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TRACING SEX DIFFERENTIATION IN DONOR AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS

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Government policy creates a structure of rewards and penalties which affect groups in different ways.¹ The ensuing differential opportunities are but one of a number of explanations for the differences between ethnic groups, states within a federal system, countries within the international economic order, socio-economic classes, and women and men.² Over the passage of time, these differential opportunities become more systematized preferences and burdens, invariably affecting life chances and peoples' perceptions of themselves. An awareness of this dynamic makes equal access and opportunities a compelling principle. Yet the extent to which contemporary equal access can compensate for sustained historic inequities without special measures warrants serious consideration.

Agricultural policy covers a wide scope of issues, including such direct policy considerations as property ownership rights (the basic resource for production), price supports, subsidized crop research, and the delivery of that information and credit through an extension system. Indirectly affecting agriculture are policies which affect access to education and curriculum content, as well as civil service criteria which determine which groups in a population will staff such a research and extension service. In assessing policy impact, distinctions can be made between the farming, non-farming consumer populace, and commercial processing sectors. This study will focus on the farm population and on agricultural input programs.

Agricultural policy affects men and women differently. Indeed, it is curious that agricultural production, an activity in which women are so heavily involved in non-industrial societies (Whyte, 1978; Martin & Vroohies, 1975; Boserup, 1970) is associated with men in the non-socialist economies.

Part of the explanation lies in women's near-universal child-care responsibilities which require compatible work—usually near the home—as cultivation extends further from homes (Rosaldo&Lamphere,1974; Blumberg, 1976). As mechanized cultivation becomes more common, sex differences in physique and strength are also put forth as explanations for women's declining agricultural participation. Nevertheless, technology itself is sex-neutral; tools and machines often reduce the strength required for arduous work. Moreover, the explanation does not address the still-extensive involvement of women's agricultural activities in socialized economies, concentrated, however, in low-ranking agricultural labor sectors (Castillo, 1977). Nor does it explain what appears to be increasing female involvement in U.S. owner-operated farms (Huffman,1976). The seminal work of Ester Boserup analyzed the shift in the sexual division of labor from non-industrial to industrial economies, resulting from colonial assumptions about appropriate sex roles and the provision of tools and technology to men. Assumptions about women are deeply embedded in institutional practice and the transfer of agricultural institutions from one country to another can reproduce such assumptions even when ungrounded by empirical reality.³

Twentieth century development processes are both rapid and tele-scoped; bilateral and multilateral assistance organizations accelerate these changes even further. As agricultural economies become more capitalized and incorporate new technologies to enhance productivity, it is critical to determine whether women's agricultural activity is supported, altered, or undermined. The purpose of this paper is to assess the differential effects of the agricultural programs of one large

donor organization, the U.S. Agency for International Development, on farm men and women in AID-assisted countries. AID bilateral development assistance is provided in sixty-six less developed countries, where women work more actively in agriculture than is true in industrializing countries.⁴ In the first section of this paper, policy-oriented research on women's agricultural involvement is reviewed. Utilizing a variety of sources, the paper then attempts to trace differential effects of donor organization agricultural policy and intervention strategies, reported in the second section of the paper. These attempts illuminate the difficulties of and prospects for tracing sex-differentiated policy consequences, discussed in section three. Women are often subsumed within the family unit, and are dispersed within a population to a greater extent than racial groups, socio-economic groups, or geographic regions within a nation. The tasks set forth in this paper are expected to contribute generally to literature on policy monitoring and policy impact.

I

Women in Agriculture

In most countries of the world, women are involved in agricultural production, more often in food crop production rather than in cash crops such as coffee, rubber, tea, and cotton, among others. They prepare the soil for planting, sow, weed, harvest, process, and trade crops (Boserup, 1970; Pala, 1976; Deere, 1977; Dixon, 1978; UN/ECA, 1974). Knowledge of women's involvement in marketing and trade is well known for West Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean, although women traders are gradually becoming marginalized (Mintz, 1971; Robertson, 1976). In some societies, tasks are sex-defined; in others, men and women share tasks. A number of time

allocation studies indicate that women invest equal, if not more labor into agricultural production than men (Haswell, 1963; UN/ECA, 1974; Fortmann, 1979).⁴ Added to their domestic chores, which include such arduous tasks as hauling water and gathering firewood for cooking and heating, women's workload represents a heavy and broad-ranged responsibility in development.

Evidence for women's involvement in agriculture is found in micro-level studies, rather than macro statistics which reflect market activities. What women produce is often used, or consumed, in the home rather than exchanged outside the home. The work men do, either in the form of goods produced or labor, tends to be quantified, because it is monetized and transcends the household, while women's work is absorbed or consumed within the household, thereby remaining unquantified (Palmer, 1977; Benston, 1969). Some censuses classify women's work as "unpaid family labor"—still problematic, since agricultural goods produced primarily for consumption rather than exchange are usually excluded (Boulding, 1976; Dixon, 1979). Indeed, the U.S. Census of Agriculture (except for 1964) collects data neither on the number of women working on farms, nor their hours (or days) of farm work (Huffman, 1976).

Control over Resources & Return for Labor

Control over resources and return from labor are crucial factors affecting work incentive and productivity. That women control the proceeds from their labor is a common, though not universal feature of nonindustrial societies.⁶ Nevertheless, divorced from the context of sex-defined responsibilities and options, such control may be symbolic only. For example, a study of over two hundred households in Botswana, where women are responsible for feeding their families, women spent nearly 100% of their income on household expenditures, while men spent approximately

two-thirds, leaving a third for other investment (Bond,1974). Added to the wider prospects that men have for earning income and the probability that male wages are higher than female, women's control over income obscures the general contextual disparities between men and women.

If women lack control over the fruits of their labor, a reduced work incentive is expected (DeWilde,1967). A study in Niger, where high marital instability rates prevailed, found that women refused to plant tree crops because men controlled such permanent crops. (Correze, et. al.,1976; see also Muntamba, 1979).

An even more fundamental issue is that of control over resources, particularly of land. Under conditions of plentiful land and communal control over land, women often have traditional usufruct rights, contingent however, on their relationship to husbands or fathers. As land scarcity develops and societies undergo land reform, the household or farm unit tends to be the unit of distribution, with title lodged in that person deemed "head," most often a man (Jones,1979;Tadesse,1979; Pala,1976). Even in areas where land is passed through the matrikin, modern legal codes which lodge control among men prevail (De Wilde,I,pl42;1967;Brain,1976) The attempt to impose male-focused policy is not always accepted. In post-war Ceylon, a colonial British settlement scheme selected only men as recipients of plots. Yet of the forty-three successions, over half went to women (Farmer, as cited in Rogers, 1979).

That individuals control labor proceeds points to a clarification of household characteristics necessary in assessing policy consequences: intra-household separation of incomes, once sex-defined responsibilities are met. Numerous studies, particularly those from sub-Saharan Africa,

indicate men's and women's incomes are separate from one another, creating economic autonomy. Women's control over resources is associated with balanced power in sociological studies of the family (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). In parts of West Africa, husbands and wives lend each other cash for economic ventures, at interest rates, as one observer remarked, "only slightly less usurious than those of moneylenders" (Robertson, 1976; see also MacCormack, 1979; Simmons, 1976; Oppong, 1974).

Agricultural programs can wreck havoc on the long-standing balance of labor and return within households if resources and opportunities are channelled to men alone. In a resettlement scheme, project designers incorrectly assumed family income was shared, yet a tradition of separate incomes and female responsibilities for family food production prevailed among the people resettled. Virtually all land was put under rice cultivation in the scheme, a crop marketed for cash through scheme institutions. Small plots were provided to grow food crops for family consumption—maize and beans—much smaller, in fact, than was the case in a comparative community off the scheme. Unable to meet family food obligations, women blackmarketed rice to cope with the increased strains (Hanger & Moris, 1973).

In that example, women's work burdens increased with little personal gain. ~~As~~ remunerative structures did not assure a fair return for labor. Chinese communes and Tanzanian Ujamaa villages have consciously addressed the issues of control over resources and fair return for labor through public control over land and compensation according to individual work contributions. In practice, land allocations and payments are made to the household, or other adaptations are made to local cultural institutions which disadvantage women (Diamond, 1975; Fortmann, 1979). Also, household labor acquires neither value nor

remuneration, despite time investments.

Increased Productivity: Access to Resources

Agricultural development depends on producer access to secure, viable-sized pieces of land, prices which guarantee a minimal rate of return, and inputs such as tools, technology, fertilizer (and/or to credit for such inputs). Many farmers—men and women alike—are outside the government distributive network (Leonard, 1977; Coombes, 1974). Accumulating evidence indicates that women have even more limited access to land, agricultural extension, and credit than men (Dixon, 1978; Ashby, 1979; Staudt, 1975-76; Fortmann, 1979). Staff, more often than not men, communicate with men, and tend to provide information, technology, and credit to men. Staff assume husbands will communicate to wives, not always borne out in practice, as one empirical study demonstrates (Fortmann, 1979). For the female headed household, numbering a third of households around the world (Buvinic, et.al., 1978), limited access is particularly acute. In an examination of agricultural services in western Kenya, women farm managers always had less access than farms with a man present, even when controlled for land size and economic standing. The more valuable the service, the wider were gaps between the sexes (Staudt, 1975-76). In Botswana, three-fourths of farms with a man present acquired seed from extension workers, while only a quarter of female managed farms (Bond, 1974).

Explanations for this distributional inequity are interrelated and multiple, ranging from assumptions built into programs, to staff structures, and the lack of women's demand for agricultural services.

First, early agricultural policy aimed to enhance the productivity of men—the assumed breadwinners—or to integrate men more fully into

agricultural production (Boserup, 1970). Such an objective was coupled with contradictory objectives; namely, other policies which provided incentives for migration elsewhere, often at wages below that required for maintaining a household. Women's absorption of men's tasks permitted such migration or men's nonagricultural employment without great disruption to family subsistence (Epstein, 1962; Deere, 1977). Special women's programs emphasized domestic training in sewing, embroidery, cooking, and health-related issues to the virtual exclusion of agricultural training.

A second explanation for distributional inequity is found in the staff structure, overwhelmingly composed of men. In societies where women speak with women, and men with men on technical work issues, or where communication between unrelated men and women is frowned upon, the prospects that male staff will equitably contact and provide services to women are, not surprisingly, limited (Smithhels, 1972; Milone, 1978, p.136; Staudt, 1975-76). Services for women are typically segregated into a home economics unit, sparsely staffed and funded compared to agricultural extension. Home economics staff are ordinarily laden with a variety of responsibilities, only a small part of which relate directly to agriculture (UN/ECA/FAO, in Ashby, 1979p12). In a systematic analysis of seventeen rural development programs, Uma Lele argues that "the goal of extension services has frequently been not the increase in farm level productivity of women but rather finding ways to reduce their participation in agriculture through promotion of more home-bound activities" (1975, p.77). Programs for women are characterized by a limited correspondence between the variety of women's agricultural tasks, and the type of training they receive. In a study of Muslim women in Comilla district, Bangladesh, a majority of women's time for seven months of the year was devoted to threshing, drying, cleaning, and husking rice; jute processing; care of poultry and livestock; fruit and vegetable gardening; fishing; and food preservation. Yet in the

annual reports on the nearly two hundred courses at the Academy for Rural Development from 1971-73, 86% of the courses were health and family related, 12% were about handicrafts, and 2% were on poultry and kitchen gardening (Ashby, pp. 14-15, 1979).

Finally, women make few demands upon the political system, and competing loyalties reduce their political leverage.⁷ Virtually excluded from the political process in the past, or relegated to "women's issues" (however defined), few women's organizations vocalize agricultural interests in the larger political process. Ultimately, some shift in the distribution of political power will address invalid policy assumptions, segregated programming, and a sexually imbalanced staff structure.

Technology and tools are introduced, in part, to reduce costs of production in the exchange economy. If women's work is outside that economy, technological introduction tends to be justified on humanitarian or welfare grounds, rather than economic. As technology and tools are introduced, men are the focus, more so than women (Chaney & Schmink, 1976). When the use to which technology is put primarily addresses men's work, new bottlenecks in other parts of the productive process are generated. For example, as land under cultivation expands through the use of male-run plows or tractors, the area women must weed by hand also expands. A corresponding labor-saving technology is rarely introduced simultaneously to women. Though the success of development interventions depend on women's labor, detailed knowledge of that labor is rarely taken into account.

Mounting evidence would seem to suggest that women's exclusion from agricultural services will take its toll, resulting in declining women's productivity. One near east specialist has argued that women's involvement in nonagricultural employment is more viable than supporting women's marginalized agricultural role (Youssef, 1974).

However, two studies of settled agricultural people, which typify parts of Africa with extensive male migration, suggest that productivity gaps between the sexes are not as marked as anticipated. In one study, women farm managers' productivity was found to equal men's, as measured in terms of output per acre. When controlled for access to extension and education, however, women's productivity surpassed men's (Moock, 1976). In another study which utilized timeliness of crop adoption, crop diversification, and income-earning orientation as indirect measures of productivity, women farm manager's productivity equalled men's in an area with minimal agricultural services. In a similar area, where agricultural services were extensive, however, women's productivity relative to men had declined. Agricultural services were oriented towards men, and the women's program stressed domestic specializations. Women's declining productivity was attributed in part to long-standing male preference in program implementation (Staudt, 1978).

II

Maldistribution in the world's food supply makes agriculture, perhaps, the most critical issue in development.⁸ Many third world countries articulate the goal of national food self-sufficiency, one made particularly urgent as food-surplus countries consider food as a foreign policy tool. Women's already existing involvement in agricultural production, therefore, makes women's inclusion in agricultural programs a critical development issue. Equity considerations in policy analysis are here reinforced by economic considerations.

Agricultural Policy: Growth with Equity

As a result of Congressional amendments in 1973 and thereafter, the U.S. Agency for International Development has shifted directions in focus to a strategy which meets basic human needs such as health, nutrition, shelter, and education for what is termed the "rural poor majority". The simultaneous shift from a more capital-intensive to labor-intensive approach provides a setting which allows better impact assessment among project beneficiaries. The AID budget category "Food and Nutrition" covering Agriculture, Rural Development, and Nutrition, represents the largest bilateral development assistance financial priority within the agency, with over \$700 million requested in Fiscal Year 1980.⁹ In 1979, Food and Nutrition accounted for 50.2% of development assistance appropriations compared to 35.3% (\$274.5 million) actual expenditures in 1974; it is a budget category which has grown at the highest rate compared to all other categories (A.I.D. Congressional Presentation, pp. 10-11, 1979).

The recent AID "Agricultural Development Policy Paper," establishes agency policy to assist developing countries to "(1) increase their capability to expand and distribute food supplies to alleviate hunger and malnutrition, and (2) increase participation of poor people in the process and benefits of development" (p. 1, 1978). Strong support exists for women's participation in agricultural production, with nearly two pages devoted specifically to the topic, out of sixty-four (pp. 14-16). The policy recommendations on women include improving and increasing women's skills and productivity, as well as new initiatives which increase women's participation as trainees, members of recipient organizations, and technicians at every level of project implementation. Nevertheless, the 1977 draft agricultural policy paper states that a

measure of development would be reducing the number of women working in the fields, suggesting a still-stereotyped view of appropriate roles for women among agency analysts (Tinker, 1979, p. 3).

Though AID has provided long-standing assistance in agricultural development, several qualifications are in order before proceeding. AID programs operate within the constraints (or opportunities) of host country government policy, through a process known as the "collaborative style." Moreover, AID funding is secondary, even marginal compared to funding of other donor countries and multilateral institutions. Finally, the agency is beset by a number of bureaucratic and political constraints. AID is unique among other U.S. bureaucracies in its extremely uncertain and uncontrollable task environment. Such uncertainty has provoked an exaggerated emphasis on technical expertise and excessive reliance on bureaucratic procedure which seem to provide protection from those uncertainties (Tendler, 1975, pp. 9-10). Moreover, since primary beneficiaries of AID activities are in other countries,¹⁰ AID lacks a strong, supportive U.S. political constituency. Thus, despite AID's potential to influence agricultural policy elsewhere, analysis must be tempered with realism about these existing constraints.

Women in Development Policy

In recognition of how women had been excluded, even disadvantaged, by national and international development efforts, the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act in 1973 established women in development ("WID") as an agency policy.¹¹ Past agency programs for women tended to be concentrated in home economics, handicrafts, health and family planning.

A Women in Development office was created in 1974, and under the most recent reorganization, has moved from the highly visible attachment to the administrator's office to the policy-making arm of the agency. The office's major function is to assure that women are taken into account in project design, implementation, and evaluation, and a tool for such assessment is the "woman impact" statement, required of each Project Paper. At best, woman-impact statements are derived from a serious assessment based on the Social Soundness Analysis;¹² at worst, they consist of a few sentences recycled from project to project document, denoting positive impact. Assessing agency agricultural policy for its effects on women provides a test of whether the WID concept has sufficiently penetrated an agency priority development sector in which women are obviously involved.

Monitoring Women in Development

Part of the internal Women in Development monitoring effort involves "tracking" WID projects and assessing agency financial commitment to the issue. Congress has mandated that the agency as a whole spend at least \$10 million on women in development each fiscal year since 1978.¹³ Tracking and measuring agency activity, nevertheless, is problematic because of only limited consensus about the WID concept.

Though Congress has set forth the parameters of the Women in Development concept, and those minimal requirements have been officially defined in the agency policy bureau, the concept has unevenly penetrated mission, regional, and technical bureaus. The definition of a WID project is drawn from the Special Concerns Code Definition, one of twenty codes used to describe and categorize projects.¹⁴ Code highlights include

increasing women's participation, opportunities, and income-earning capacities. Explicitly excluded from the WID definition are those projects in which women are recipients of goods such as contraceptives and health projects in which women are recipients of food and services for themselves or their children.¹⁵

The Congressional Report prepared by the Office of Women in Development makes distinctions among three types of WID projects:

- "Women-specific" projects (special projects aimed at women to help them "catch up, to make them equal partners in the development process,"
- "women's components," where there is a definite, deliberate women's component "included as an integral part of the project," and
- "integrated" projects, which take "into account all the roles women play and how their situation can be improved through several interrelated activities" (1978, pp. 2-3).

While the women-specific projects are easy to identify, agreement about women's components or integrated projects which meet the criteria of the special concerns code is more limited. Assigning a figure for the amount spent on Women in Development within a project is even more problematic.

Most agricultural projects emphasize training as well as broadened economic opportunities and productivity. Were women directly involved, such projects would fall within the Special Concerns Code Definition of a WID project. Yet projects emphasize cash crops, and only recently has there been more focus on food production and consumption, an area in which women are more extensively involved. While project rhetoric aims at "small farmer families" and estimates costs on a per family basis on the whole, project machinery is geared to reach men with a largely male staff. If male household heads are reached, household members are assumed to share in information, benefits, or labor relief. As previously

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demonstrated in the literature review, such assumptions are oblivious to the intra-household division of labor and income. While recognition of the family farm labor unit is an advance from considering only men as farmers, such recognition ignores factors, such as sex-differentiated labor inputs and return from labor--on which project success depends.

The Data

The most comprehensive way to examine the extent to which women are participants of Agricultural, Rural Development and Nutrition projects would be to read project documents, interview staff associated with projects, observe the projects, and assess evaluations. The time and financial constraints of such an exhaustive task are beyond the methodological scope of this paper. Instead, a comprehensive set of project documents, most of which reflect condensations of project design content, are systematically examined for the extent to which women are taken into account.⁵ The approach draws from simple content analysis, wherein the importance of an issue is assumed to be reflected by the space and/or emphasis devoted to it in documents. The written word acquires a life and permanence in bureaucratic activity and memory, a benchmark against which actual practice is compared. If women are mentioned in the sources examined, there is no guarantee they will be included (or equitably included) in actual implementation. Nevertheless, the chance for inclusion is far higher than if women are not mentioned at all.

Unless women are visibly integral to initial project planning and design, at a time when project resources are plentiful, the chance that they will be included once allocations are firmly fixed is limited. There are good reasons to believe that if attention is to be given to women, it will be written into initial project designs. First, a strong

incentive exists to describe any women's activities in the initial project documents reviewed in Washington, where WID is monitored more heavily than elsewhere. Secondly, during the design stage, targets and output indicators are established which provide for quantification and verification of the extent to which beneficiaries are reached. These indicators, too, pass the Washington review process.¹⁷ If baseline and other data are not regularly collected to allow evaluators to assess targets and output indicators on women's direct participation, the incentive to reach women is lessened.

Source 1: Project Print-Out

An agency computer retrieval service classifies and stores project descriptions and evaluations, as well as technical information. Project print-outs contain descriptions of project summaries, goals, purposes, and outputs, drawn from completed or ongoing project design documents. Print-out on agricultural extension and credit was perused for attention to women, and the following table contains findings, broken down on a regional basis.¹⁸

Table 1. Agricultural Extension and Credit Projects with Attention to Women, by Region

<u>Region</u>	<u>No. of Projects</u>	<u>No. with women</u>	<u>%</u>
Latin America Caribbean ("LAC")	98	2	5%
Asia	45	4	9%
Africa ("AFR")	69	7	10%
Near East ("NE")	22	-	-

In all regions, a tenth or less of projects mention women.

Project activities stress different issues, with primary emphases on productivity, service,*equity, or humanitarian concerns. Those projects with a women's component tend to emphasize service rather than productivity issues. An Asia project provided for demonstrations of food preparation, nutrition, hygiene, household management, gardening, and clothing construction. Several projects emphasized family planning. Two other Asia projects highlighted women in the context of "women and youth activities (e.g. athletics, vocational and crafts training," as well as home economics, nutrition, and family planning. Several Africa projects, on the other hand, mentioned women in the context of agricultural productivity, as well as home economics.

Source 2: Integrated Rural Development

The same office which stores project descriptions prepared a draft report entitled "Development Information on Integrated Rural Development" (1978). The report contains 38 summaries of past and active integrated rural development projects. In three of these summaries women are mentioned, in the contexts of increasing women's participation, women's training, and servicing woman smallholders. This represents 8% of summaries.

Source 3: 1980 Congressional Presentation

The AID Congressional Presentation is a massive set of documents—over a foot high—containing an overview and justification for actual and projected AID programs. Documents are broken into regional and functional budget categories. One-page project narratives comprise the bulk of the presentation (with print reduced to half the usual size). The narratives include the project purpose, description, beneficiaries, and major outputs, *provision of such services may have long-term effects on productivity.

among other items. While not all proposed activities are authorized,¹⁵ narratives contain a preview of dominant thinking within the agency and the most comprehensive prediction of future activities. Given the over two year lag from identifying the project to signing the project agreement, this source counterbalances the time-lag of the first source analyzed. Each project narrative in Annex VI, "Agriculture, Rural Development and Nutrition" was examined for content on women, as reported below.

Table 2. Agriculture, Rural Development & Nutrition
Bilateral Development Assistance by Region,*
including the Sahel²⁰

<u>Region/No. of AID missions with A, RD&N projects/ FY80 Request</u>	<u>No. Detailed Project Narratives</u>	<u>No. with Women</u>	<u>% with Women</u>
LAC: 14 missions plus 2 regional FY80: \$124.2 million	84	4	5%
ASIA: 8 missions FY80: \$355.2 Million	71	4	6%
AFRICA: 24 missions FY80: \$113.3 million	86	6	7%
Sahel Development Program: 8 missions	46	4	9%
NEAR EAST FY80: \$29.4	15	1	7%

*This table excludes centrally funded activity of \$1.3 million in the policy bureau, technical support bureau funding of \$84.5 million, and "PDC" (assistance channelled primarily through private voluntary organizations) funding of \$7.2million.

In all regions, projects which mention women number, again, less than ten percent of total descriptions. In the Latin America Caribbean region, three projects mention women in the context of a service issue, maternal and child health, while the others in a productivity

context. In Asia, one project with a women's component is "food for work," a subsidized employment program and borderline, self-sustained productivity issue. Elsewhere in Asia, however, training is emphasized, which is a productivity issue; in one of these, 20% of the training slots are reserved for women. Most Africa projects emphasize women as producers, and in one, women are targeted as a quarter of all participants. The productivity emphasis is expected, given women's extensive agricultural involvement compared to other regions. Nevertheless, one would have expected greater proportional variation among regions than the near constant hovering at ten per cent or below.

The fate of women's components is critical during the implementation phase, though not systematically tackled in this paper. The sole Near East project which mentions women is to begin in the least developed country of the region, with the highest participation of women in agriculture. In a recent project document authorizing a project design team, a final paragraph noted that neither building women into the project nor recruiting women would be considered for at least three years.

Source 4: Women in Development Tracking System

In the decentralized and geographically dispersed AID structure, most project ideas are initiated at the field level, and of all agency personnel, it is mission staff who are most aware of current project components. Therefore, AID/Washington periodically cables missions with queries about projects. In preparation for the Congressional Report of 1978, the Office of Women in Development cabled missions on WID projects. The information formed the basis of the previously described WID tracking system, which has been subsequently updated with program budget print-out,²¹ regional bureau memorandums, and new Project Paper materials.

Each mission has an individual nominally assigned to watch women in development for a proportion of their worktime. No special criteria exists for selecting WID officers, such as expertise, interest, commitment or training, and consequently, performance on this issue is uneven. WID officers are further constrained by their nonauthoritative structural position within the mission. Nevertheless, short of observing projects and interviewing staff, mission responses represent the best assessment of project activities.

Yet the reliability of even this information is questionable, given the condensation in cable traffic, the risk-avoidance language for widely circulating cables, and uneven knowledge of the WID concept. Women in Development is but one of a great many issues and Special Concern Codes about which missions respond. Finally, extensive contact between mission personnel and project sites is not a given; one analyst of AID notes the enclave mentality of Americans at AID missions (Tendler, 1975, Chapter 3).

The Office of Women in Development tracking system includes projects from all functional budget categories. The number of Africa region projects with an agricultural emphasis is found in the table below.

Table 3. Agricultural Projects in WID Tracking System:
Africa Region, April, 1979

<u>Africa WID projects: All Functional Budget Categories</u>	<u>Projects with an Agricultural Emphasis:</u>	
	<u>Women-Specific</u>	<u>Women's Component</u>
75	7	18
	25	

Of all Africa Women in Development projects from all budget categories a full third involved some agricultural emphasis. The majority of WID projects involve rural enterprise and income-generating activities. Of

those with an emphasis on agriculture, a quarter were women-specific projects, and the remainder were women's components of projects. Women-specific projects, or those that aim to assist women to "catch up," tend to be pilot activities, small in scale and budget compared to other agency projects. In examining the tracking system project descriptions, most agricultural projects contained fairly precise information about how women were to be built into programs. Emphases included farmer training and small ruminant/poultry production. One project targeted the number of female participants at 15%, despite its assessment that women represented 48% of farmers in the project area. Nutrition was also emphasized in several projects, as was home economics and maternal and child health.

In comparing previously analyzed sources with the tracking system (sources 1 and 3), eight projects listed were not on the tracking system. Since missions were asked to identify WID projects, the discrepancy raises questions about why the women's components were not identified. One might also question whether women's components actually exist, or whether certain missions understand that women's components are to be classified as women in development. Another discrepancy was that eleven projects listed in the tracking system did not evidence a women's component in other data sources. Missions identified such projects as WID, but the women's component was not highlighted to the extent that it made its way into the condensation. Either the women's component was too marginal to be reflected in the condensation, or there was fallout in the condensation process. Another possible reason is an inflation of WID-identified projects.²²

Source 5: Sahel Cables

Cables were also directed to the Sahel missions in early 1979, and descriptions of mission responses were printed in an internal memorandum in March. Of the twenty-seven projects the eight missions identified as women in development—again, from all functional budget categories—sixteen had some agricultural emphasis. Thus, nearly two-thirds addressed the food self-sufficiency issue which Congress has identified as a Sahel development assistance priority. In comparing the Women in Development tracking system with those projects identified in the Sahel cables, however, further discrepancies were noted. In nearly half, or six of thirteen project cases, what the missions classified as a WID project to the Office of Women in Development was not classified so in responses to the Sahel cable.

Source 6: Central Agricultural Office

The Development Support Bureau provides central technical support, research, and assistance to regional bureaus and to AID missions. Part of this bureau, the Office of Agriculture, is a key focal point for support on new and existing agency directives. This office has been moving into areas into which women are extensively involved, including food crops, storage, pest management, food processing, marketing, and small ruminants. Nonetheless, one cannot assume women will be directly taken into account.

The FY80 Annual Budget Submission for that office was reviewed for attention to women. In a single-spaced document of more than 460 pages, a total of five lines was devoted to women, in a Project Identification Document reprint on marketing vegetable and fruit crops.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1) What were some of the erroneous assumptions made by the program planners?

- 2) What impact do you think the project activities may have had on the development of the community? of the women in the community?

- 3) How would you go about learning the actual situation?

- 4) How would you go about re-designing the program?

- 5) How might CARE involve host government personnel?

- 6) How can the experiences from this and similar cases be shared? With whom should they be shared?

Source 7: Agricultural Sector Classification

The Office of Agriculture produced a mammoth report, "Agricultural Sector Program Identification and Classification" (March 30, 1979), the purpose of which was to present the agricultural assistance profile for the FY76 to FY85 period. The report contains an analysis of print-out on agriculture, as well as an assessment of agriculture in the FY81 Country Development Strategy Statements prepared by each mission.²³ Since many projects are multifunctional, one project appears in more than one category and therefore, totals are inappropriate. Women in Development was a subcategory in the functional area "Agriculture/Rural Policy Analysis," and a minor subcategory in the "Agricultural Marketing" functional area. Of all the projects listed in the back-to-back document, almost one inch thick, one women in development project was listed.²⁴ Of the Country Development Strategy Statements, two discussed women in development in the context of agriculture.

The systematic examination of seven documents indicate agricultural programs affect women and men farmers differentially and inequitably; indeed, women were targeted for special attention in only a tenth of projects. Given the discrepancies between data sources, a margin of error 10% in either direction would mean that a maximum of twenty per cent of agricultural projects address women in any way. Nevertheless, one cannot conclude with any certainty which projects directly include women.

Rather than focusing on women as producers, the focus tended to take on a service orientation. Project content for women was found to be varied, with subactivities at the periphery of agricultural emphasis, such as home economics, except for cases in Africa. This is not to

deny the importance of subactivities, but only to highlight the dilution of agricultural content, or even its substitution. When women are singled out as project targets, they are assured only 15-25% of slots. If such targets represent an advance from usual access opportunities, the inference to be drawn is that women typically receive less than a quarter of project opportunities.

AID & Women's Agricultural Activities

Do AID agricultural programs support, alter, or undermine women's agricultural activities? On the whole, agricultural programs appear to undermine women's agricultural activities relative to men. Women's low profile in agriculture contradicts agency policy on women in development and on equity. Nevertheless, the data do not permit firm conclusions. Moreover, understanding actual consequences requires location-specific information, most especially the resources men and women currently control, their return for labor, and the use of surplus—factors not regularly collected in most project design materials. The form for supporting, undermining, or altering women's agricultural activities is considered below, along with the conditions under which consequences are anticipated to be positive or negative for women.²⁵

Supporting: An agency policy supportive of women's agricultural activities would assure direct producer access to land, information, technology, and credit, and project design would include women in outreach, decision making, and staff structures. Labor-saving technology for the farm and such arduous chores as hauling water would be introduced simultaneously. Under economic conditions of fair prices for agricultural commodities and individual control over return from labor, support is expected to have positive consequences for women.

On the other hand, if labor-saving technology for the farm and household is not introduced simultaneously, support for women's agricultural activities will perpetuate a heavy work burden. Similarly, if agricultural programs are focused solely on women rather than men too, or if other income-generating activities are not encouraged for women, such a policy would perpetuate a sexual division of labor with minimal options for women, as well as heavy work responsibilities.²⁶ Or if the two conditions—fair prices and control over labor return—do not apply, women's exploitation by either the state or by men will increase. Elsewhere it has been argued that women's continued labor in subsistence production dampens demand for fair wages which support whole families, thus allowing fuller exploitation of wage laborers (Deere, 1977).

Optimally, women and men would receive support in accordance with crop and task specialization, based on a model resembling existing work patterns. Disturbing this balance, particularly among the disadvantaged, is likely to threaten the margin of survival which has evolved over time. Compensatory programs for women are in order, but at more vigorous levels than current agency levels.

Undermining: A quasi-policy of undermining women's agricultural activities probably best typifies most donor and governmental assistance. Program focus is on crop commercialization and on men, in a staff structure largely composed of men. An undergirding program assumption is that in modern agriculture, men take control of management and farm labor input. Program rhetoric which recognizes interrelated farm contributions of household members easily turns into a euphemism for male focus. Under conditions of women's limited options for other income-earning activities, and with continuing responsibilities for food production

and consumption, this strategy is expected to be detrimental to women. Such a strategy is also detrimental to disadvantaged households, whose survival depends on the productive labor of all members. Women continue to farm, but do so without access to information, technology, and capital. Their dependency on men gradually increases.

If other income-earning options are provided to women, however, the sexual division of labor may undergo transformation. To the extent women's skill and income options are broadened, this may have positive consequences for women. Viable agricultural and rural enterprise can forestall or slow migration from rural areas, and promote greater sharing of work between men and women. Moreover, if women neither controlled the fruits of their agricultural labor nor shared in its surplus, undermining women's agricultural activities and enhancing other viable work options may set the stage for fair compensation of women's labor.

Altering: In general, agricultural programs aim to alter farm behavior towards development goals such as increased productivity and use of technology, improved nutrition, or expanded cultivation. Agricultural programs have also altered women's activities, but have tended to stress work at the periphery of agricultural production, particularly that of domestic work. The conditions which prevail, as set forth above, determine consequences for women. Pure emphasis on domestic work, however, is expected to be detrimental to women if income-earning opportunities are undermined and women's dependency on men increases. Negative consequences are also anticipated for development goals.

Evaluations

Recognizing the need to assess program effectiveness, ensure accountability, and determine beneficiaries, Congress requires that all AID projects be evaluated. Isolating program effects from other sources of change is a common problem in evaluation, compounded even further by uneven data availability at foreign assistance program sites. Project designs have a summary statement, known as the logical framework, which includes the project goal, purpose, outputs, and inputs. Quantifiable indicators are set forth for the "end of project status," and evidence of women's participation ought to be available—in quantifiable terms—for agricultural projects with women's components. Evaluation procedure requires that all indicators must contain a magnitude, a target audience or area, and a time when the desired change is to be observable (AID Handbook 3, Annex N). If women are targeted as beneficiaries in evaluation indicators, there is an incentive for project management to reach women.

Nevertheless, certain problems are associated with AID evaluations. Evaluations tend to focus on internal project concerns such as procurement, logistics, commodity transfers, and easily quantifiable factors, such as persons trained (Elliot & Sorsby, 1979, p. II-5). Moreover, evaluations tend to measure short-term effects rather than long-term consequences, for obvious cost reasons. Although evaluations are to target outputs (which can be and is extended to include the targeting of beneficiaries), an AID-commissioned study indicated this happened in only 16% of the two hundred projects examined (Practical Concepts, Inc., 1974). That study, however, is somewhat dated.

Tracing Sex Differentiation

To the extent baseline data and output indicators are disaggregated by sex, or sex of household head, it is possible to verify project impact on women, or at minimum, women's participation in project activities. Recognizing both the need to examine output indicators and the problems associated with relying on the sources utilized in Part II of this paper, an effort was made to trace agricultural project evaluations with women's components. Evaluations are required at least once, if not more, throughout the project. The life span of most projects is usually three or more years, however. Thus, most examined were conceptualized several years ago, and are relatively dated in their conception of women in development. Examining output indicators of ongoing and new projects, however, provides insight into future evaluations. Tracing evaluations will also allow some assessment of whether unanticipated changes occurred during implementation, whereby a women's component can either disappear or even materialize. The following represents findings.

In the Africa region, a credit project design specifies that women were to be provided with credit proportional to their numbers, (although it was unclear what those "numbers" referred to). In an externally conducted evaluation, loan acquisition was not differentiated by sex. Indeed, the only breakdown by sex was for farmer training, regularly gathered by the training centers themselves. In another evaluation, indicators were available on yield and on the proportion of farmers following recommended practices, but no data was gathered on women or female household heads. In still another credit evaluation, no data were collected on project beneficiaries, men or women. An

output specification probably referring to women in another project was that four home economists would be trained. A women-integrated agricultural input project contained output indicators for the Home Extension (Women's) Unit, but sex-differentiated data on access to agricultural extension, credit, fertilizer and other inputs were not collected. Evaluators assumed there was sex discrimination. In still another farm "couple" agricultural training project, which did not provide training for the crops, milk processing, and small ruminant activities with which women are involved, women's total attendance per week was estimated at 4-5 hours.

In a Latin America region project paper with extensive description on women's involvement in agriculture, labor investment, and seed selection, no sex-differentiated output indicators were specified. The evaluation noted project problems in outreach, which possibly were tied to assuring outreach to women living with men, as well to female household heads. Without regularly collected information to feed back into this or other projects, such a possibility cannot be verified, however.

In the Asia region, detailed information on subactivities for an integrated rural development project not yet evaluated included descriptions of home economics in pilot villages, 4H girls' clubs, family planning and health, community development skill training, sericulture, and agricultural extension testing of the "nuclear family concept." Another project designed to develop better indicators to evaluate projects has a women's component, but findings are not yet available.

With the exception of the home economist and home extension output indicators and the sex-differentiated training indicators (unrelated to the project purpose, however), no breakdowns by sex were found. According to one observer of U.S. bureaucracies, social agencies are fairly well equipped to assess "who wins" and "who loses" by alternative programs, and analysts should now assess the comparative value and benefits of different programs (Rivlin, 1971). An even prior stage involves assessing "who's in" and "who's out" of programs, obscured in AID agricultural programs by the difficulties of tracing program consequences on beneficiaries. In part, this is due to a lack of information on the sexual division of labor, returns, and resources, which could be collected in the now required Social Soundness Analysis or in the sometimes-extensive baseline studies conducted by project design teams. Another part of the problem in tracing impact is the frequent use of the "small farmer family" concept as the unit of analysis. Of the 86 project narrative summaries in the Africa region section of the Agriculture, Rural Development, and Nutrition annex of the Congressional Presentation (1979), over half listed beneficiaries as the "small farm family" (or "small farmer and family") and listed cost per family as well.²⁷ If the family continues to be the last unit of analysis, measures must also be designed to assess intra-family labor, income, resource, and benefit distribution. Finally, although evaluations are required to target outputs, this rarely happens, especially with respect to women beneficiaries. As described in Part II, several proposed and on-going projects target women at 15-25% of participants. Despite these relatively low levels, such targeting will provide measures of women's participation.

On the whole, however, output indicators and evaluation frameworks provide little or no basis by which the agency can quantify and demonstrate the extent to which women have access to project activities. It is important to learn whether women have direct contact with staff, adopt recommendations, join cooperatives, increase their incomes, receive loans, acquire land, increase their productivity, reduce time allocated to tasks which technology can address, expend less energy, or any one of a number of indicators. Rather, women are subsumed within the family, the last and final unit of analysis. Implicit in project design is the notion that benefits received by household heads—usually defined as men—such as food availability, income, labor relief, and capital resources, are distributed equitably within the household. Reluctant to "interfere" in private family matters, project designers shun any analysis of intra-household maldistribution factors that have in themselves been created or aggravated by the infusion of new resources, or newly commoditized resources, such as land. It would appear that the agency has an implicit family strengthening policy, one which enhances male control over resources while simultaneously undermining women's options.

Concluding Implications

In the introduction, equality was described as a compelling principle in policy assessment. The examination of AID agricultural programs suggests that women farmers do not have equitable access to programs. When women are included, program content tends to be at the periphery of agriculture, and justified as a service rather than productivity issue. Agency practices are expected to reinforce other patterns which marginalize women farmers, as reviewed earlier, and a long-term prospect is that women's agricultural activities will be undermined, unless development needs, (male) labor shortages, and/or ideological forces intervene. Special offices within government and donor assistance organizations, such as the Office of Women in Development, represent internal bureaucratic means to assure equitable, or even compensatory access for women producers.

Women's apparent limited access to agency agricultural programs raises questions about the special difficulties which are associated with sex-based redistributive policy. AID is probably the most advanced of all donor organizations in providing the structure and resources necessary to build women into development programs (Elliot & Sorsby, 1979, II-2). Yet with the exception of women-specific projects, women continue to be subsumed within the family and are only rarely targeted in agricultural projects. When targeted, the low levels suggest a perpetuation of marginal participation. Admittedly, special analytical problems are posed in attempts to trace sex differentiation. Women are dispersed within populations, not contained within geographical regions, as is true of some ethnic groups and socio-economic classes. Farms do depend on labor inputs from all members, and family resources are

shared, but in widely varying degrees. The nonmarket and "in-kind" contributions of family members make production, productivity, and comparative value difficult to calculate.

Nevertheless, in a great many societies, intra-household income, responsibilities, and expenditures are separate; labor, too, is often divided into different tasks, crops, and fields. Time contributions are also measurable. Given the extensive social analysis required during project design, these factors could and should be regularly ascertained to later assess project effects. Any strategy to trace sex-differentiated impact must disaggregate data by sex, using a comprehensive set of indicators, applicable to both men and women to the fullest extent possible. In tracing impact, sensitivity to household structure, including women household heads, and to class differences should be focused upon as well.

Tracing sex-differentiated impact also raises questions about bureaucratic control, compliance, and responsiveness. External and internal political processes are central to any attempt to redistribute resources—here analyzed along sex-based lines. An amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act and a matching agency policy comprise only the initial phase in creating machinery which sets implementation in motion. Carrying the phase through involves persuasion, bargaining, conflict, and resource redistribution. Bachrach calls this a very "special kind of politics," highly defensive on the part of a bureaucratic agency. Defensiveness manifests itself in a number of ways, including tokenism and massive resistance. (Bachrach, 1977, pp. 36-7; 98, 108). Does tokenism, defined as an attempt to appear to be contributing a program element publicly, while privately conceding only a small

contribution, characterize the very visible women in development office and policy, yet virtual invisibility in an agency priority sector? Or does massive resistance and evasion of responsibility, which Bachrach defines as obstructing implementation by withholding critical program elements, characterize women in development instead? Finally, is AID simply beset by the common inflexibility which characterizes bureaucratic absorption of new mandates? AID organizational characteristics, particularly its geographic dispersion, uncertain task environment, and heavy reliance on procedure potentially aggravate the inflexibility into near paralysis. Firm answers to these questions await further analysis and more comprehensive data.

At the same time, the absence of a strong political constituency for AID suggests responsiveness to various external constituencies, including those which support women's inclusion in development programs. Nevertheless, the pursuits of various constituencies sometimes push agency policies in contradictory ways. Moreover, as various interests are represented in agency practice, and monitoring mechanisms are established to assure representativeness, new procedure and red tape augment an already overburdened system (Kaufman, 1977). Ironically, the internal monitoring and more complex evaluation needs contribute still further to near paralysis.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Anthony King defines policy as a "consciously chosen course of action (or inaction) directed towards some end" and makes a distinction between policy and quasi-policy, the latter not consciously opted for. (1975). See also Rivlin (1971) and Dolbeare (1975) on policy analysis. This paper is drawn from two perspectives in policy analysis, including the clientele-focused analysis developed in Marinic (1971) and Waldo (1971) and the development-focused analysis in Uphoff and Ilchman (1972).
- ²Lenski was one of the earliest of stratification theorists to remark that sex cannot be ignored in the distributive process (1966, p. 403). The notion of differential opportunity structures is also drawn from the very stimulating analysis of internal institutional processes by Kanter (1977), as well as dependency theory within comparative and international politics subdisciplines.
- ³Tinker, in Tinker and Bramsen (1976) further develops the work of Boserup. On assumptions built into institutional practice, see Bachratz and Baratz on non-decision making (1970) and Schattsneider (1960) on the mobilization of bias within institutions.
- ⁴Despite the inaccuracies built into the per capita income measure, most donor and international organizations classify countries on this basis. "Less developed countries" have per capita incomes of \$500 or less, and the industrializing, or "Middle income countries" have per capita incomes of more than \$500. Most, but not all AID bilateral development assistance is concentrated in the less developed countries. Bilateral development assistance is provided along stricter development criteria than is true of Security Supporting Assistance; the latter is excluded from this study.
- ⁵Whyte (1978) analyzed 93 preindustrial societies, derived from a random sample of George Murdock's 186 standard cross cultural society sample. In almost two-thirds of the societies, women and men contributed about the same time and effort to subsistence, p. 62.
- ⁶Whyte (1978) in his study of 93 preindustrial societies, explained in the above note, found that in over half the societies women have the predominant or total say over the fruits of their labor, both husband and wife in three-fourths for joint labor, and men overwhelmingly in fruits of their own labor, p. 66. Friedl (1975) and Sanday (1974) have identified control over the fruits of one's labor as a crucial indicator of women's status.
- ⁷For an analysis of women and participation, see Staudt, 1979. In Whyte's (1978) above noted work on 93 preindustrial societies, men were found to be the exclusive political leaders in 88% of the 74 societies about which information was available, and participated disproportionately in political gatherings and councils.
- ⁸See, for example, the special issue of INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (1978), on "The Global Political Economy of Food," and Lappe and Collins, 1977.

- ⁹The bilateral development assistance accounts exclude Security Supporting Assistance, for which \$1,995 million is requested in FY80 (Congressional Presentation)
- ¹⁰Some agency critics have argued that primary beneficiaries are in the U.S., namely commodity-supplying firms and U.S. technical experts, an argument fueled by recent public relations drives which aim to illustrate to the American public how foreign aid benefits the U.S. economy.
- ¹¹Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is called the Percy Amendment because Senator Charles Percy introduced the measure. In 1974, AID's response to the Congressional mandate was Policy Determination 60.
- ¹²The Social Soundness Analysis is an in-depth social impact analysis, required of all projects since 1975. On impact statements and red tape, see Kaufman (1977).
- ¹³Subsection 113(d) was amended in 1978 by Section 108 of the International Development & Food Assistance Act. As interpreted by an AID General Counsel internal memorandum of January 22, 1979, the amendment is interpreted to mean that AID devote adequate resources in all functional accounts (my emphasis) to carry out women in development activities. The aim is to insure that activities not be segregated or conducted separately from AID's broad development assistance.
- ¹⁴See Appendix I for the whole definition.
- ¹⁵However, family planning, demographic surveys, and health projects continue to be coded WID. Other offices within AID focus on women in health and family planning; the mandate for the Office of Women in Development is a focus on economic integration and broadened opportunities.
- ¹⁶At minimum, the word(s) woman/women sufficed; other phrases usually indicate women are involved, such as "home economics." When discussing occupational groups, typical agency practice is to assume, implicitly, that groups are composed of men (such as farmers, herders, etc.) unless the label is sex-identified (such as "mothers" or "the pregnant and lactating population").
- ¹⁷Two biases pull the condensation source material in different directions: first, there may be fall-out in the condensation process; and second, an exaggeration of women's involvement can occur in the document without ever materializing in practice if, for example, a well-written "woman-impact" statement is part of the project document.
- ¹⁸The agency is broken down into four regional bureaus, as indicated in the table. Throughout the paper, there will be no reference to specific projects or specific countries within regions.
- ¹⁹To give some indication--although indirect and dated--of the prospects for authorization, in FY79, Congress appropriated 96% of the appropriation request while in 1973, 73% (Congressional Presentation, p. 198, Main Volume). Proposed projects can be accepted within the next year, years after that, or rejected entirely.

- ²⁰ Congress has limited AID activity in the Sahel to 10% of all donor activity, and a separate account enables better monitoring. Sahel Development Program appropriations are not separated into the same functional account categories as other regional bureaus, and author judgments were made about which project would be characterized as "Agriculture, Rural Development & Nutrition" to determine totals. Sahel information is found in Volume XIII, Congressional Presentation (1979). Near East totals would be larger if Security Supporting Assistance was included.
- ²¹ The print-out reflects mission Special Concerns Coding.
- ²² To grapple with these problems for reports to Congress, the Office of Women in Development cabled missions for an accurate up-date in July, 1979. On WID inflation, a recent visit to an Asia mission with four women in development projects listed on the tracking system found that one was genuine, under the agency policy definition.
- ²³ The Country Development Strategy Statements are five-year "rolling" documents prepared by all missions, which contain analyses of poverty and its linkage to AID strategy.
- ²⁴ It was impossible to ascertain the number of projects in the minor subcategory on women; no project numbers were provided and the authors could not readily supply project numbers. The one women in development project was listed in no other source. In checking with the desk officer for that country, it appears that WID project labeling may have been in error.
- ²⁵ Judgments about positive or negative consequences are made for analytic purposes only; such judgments are best made by those potentially affected by programs. Besides the three options considered, there is the option of AID withdrawing from agricultural programs altogether. Such withdrawal may have the effect of freezing existing patterns of sex inequity, to the extent that patterns of the existing order prevail. Furthermore, as is discussed in the concluding section, AID is more conscious of women in development than most donors.
- ²⁶ According to some feminist thought, a division of labor based on physique rather than need, interest, and/or expertise perpetuates inequality. Interchangeable work would constitute an ultimate goal.
- ²⁷ Other units were trainees, occupational category beneficiaries, beneficiaries (without specification), or ministries and staff.

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<u>CODE</u>	<u>CONCERN</u>	<u>DEFINITION</u>
WID	WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT	<p>Include activities which will help integrate women into the economy of their respective countries, thereby both improving their status as well as assisting the total development effort. (See Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act.) Programs and projects which are in whole or part specifically designed to afford women the opportunity to participate in the development process in a significant way are to be included in this category. Not all projects which include women as beneficiaries are to be included. For instance, population projects in which women are merely recipients of goods, such as contraceptives, or health projects where mothers receive food and services for their children, are to be excluded. However, where, in addition to the provision of goods and services, women receive training or other assistance designed to increase their earning capacity or enhance their economic productivity, include the relevant portion of the funding for the women's component in this category. Where a specific women's component is designed into an integrated project, include the proportion of that component as a women in development effort.</p>