuntary incentives may be difficult to draw, as withholding a positive incentive brings negative consequences (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, p. 91). Solidary and purpose incentives are other selective incentives, denoting sociability and ideological motivations (distinctions are from Wilson, 1973). For example, close relations among a small group may enhance cohesiveness as well as commitment to group activity, a strategy that capitalizes on solidary incentives. In reality, a mix of incentives is present in organizations that survive; indeed, a prerequisite of organizational survival may involve discovering the ideal mix of incentives.

b. Incentive Mix

The mix of incentives is illustrated by several analyses of women's organizations. A study of two types of market women's associations in the Ivory Coast reveals that material incentives in a rotating credit society were related to member cohesion. At the same time, the clear evidence of material costs and benefits to members inhibited what may have been some added solidary or purposive commitment to goal transformation and more productive use of collective action (Lewis [Ivory Coast], 1976). Similar findings are briefly reported in the arisan rotating credit societies of Java in which members meet only briefly to deposit and/or collect money (Hull, 1976). These organizations survived, but the productivity of collective action was absent.

Other organizations may rely too heavily on solidary incentives, such that goal oriented behavior is either inhibited or forestalled. Organizations as ends rather than means may fall into this category. The purpose for collective action may not be clear to members, and personal strife among them or the withdrawal of personal catalysts to group action may trigger group collapse. A speculation is that many of the older home economics clubs relied heavily on solidary incentives as a basis for group action.

c. The Public Goods Dilemma for Women

An added dimension to the "public goods dilemma" is that in societies where women are extremely dependent on and subordinate to men, their public goods may be derived through

mediated relationships with men. As such, women's participation may have always been "indirect" (representation by men) rather than "direct," usually assumed to be more effective and less ambiguous (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, pp. 31, 98). The incentive to participation is problematic and may require other purpose incentives to draw women out of the home. For example, the symbolic advocacy of religion, motherhood, or home improvement may be the only feasible tactic to stimulate organization among women. Such advocacies may serve as incentives to men to permit women's participation in societies where female movement is curtailed. Alternately, in areas of low technology and low income, mediated benefits may not accrue to women on the basis of relationships with men or households. This may explain the vitality of women's associations in such settings.

Once members are participating and committed to organization, a central concern becomes how and on what basis benefits are delivered to members. It is with this question that we now turn to the representativeness of women's organizations.

3. Representativeness of Women's Organizations

The "who of participation" is an important consideration in leader-member relations within women's groups. Organizations cannot survive if members do not perceive that some shared benefit is derived from participation. To meet this requirement, all members of groups should share equally in responsibilities of the costs and distribution of benefits. Such equality is

rarely encountered in reality; thus group structures emerge to divide labor and responsibility, a process which frequently results in a division of benefits that do not equally benefit members. Those who lead organizations and articulate organizational interests may foster their own interests, or interests aimed at organizational maintenance, more than member interests. This Iron Law of Oligarchy varies in degree, and potentially is countered by accountability and representativeness. The near inevitability of this pattern, despite the sex, status, or task orientation of groups, suggests that attempts to either eliminate or mitigate this phenomenon are necessary.

There is no reason to doubt that women's organizations are not similarly affected by potential elite control; recent studies reveal this pattern (Staudt [Kenya], forthcoming; Stroebel [Kenya], 1976). Analyses of Latin American women without a focus on both sex and class are rarely made; there is a good deal of evidence that upper and middle class women identify little with lower class women (Chaney, 1973; Nash, 1976). In societies with fluid, or less rigid class differentiation, elite control over women's organizations is expected to be less problematic than in rigidly differentiated societies. The more economically differentiated a society, the more competing household affiliations are expected to affect women's interests and interest priority to women. Coalitions between men and women of the same economic strata may be more appropriate.

The benefits of elite leadership include skills that tend to be respected in a contemporary context, influential contacts, and consequently, increased access and linkage in the larger political context. To the extent that equality and solidarity among women is more prevalent than among men, prospects for effective and representative collective action are greater. On the other hand, elite control can misrepresent, either intentionally or unintentionally, member goals. A more unintentional misrepresentation occurs with the advocacy of a dominant cultural norm and ideal of women that inadequately reflects ordinary women and rural development (Hull [Indonesia], 1976a; Stauff [Kenya], forthcoming; Bambirra in Jaquette [Chile], 1976). An ultimate impact may be the reinforcement and consolidation of the wealthy class.

To mitigate the possible detrimental effects of elite control in women's organizations, the selection of women's issues will be critical. Divisible benefits, or services in short supply, will tend to enhance maldistribution within organizations, while "public goods" or community goals and group projects with criteria to enforce spread effects, will enhance the distributiveness and representativeness of elite controlled organizations. Water projects for neighborhoods, group agricultural training, and group loans are examples of such public goals. Small group size may contribute to greater redistributiveness as well.

C. Organizational Survival

A final and ultimately crucial question is analyzing which groups have the best prospects for survival, growth, and transformation. The components of developmental participation, including decision-making, implementation, benefits, and evaluation, and this paper's perspective on increased women's productivity and access to resources as a central aim, aid in identifying organizational type and strategy. An underlying aim is to increase access to comprehensive bureaucratic channels and establish linkage between an organizationally healthy and political relevant female clientele in order to foster increased direct decision-making, involvement in implementation and evaluation and consequently in the benefits of rural development.

Organizational theorists recognize the importance of relatively immediate goal achievement to sustain organizational commitment and survival for later tasks. Some income-earning orientation has been identified as crucial to the success and maintenance of women's groups (Misch [Colombia, Philippines, Korea], 1975). Paradoxically, goal achievement itself can be associated with organizational collapse (Zald and Ash, 1971). Organizations must successfully resolve a series of crises, both related and unrelated to goals as well (for this approach, see Kincaid, et.al., n.d.). Another dilemma is that the historic organizational environment may inhibit entrepreneurial behavior due to pervasive suspicions about past

mismanagement. Organizational survival may depend on limited goals.

1. Autonomy or Integration

An inevitable question for any subordinate group, previously unorganized or organized with few resources compared to those of other groups, is that of autonomy versus integration. A minimal autonomy, in the sense of local leadership selection and local decision-making responsibility, is essential. Integration can be viewed in two ways: with other groups, or absorbed within government.

Due to low levels of resources, narrow leadership bases, or limited coalition prospects, subordinate groups may consciously opt to operate autonomously from the political system. Given the inevitable uneven integration which they face, groups may prefer instead to remain aloof, capitalize on their own assets, including insulation and the absence of competing affiliations. The dilemma is that such insulation fosters cohesion but inhibits genuine empowerment. A changed government distributive structure and autonomous group's lack of access to that distribution may mean such groups are increasingly incapable of successfully meeting member needs without linkage.

Women face inordinate obstacles to ultimate empowerment in a larger political setting, besides those resulting from uneven integration. A most marked inaccess to resources, competing and intimate affiliations that produce shared household interests equal to or greater than the priority of women's interests, male threatened reaction, and reproductive capability

are factors that detract from women exerting power as a group, without linkage. With linkage, women may continue to face these obstacles to empowerment, but the prospects for addressing their interests are ultimately greater. Yet for initial organization building, to later acquire resources in the larger sphere including other group allies, autonomy may be a critical factor.

Is the linkage to be based on government creation or on relationships with other organizations? "Mobilized" participation (distinction from Huntington and Nelson, 1976) is a more common pattern than usually presupposed and includes cooperatives, agribusiness organizations, citizen participation groups, community development groups, and business advisory councils. As previously demonstrated, governments have a profound affect on group emergence, a process with parallel prospects for women. Yet linkage via government creation is problematic for organizational leaders and eventual goal transformation, particularly when organizations do not command sufficient resources for some minimal degree of autonomy in decision-making and action. The integration of politically disadvantaged groups raises the question of whose and what terms they are integrated, the effects for leader-member relations, and the eventual resolution of member interests.

To avoid this kind of dependency, yet accumulate the benefits of linkage, an alternate group strategy is federation and group coalition. Here again, however, a group runs the risk of submergence within a larger goal framework.

2. Exclusivity

History is replete with examples of insufficient autonomy for women's organizations which would have enhanced their ability to comprehensively and forcefully address member interests. The ideological and practical temptation of integration has resulted in a lessened priority for women's interests in organizations and societies of varying ideological persuasion. Too early an integration, without sufficient resources and power to press claims and acquire additional supporters, has meant women's organizational resources and surplus have been coopted and appropriated by the more powerful, as examples from "revolutionary" societies and one-party governments of Africa indicate (Calloway [Ghana], 1976; Scott [Eastern Europe], 1974; Chaney [Chile], 1974). Too early an integration also means women may be unable to determine organizational goals and transformation. Finally, early integration may decrease the likelihood of women advocates who identify with remaining, concrete women's interests. Wealthy, professional and advantaged women, equitably integrated into occupational spheres, may reduce their identification with other, less advantaged women. Consequently, exclusivity among women may be a necessary in the first sequence of organizational mobilization. During that sequence, organizational leadership, expertise, and resources can be fostered to the point where their power and value are sought by other organizations in the larger political process.

3. Effects and Implications of Action and Inaction

The "sex-war hypothesis" is often advanced to avoid facing questions about equity and the underutilization of human resources. Organization among women does not necessarily provoke conflict between the sexes; numerous societies with such organizations testify to this statement, (as do societies without women's organizations, yet with high degrees of tensions). At the same time, the illumination of how political power and institutionalized inequities underlie relations, including those between men and women, can arouse tension. Participation strategies, however, can alleviate, redirect, and reduce potential conflict.

Some conflict is healthy in societies; it provokes change and prevents stagnation. For inherently contradictory relationships, conflict can clarify the underlying tension and thereby hasten its resolution. Whether or not governments intervene to redress women's nonaccess to resources--a situation governments themselves have fostered--will not prevent conflict. Larger socio-economic changes provoke conflict as well.

Any and all programs invariably affect and have affected relations between men and women. As the development literature on women shows, such "meddling" has tended to expand opportunities and resources available to men, thus imbalancing relations between men and women. Programs based on assumptions that men predominate in agriculture, supplemented by male staff, in areas where women actually predominate in agriculture, directly contradict or disrupt relations between men and women. If

programs continue to systematically address men, or channel resources to men based on past administrative precedents, sex role interference will continue, and will perpetuate the existent form of privilege. Programs to redress inaccess will also affect relations between men and women. Both action and inaction on this issue are value questions. Sensitivity about these matters may exist most strongly in the minds of expatriates or national level administrators, rather than in rural areas, where women and men recognize sex role patterns that diverge either from the dominant cultural mode or those modes introduced by colonial and expatriate planners and programmers.

To dwell on conflict is to overemphasize the zero-sum aspects of increasing women's participation. Through greater women's participation in the rural development administration network, the already existent involvement of women through work will enhance household access to resources. Efforts aimed at women can expand an economic strata's access to resources in a way traditional practices aimed at men cannot.

As International Women's Year has so clearly shown, women's interests in developing countries are directed at socio-economic development in broadly based ways (Papanek, 1975). Existent women's organizations reinforce the clarity of that message. Given the many similar objectives of men and women, continued nonparticipation of women in programs is counterproductive to both women's and men's interests.

APPENDIX I: RESEARCHER NETWORK

This section addresses the need to begin developing a network of researchers who focus on women, participation and rural development. The length of any list will depend on the broadness with which women's participation is defined, and conceivably includes not only women in development and rural participation, but population, demography, social anthropology, and the like. The Wellesley Women & Development program (June 2-6, 1976) and follow-up conference at Wingspread (June, 1976) are critical, comprehensive documents which identify participating researchers. A recent issue of the African Studies Newsletter (Vol. x, No. 2, April, 1977) provides a comprehensive list on current research in Africa, including that on women. Finally, the Agricultural Development Council Seminar Report No. 12 (February, 1977) also provides a list of participants at a seminar on the changing role of women in rural societies.

It is not within the confines of this section to draw up a network of those development agencies with a "WID" representative, as this exists elsewhere. Moreover, several groups on the East Coast are beginning to bridge the distance between academics and practitioners in this area, including New TransCentury Foundation, International Center for Research on Women, Women in Development, Inc., and Ford Foundation. Moreover, the interchange at conferences, such as at the

recent American Political Science Association, provides useful interchange between these two groups who have similar interests, but different perspectives and communication channels.

Below is a network of researchers interested in women and development, grouped according to regional area.

This list is based on several published documents including the two conference reports on women and development, several journal collections on women and development, and conference meeting reports. The number of persons listed (only some of which the author has personally contacted) represent a very preliminary cataloging. An (*) indicates the work is cited in the bibliography, and the comments in parentheses indicate the discipline, location, and research interests, if known.

In the Washington D.C. area: DOROTHY REMY* (University of District of Columbia; Nigerian women; participation in Peace Corps discussions on women in development; co-chairing a panel at Joint African Studies/Latin American Studies Association 1977 meetings); MARION MISCH* (2122 Massachusetts Avenue; completed 1975 AID report on women's groups in three countries); ELSA CHANEY* (c/o International Center for Research on women and Forham University; political scientist, women and politics in Latin America; migration); EMMY SIMMONS* (USDA Nigerian women); IRENE TINKER* (political scientist; Action/Peace Corps; women in development; MARY ELMENDORF (World Bank; Mexican women); CYNTHIA MC CLINTOCK (George Washington

University); and LISA SERGIO (1531-34th Street; Middle Eastern women).

MARGARET JEAN HAY* (Historian; Kenyan women; HANNA PAPANEK* (sociologist; Asian women; International Women's Year; Development Planning); and FILOMENA STEADY (women's voluntary associations; women and development) are all at Boston University. FRAN KORTEN* is at the Harvard School of Public Health (Korean Mothers' Clubs) and MANGALAM SRINIVASAN is at the Center for International Affairs (Indian women; agriculture).

Wellesley College houses the Center for Research on Women, for which CAROLYN ELLIOT is the contact, and DIANN PAINTER is delivering a paper on women and resettlement at the Joint African/Latin American meetings.

The following persons are at Rutgers University: AMY AUERBACH WILSON (paper presented to Wellesley conference on the Chinese women's federation); BARBARA LEWIS* (market women in the Ivory Coast; employment opportunities in Abidjan); IVY MATSEPE (policy effects on South African women for African/Latin American meetings); SHEILA COMINSKY (paper for African/Latin American meetings, on training traditional midwives); and HELEN SAFA (co-chairing a panel on women at the African/Latin American meetings).

In Texas, researchers on women and development include SUZANNE SAULNIERS (University of Texas at Austin; bibliography); THOMAS GREAVES (University of Texas at San Antonio;

women's work trajectories); and KATHLEEN STAUDT* (University of Texas at El Paso; women farmers; women and politics).

At Cornell University, contacts include KATHLEEN RHODES (Human Ecology; surveying home economics programs); MARY KATZENSTEIN (Indian women); and GILLIAN HART (agricultural economist; Indonesian farm households).

In Canada: AUDREY WIPPER* (sociologist; University of Waterloo; women's associations); ELEANORA CEBOTAREV* (University of Guelph; Latin American rural low income women; credit); PATRICIA STAMP* (York University, Toronto; women's groups); ELEANOR WATCHEL* (645 West 13th Avenue, Vancouver, British Columbia; women's groups).

Overseas contacts include ACHOLA PALA* and D. R. REYNOLDS of the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Nairobi; BETTY POTASH (anthropologist; University of Lagos; women in Kenya; migration and household analysis); MARJORIE MBILINYI* (School of Education; University of Dar es Salaam) and CAROL THOMPSON (political scientist; University of Southern California, temporarily teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam); VIRGINIA DELANCEY (University of Nigeria, Nsukka; African/Latin American meetings paper on small-scale capital accumulation of Cameroonian women); CLIO PRESVALOU (Louvain; women's roles); and MARGARET SNYDER of the UN/ECA Research & Training Center for Women, who would be aware of African-based researchers.

In the Midwest area, researchers include STEFFEN SCHMIDT (Iowa State; women and politics in Colombia); DOROTHY VELLENGA*

(Muskingum College; New Concord, Ohio; women farmers and traders in Ghana); CHRISTINE OBBO (anthropologist; Ugandan women) and MARTA TIENDA (rural sociologist; demography) at the University of Wisconsin; NIARRA SUDARKASA (West African migration) and BARBARA MONTGOMERY (women in the Ivory Coast) at the University of Michigan; and NANCY LEIS* (anthropologist, Central Michigan, Mt. Pleasant; women's groups).

Other schools in the Eastern U.S. include JEAN O'BARR* (political scientist; Duke University; women and politics; Tunisian women); MARILYN SILBERFEIN (Temple University; spatial planning); and PETER MOOCK* (agricultural economist; Columbia Teachers College; farm management).

In the Western U.S.: NADIA YOUSSEF* (Middle Eastern women; agriculture) and JUDITH STEIHM (political scientist) at the University of Southern California; SUAD JOSEPH* (anthropologist; women's groups in Lebanon); RAE BLUMBERG (rural sociologist) and JOYCE JUSTUS (Caribbean area) of the University of California/San Diego; MARCARET STROEBEL* (Women's Studies Program, University of California/Los Angeles; women's groups), and JANE JAQUETTE* (political scientist; Occidental College; Latin American women); MYRA DINNERSTEIN (women and development in the Sahel) and HELEN HENDERSEN (women in Niger) of the University of Arizona; ELISE BOULDING* (University of Colorado; women and development; intermediate technology); KAREN HANSEN (University of Washington; paper for African/Latin American meetings on wage labor for women in Lusaka); and at the Stanford University Center for Research on Women, the contact person is CHARLOTTE SIEGAL.

APPENDIX II

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 directs focus on critical problems in functional sectors which affect the rural majority in developing countries. Women's participation affects and intersects with all those sectors. To address these functional areas, research must be designed to systematically assess impacts of past, contemporary, and potential programs which affect women, either on an integrated basis with men or on a separate basis. The purpose of this section is to briefly summarize certain key questions in some of these areas and comment on ways in which some current programs are being addressed.

RURAL FINANCIAL MARKETS: Dale Addams of Ohio State University indicated an interest in rural women's access to credit, particularly in those areas where women customarily manage family budgets such as Southeast Asia. Research questions are still in the formative stage; OSU currently has no researchers with expertise on the topic of women in rural financial markets. The Women's Studies Program at OSU also indicated there were no faculty that had been, or are, engaged in women and development research.

Research of the last decade points to a previously underanalyzed process of capital accumulation in rural areas, namely that of women. Assessing its effectiveness and the

the contexts in which rotating credit, as well as rotating credit and investment, occurs would be useful. An externally created association, the Korean Mothers' Clubs may be a useful model in this regard. Given the positive findings about group loan practices reported in Morss et.al., (1976), existent or newly created women's groups might prove useful lending vehicles.

An important concern in this functional area includes lending criteria (which may be affected by disproportionate, or total, male ownership of loan guarantees such as land) and the prospects for instituting reforms such as joint tenancy, to eliminate these problems. Another consideration includes spouse permission requirements in lending. If a husband's permission is required for a wife's loans, is the reverse also true? A wife may be responsible for repaying husband debts, whether or not she was aware of the initial transaction. Areas with extensive women headed households present further program questions. As described in the text, this de facto female management includes more than widows or female owners, but also women whose husbands work away for extended periods. If measures are taken to expand women's access to loans, will special recruitment be directed at eligible women? Customary male control over financial matters in some areas--despite male absence--may mean women are reluctant to apply for loans. Some of these considerations also relate to Rural Market Systems as well.

OFF FARM EMPLOYMENT: According to Carl Eicher of Michigan State University, the off-farm employment program was completed July 1st, and research questions about women are found in Spencer's Sierra Leonian research, outlined in his appendix (1976). I am not aware of other women and development researchers at MSU. Important considerations in this topic include analyses of who benefits, and how, from employment generation. Are there class differences among women that detract from our ability to talk about women as a group? How does off farm employment affect workloads of those left on the farm? What speculations about long-term trends (a decade or more) can be drawn for the alleged marginalization of women?

Important research questions for the remaining AID priority areas are covered in Section II of this paper, particularly measurement problems in analysing women within and between households and between female and male headed households, the problems associated with planned development schemes, and whether balance between social and income integration considerations in programs is similarly balanced by sex.

FOOTNOTES

¹Class is defined as an aggregate of persons who stand in a similar position with respect to some form of power, privilege or prestige. Gerhard Lenski's flexible definition of class will be utilized in order to incorporate some rural societies where emerging class differentiation is a relatively recent phenomenon and cannot be characterized as yet by more rigid relations to the means of production. See his POWER & PRIVILEGE, McGraw Hill, 1966.

²For example, see Lord Lugard and Lord Hailey on colonial policy and Hunter, p. 104. The sharp distinction between home extension and farm extension is evident in classic studies of historic U.S. agricultural policy. See, for example, C. B. Smith and E. C. Wilson, THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SYSTEM OF THE U.S. (1930), E. C. BURRILL, THE COUNTY AGENT AND THE FARM BUREAU (1922), and A. C. True, A HISTORY OF AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORK IN THE U.S. (1928). See also a later collection, THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE, edited by H. C. Sander (1965).

³Quality of life, as measured by material goods and conveniences, appears to have been a predominant focus in studies of U.S. agricultural families. On amount of work, see Spencer (1976). An important line of inquiry would address more extensively how changes in U.S. or European farm families were measured over time, whether different standards of status indicators were utilized for men and women, and why.

⁴Indicators of economic growth and development exist at the national level, and it is only recently that community or family level indicators, which integrate social concerns, have been considered. Those measures assessing individuals within households are generally quality-of-life considerations. Income is generally measured at a household level, which may not always reflect actual practice, or individual access, see section 11-D-1.

⁵The lack of within-household indicators that measure other than quality of life factors presents a measurement challenge to researchers. See my resource model, proposed in section 11-D-3. Again, an inquiry into historic research measurement indicators would be useful, though would reflect time and culture-bound sex stereotypes.

⁶Epstein's more recent visit to the village (1973) indicates that class inequalities were more marked in the dry village where men were employed in diverse occupations and women lodged in subsistence. Clearly, many factors produced this situation. Did women's relegation to the subsistence sector contribute to this outcome? How did female productivity differentially affect various economic strata?

⁷Other questions to raise are who defines and identifies heads (self-identification? researcher-identified? government?).

⁸Boulding reports between a third and a half in six of seven cases on Table 5, p. 21. The ILO/UNDP reports similar figures for Kenya. Van Velsion reports a 60-70 percent absence of adult males in Tonga society.

⁹For example, studies of U.S. Community Action Programs, created by the Economic Opportunity Act. See also Kantor on numeric considerations for power in organizations.

¹⁰Giele, in Smock and Giele also speaks about a curvilinear relationship between social complexity and sexual equality, p. 11.

¹¹The distinction is Cebotarev's. It is difficult to set a precise time boundary between old and new, because some older, more traditional home economics programs, focusing mainly on the home, continue in some areas. A speculation on the time difference might be pre- and post-1965.

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