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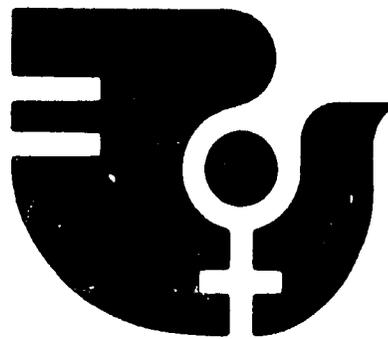
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# **WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT**

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## **Income Generating Activities with Women's Participation**

A Re-examination of Goals and Issues



December 1980

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INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES WITH WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION  
A Re-examination of Goals and Issues

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December 1980

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Participation in income generating activities is of vital interest to women throughout the developing world. A recent evaluation indicated that of all AID's various types of development programs, those activities which brought increased income, specifically money, attracted the greatest interest among women (Dixon, 1980). During the Copenhagen conference for the Mid-Decade of the Woman, this same attraction was evidenced. Discussion sessions on income generation were invariably well-attended by representatives from donor and intermediary organizations and from a few user groups. Representatives came to report success stories or failures, to relate frustrations and fears, and to ask "how to." Many participants, however, expressed the feeling that beyond the popularity of such activities there were some hard basic questions which needed to be addressed.

At the Mid-Decade's workshops on income generation programs specific details of case studies brought forth a number of differing questions. Examples and concerns described by some participants appeared naive or irrelevant to others. A Korean panel member spoke of organizing a woman's pig raising cooperative and a Voltaic woman inquired as to how women had raised money for the first pigs and covered the financial risks. The Korean project director hardly understood the question as women in her project area could easily get a pig or two. For her, funding would only be a problem if women raised something more expensive, like cows. The Indian woman on my left remarked under her

breath, "They are neither dealing with really poor women. In India people often suggest such schemes, but the poor do not even have a place to keep an animal." She was involved with programs organizing women of the landless class. One experienced organizer spoke of the need to incorporate the total family and warned of danger of "women only" projects; while another spoke of work with female headed households. One woman asked how to get around government distrust of women organizing while another spoke of her government's efforts to encourage such activities. It soon became clear that "truth" took shape differently, depending upon the place in the economic, social and political development ladder used as a reference point by each speaker; that each of these factors need to be considered in income generation project design and evaluation.

Though details of programming differed, these women experts from around the world raised several common issues. The first dealt with the meaning, the goals and the desired economic, social and political effects of income generating projects. How could success of these projects be judged? The second dealt with participation. What did we mean by participation and what kind and level of participation or organization was necessary to achieve a "successful" project? What could participation mean to already overworked women? Finally, they wanted to see some case studies of both mixed and women-only projects, examined in relation to income generating goals and participation. This paper is organized to address these three topics.

## I. INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS

What is an income-generating project? The very concept of women's income-generating projects according to many professionals, needs to be examined. A number of researchers have rejected the term "income generating," preferring the term "employment." They feel the term, itself, connotes small activities irrelevant to the mainstream of national economic development. They point out the term is seldom if ever used for men's projects of increasing agricultural production, etc. In this paper the term women's income generation is "writ large." It includes any self-supporting project where benefits accrue to women participants from sale of items for money, from employment for wages, or in increased produce. It encompasses projects of planting trees to increase fuel or fodder supply or to conserve soil thereby improving production in the gardens and fields. It includes appropriate technology which allows women to cut down on waste, or to conserve and thereby increase available food supply. The form of the income which is appropriate will depend upon the circumstances. In one example from India, women are paid in pre-cooked food. Any change allowing for payment in rice paddy or even money would be less appropriate because the women are so poor they lack stoves, pans and fuel.

This broad definition of income generation includes some activities frequently not included, but at the same time, excludes many projects that have formerly been classified under this rubric. To be income generating the project must actually increase income above costs. Handicrafts projects in Thailand and Guinea which produce lovely local crafts products but which

are subsidized on a regular basis by the government could be considered cultural or welfare activities, but not income-generating by this definition. Except for costs of training, help in organizing, or perhaps original "seed money" or facilitating loan fund, an income-generating project should become not only self-sustaining but profit-making. However, time may be needed to set the stage for future income generating through development of economically related skills or social and political organization as a necessary precursor to future more viable economic activities.

Beyond generating increased income, a subject to be considered, especially in women's projects, is benefit control. The relatively public process of choosing project benefits is not so difficult to assess. Chicken raising where only men profit from cooperative membership, but women are expected to carry water when they have no voice in selecting or directing the project or in benefit use, would not ordinarily be considered income-generating for the women involved. However, an integrated project with both men and women selecting the activities and sharing the benefits would be included. The more private aspects of family use of funds is much more difficult to evaluate and would have to be judged from the perspective of the woman involved. Bringing home money which the husband then decides how to spend may improve a woman's status and may be how she chooses to use her benefits in her specific socio-economic environment. However, project options should be considered allowing for the participants to select and receive community or private goods instead of money, if control of money is denied women in specific environments.

### Project Design

In selecting income generating projects and their organizational format, one must look at the intended project participants and the economic, social and political effects the project will have on them.

There are needs for income generating projects for women in all economic categories. However, most development agencies and countries have strategies which will direct where project efforts are likely to be focused. AID strategy has focused on the poorest of the poor. The idea that all projects must address only the poorest is questioned by many cooperative organizers and developers who point out that the poor have no resources, little training or economic skills and frequently cannot even invest the time unless the returns are immediate. Their first financial returns cannot be reinvested in the business unless urgent living requirements are satisfied. The very poor cannot participate in certain project formats and may first require more basic social reform and infrastructure building before a number of programs may effectively include them.

There are programs, however, such as the Rural Organizations Action Program (ROAP of the FAO) which have proven in small scale experimental activities that the poorest can participate in cooperative and pre-cooperative programs. ROAP has purposely excluded any but the poor from joining their groups. One women's group organized around picking up salvage from the sea coast and thus improved their economic position (FAO, 1979). Because garden projects may not be available to the landless does not mean all such garden projects are invalid. On the other hand, with imaginative project design a community

garden may be the only way to make land available to the landless. Other than the concern that one not increase the economic gap between the wealthier and the poorer or further disadvantage a group already disadvantaged, projects among different social and economic groups can be legitimate. It is, however, necessary to recognize the needs and resources of the identified group and check the profile of the potential participant against profile requirements presented by various options. A number of training and other project activities have been described in which this factor was not adequately considered. Though examples come from all types of programs, results of projects such as the introduction of carts for women's use which were commandeered by their husbands, thus, women lost to their local men, or the reclaiming of land by village leaders after women had cleared and planted gardens, indicate women may be especially vulnerable in this regard. Some needs of various socio-economic groups are discussed further in the section on women's participation.

#### Economic Considerations

No project should be planned without market research, feasibility studies or other technical information and resources carefully assessed. This is true for both men's and women's projects. What is different is that men may have had support for forming cooperatives or starting into cash crops or other income increasing activities as an integral part of larger development programs. Women, on the other hand, have frequently tried activities limited to the traditional sphere without ties into the modern economic system or the needed organizational or management support.

There are other problems that are frequently found in women's programs. Among these are such issues as dead-end, exploitative, and ineffectual projects, as well as feasibility research frequently ill-considered for projects based on traditional skills or activities in the non-modern sector.

Whether the project will have a long term economic effect or will prove to be a dead-end venture is partially determined by the control the women have over the produce and their ability to continue after outside assistance terminates. An embroidery project in the Peul area of Upper Volta may be a dead-end project although it does increasing business every year. When the expatriate project managers are not present the Peul women cannot quote prices or handle a sale nor are any being trained to do this in the future.

A second type of dead-end project is the project in which there is training for a craft or a manual skill which is soon to be outmoded by new technology or goods. Unless the project organization has built in a developmentally dynamic quality which will help members react to change and take advantage of new opportunities its long term economic prospects are dim. This has been demonstrated frequently in handicraft projects where improved local craft industries are built on tourist or export trade. In an example in Central America an active new industry for export to exclusive stores in the United States and Europe was based on upgrading the traditional cloth handicraft. However, around five years later the demand suddenly shifted to a cloth with a slightly different pattern from a similar project in a neighboring country. The first group of women were left without orders. It is extremely difficult to build into indigeneous groups capability to foresee

international market changes and allow for redesigning crafts to stay ahead of those changes. If that is called for perhaps the local groups would need to create a fund for an international marketing consultant until several of their members could be thus trained. Otherwise the project is based on dependency with doubtful long term positive benefits.

Another question which arises for women more frequently than for men, is projects which identify activities that women can do but at exploitive wages because women must work at home or have no acceptable alternative employment. One project in Korea written as a great success by the women involved, is based on doing piece work at home, stuffing plastic toys for a factory. It is a tedious and low paying task but it can be done in spare minutes around the house and no other wage earning employment appears to be available. Also, some programs use the ploy of minimally income generating activities principally in order to attract women when the real purpose is something else--such as hygiene education. Other programs simply fail to distinguish between leisure activities and viable income generating ones. Sometimes this issue arises when project directors are from different socio-economic environments than the participants and do not have the same understanding of the urgency of income.

There appears to be no categorical answer to how to judge exploitive situations out of context. There are always possibilities of using the first activities which are minimally economic as a focal point for reorganizing or developing more effective activities from an economic or social or political point of view. This is perhaps happening in the Korean example where the women are now learning to also cut out the toys and increase their

income and perhaps eventually using this group formation and learning skills for developing their own industry.

However, the reality of the potential for economic return must be carefully explained to all participants at the beginning. Where future benefits from such an activity are doubtful, with odds the participants are not willing to accept, other types of programs or projects need to be considered. When projects generate false expectations of real income generation they themselves can be considered exploitive. They are nearly always doomed to failure even if project designers are good willed and the project could eventually lead to desired social or political objectives.

A further question is whether the project is ineffective or will help the women get into the mainstream of development. In one example given at the Copenhagen meeting a group requested money to build more storage facilities for the product they were making. The question immediately arose whether it was a viable product if it required outside funds for storage of the unsold portion. Often women suggest jam projects when they see fruit going to waste, without considering that sugar and jars must be imported as production of neither item has been developed in the region. Whenever a project can tie into the government programs taking advantage of available training, supporting technical services and infrastructure, it will have a greater potential for long term economic success. New designs for income generating projects, however, should not just emulate men's activities even if they are in the "mainstream." Many of those programs are currently being reevaluated as they put men into a serious cycle of debt.

One example of a project tied into the governmental development program

and in the 'mainstream' of the country's economic activities was from Sri Lanka. The government established new areas of irrigated rice and had a program to train women in improved and more efficient methods of hand transplantation. Men, however, were being introduced to mechanization and while women are increasing their skills they are at the same time becoming outmoded as the modern methods are taking over the transplanting activities.

An even more common ineffective type activity can be the already mentioned crafts program. Even for local marketing, these projects appear to frequently fail to produce long-term economic advantages for participants. One reason for this is the naive assumption in many projects that if, for instance, cloth that fades is selling in the market, profits will automatically increase if better dye or dye techniques are introduced. An appropriate type of research combining anthropological-sociological and marketing research methods would find, for example, that fading indigo dye is sometimes considered to have magical qualities.

Another example is a Lobi potter village where women make three products: five-inch round bowls to hold condiments, etc., larger jugs for carrying water on the head from the well to home, and three-foot tall water storage and cooling containers. The potters are starting to make fewer of the largest containers as the fuelwood for firing the pots is becoming more difficult to obtain and these containers take the largest amount of fuel to fire. They are also the most apt to crack during firing. A project has been identified to improve the quality of the two smaller types of pots by mixing imported clays and by introducing glazes so the pots will be impermeable to water. A study of the use of these pots would show that the little bowls are not generally used to

store fluids. Though they break, an increase in price would make them cost about the same as newly introduced plastic bowls which are very durable, the same size and perform the same function. The water-carrying jugs are heavy and breakable but slowly permeating water is no major problem for this function. Added glaze would make them yet heavier. Already light weight plastic buckets, though they are not shaped in the best manner for carrying water, are preferred for transporting water. The largest water storage containers are valued because water permeates slowly through the sides cooling the water and anything stored inside in floating containers. The only replacement for this type of container would be ice boxes which are not currently available nor do they appear to be economically feasible in this locality for many years to come.

Instead of trying to upgrade the total product or encouraging a diversion into clay statues for tourist trade (which at one time was suggested) an assessment of the future local demand against growing availability of import substitutes for the same function might produce a much different focus for a Lobi woman potter's project. Results of such an inquiry might suggest that an appropriate technologist look into methods of firing the largest pots to use less fuel, foresters might offer suggestions to the women of how they could produce more fuelwood, and craftspeople might look into reducing breakage of pots when fired. The women might explore the possibility of adding plastic bowls and buckets to their marketing activities even as they continue to make and sell their traditional products. They could begin to function in the modern sector as demand for their crafts product wanes. Formation of a

group might help with wholesale buying and perhaps also with group firing and tree planting if these are indicated by the social structure, the appropriate technology, and land tenure practices. It would appear that the introduction of glazes would not be indicated for any of these items and the effects of upgrading the clay should be reconsidered for its cost and its effect in relation to real needs. In short, the very long term economic and social demand for products, substitutes from the modern sector, and the need for women to move with the market from the traditional to the modern products as the market changes character should all be considered in project design.

### Social Considerations

Social considerations are a basic aspect of women's economic participation in their societies. The social environment dictates what forms of economic organization will be available to women and what services organizing might provide, including 'social welfare services' (education, health, etc.)

There are situations in which specific projects for women are best organized through the family and others in which a woman only or a totally integrated community structure may be preferred. Sometimes women feel they have no control over benefits if the organization includes men. On the other hand, in Guinea women stated directly they would prefer a proposed firewood producing project be organized through the total community rather than through their women's groups. They saw their time as already over-extended and felt husbands would appreciate their contributions to a communal effort, whereas, the men would resent time being spent on a "woman's project." The women felt the benefit of increased locally available wood would be theirs under either

organizational formula. Clearly, here, communal formats should be designed while labor saving devices be considered to lighten women's work load.

In other areas women traditionally work only with other women or alone in their households. Examples from India show that imaginative planning can sometimes allow women to gain from forming an association even when they are restricted to working in their own households. One Indian group of women makes bread which is collected and sold by women of another social strata who have more mobility (Jain, 1980).

In general, women report obtaining economic benefits, personal benefits, services, and power from joining with other women in economic activities. Economic benefits of organizing are in large part the same for women's groups as they are for men's groups--economy of scale in production, purchasing, merchandizing, and access to credit, etc. On the other hand, personal benefits are somewhat different for women than for men. A group of women may be able to overcome traditional restrictions on mobility, control of money, and acceptable feminine activities more easily than any one woman could overcome these alone. The literature is full of examples of even conservative husbands allowing their wives to join in group activities especially after wives of more progressive neighbors have done so.

Organizing by itself may be of great benefit to women's social condition. Women report that a low economic contribution to the family gives women a low social status and that participation in economic ventures, especially group ventures, increases the woman's standing. Some cite fewer beatings and more consideration to prove it. One example of organizing social control, though not directly for economic benefits but for protection, comes from India. Here women joined in a society to cut down on the incidence

of drunk men beating their wives or other women. With the support of the legal system, women formed night patrols. They watch the streets at night and hold drunk men until the police come. They also enter bars selling to drunk men and break the bottles with the long wooden battons (Jain, 1980).

When working in groups, individuals have more power to control their personal safety, wages, working conditions, community resource development and conservation, and to get more legal representation. Examples from rag pickers in India, from transplanting societies in Sri Lanka, from community informal conservation groups in Nepal, from corn milling societies in the Camerouns, etc., support this statement.

Services for women are also sometimes more easily obtained when women work together. Shared responsibility for child care or cooking, sharing information, and organizing training or other services may improve women's chances to participate in economic activities.

A group's organizational structure and role should be judged by whether the women identified as potential participants feel the organization represents their interests and addresses their needs. It should be judged by whether or not it gives them more freedom, new experiences in leadership and management and a new image of themselves. On the other hand, it should be judged by whether or not the women themselves are committed to the group and have a role in its direction. One needs to ask if the organization answers a need or merely burdens the woman further. Is it designed to help participants respond to changes and direct their own future in the social sphere? Always one needs to ask, "What is the long term social impact on those the project affects?" If there are social limitations on women's future participation in on-going and developing economic activities, chances are these

limitations can only be addressed by carefully building social development into the project design.

### Political Considerations

It is impossible to view potential economic projects without seeing them in the political context, both the current political environment and the effects the project might have on the women's ability to better function in their political future. In some countries governments are actively interested in supporting various types of women's organizations and economic activities. The new government of Nicaragua has formally recognized the conflicting claim on women's time of economic activities and of household tasks. It has responded by developing "popular" laundries, restaurants and day care facilities so fewer women will be isolated in their homes. Nicaraguan women can thus better organize their time to participate in the nation's political, economic and social development (Casco, 1980). Both Korea and Kenya have self-help community development activities which differ but which have strong governmental support. This contrasts to a country like Mauritania where the government is just now exploring the possibility of rescinding its well-established prohibition for women to organize. Many governments use women's organizations primarily for political support and therefore these groups are unlikely to be available for building women's economic strength. In Upper Volta, however, a Federation is made up of groups representing various political factions making the Federation, itself, apolitical. Other national political orientations limit potential types of women's activities. Programs coordinated

by donor groups take one shape in Upper Volta where private voluntary organizations are given great freedom to design whatever activities they consider appropriate. They take another shape in the neighboring country of Niger where the government must approve projects and only considers those that fit into its national development objectives.

Organizing into groups may have political effects for women at several levels. First, at the personal level, it may give the participant the political awareness of the group as a body with rights and obligations and new awareness of women's issues. Second, it may give participants new access to government services and the ability to effectively request and relate to both national governmental and private agencies. Third, organizations may open the opportunity for women to communicate with other women and to profit from networks with local, regional and international groups. Organizations should be evaluated by whether they help the participant function more adequately in her local, national and/or international environment.

One unusual example of political organization to protect economic activities comes from a country in coastal West Africa. The government had a policy to begin control of all marketing activities in order to eliminate middlepersons. The market women, finding themselves being squeezed out of their livelihoods, went to demonstrate in front of the president's office. He came out and spoke to the women but gave them no hope that their needs were to be considered. They then turned around as a group, and lifted their skirts to "moon" him. It is traditional for small groups of village women to embarrass someone who has power but is behaving unjustly (such as a husband who mistreated his wife). It was such a strong statement of group unity that the President

rescinded his orders and the women are still active in the markets.

Women's organizations are seldom seen as a political threat even by governments which distrust men's groups. Organized women have been seen as ineffectual. Unfortunately, this has been the case mainly since women's groups have, in the most part, not proven themselves to be economically or politically effective. The question always remains, at the point when a woman's group is obviously effective, can it present itself as a positive developmental and economic force rather than a political threat in the particular environment?

The major political question to ask about any women's income generating project is, "What is the long-term political impact?"

#### Summary

In summary, one can say that income generating projects are affected by economic, social and political environments and should have positive effect on women's roles and on their abilities to function in such environments. Projects should enable women to play an increasingly active role in planning and development and should never place them in a more dependent or vulnerable position.

There are times in which a dead-end economic activity or one that is exploitive or not viable in the long run may serve to bring women together and help them organize. As was discussed, some programs capitalize on women's interest in economic activities to attract participants for a social welfare or educational activity. If the economic project is not viable and the group's interest remains focused on income generation, the project may easily end with the participants feeling exploited and resentful. On the other hand, seen in the long term, an activity with only minor economic returns but one with which the women are familiar and confident may be the first step in developing ability to deal with future more profitable programs, developing the capability to manage and to enlarge their economic options. The progression, and the limitations and risks, however, should be clear to the participants so that false expectations are not raised. This requires participants having access to needed marketing and technical information and carefully considering and modifying project options from the beginning of project design.

Limitations on income generating activities may be purely economic. On the other hand they may be social or political. When the possibility for participation is limited due to the social or political environment these limiting factors must be considered and, where possible, addressed. Because these three spheres are so interrelated the change in one sphere will be partially controlled by, and in turn, partially control changes in the other spheres. It is important to look at the projects in the total context of the family and community life and design it in view of its long term impact.

## II. WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PROJECTS

The second major aspect of women's income generating activities selected for examination at the Copenhagen meeting was participation. The idea of participation in development projects is not new. It is as old as the concept of development itself. But the philosophy behind the participation as well as the role women play has changed through time and bears examination.

During colonial times in West Africa, for example, administrators who felt it was "the white man's burden" to help the natives develop for their own good, would ask tribal chiefs to produce workers to construct buildings and roads and to plant trees, etc. Women participated in these efforts doing their traditional jobs of pounding the earth, carrying water, and feeding the workmen. The buildings, roads and trees related to goals which were set by the administrators. None of the workers, men or women, chose to participate. Nor did the workers select the benefits produced.

After many of the colonial countries reached independence this approach was no longer feasible and other philosophies of development such as the famous "trickle down" theory came into vogue. One idea was that if newly independent countries industrialized and became richer, there would be new jobs and increased income which would "trickle down" to the entire population. In this model, women did not participate much in the industrialization process as this was not the pattern in western countries which initiated the projects. However, women participated by working harder on the subsistence crops when the men left to work in outside projects. In those few cases when women were hired they were paid less than men for the same work. This was a totally new concept in these African (as well as many other) societies which were formerly

based on family economic production and more egalitarian concepts.

When the "trickle down" programs did not seem to trickle, developers as well as local leaders saw that such methods were not improving the lot of the poor but were, in fact, increasing the distance between the haves and the have-nots. At this point new approaches were suggested, including community development with emphasis upon rural communities. In one still active scenario the focus is on satisfying basic needs of the population through building a strong agricultural sector. Projects are more widely dispersed and there is broader participation in project implementation. These projects have again caused changes in women's activities.

Agricultural projects frequently offer men techniques of and access to implements for growing cash crops. Projects designs carry the underlying assumption that the profits will "trickle over" to the wives and children. Women are given support for social welfare projects and training in hygiene, etc., with the belief that it is complementary for women to improve the quality of life within the household while the husband brings in the income to support a higher standard of living. One problem with the trickle-over theory is that in places such as West Africa duties and responsibilities of men and women are separate and clearly defined in such a way that there is no trickle-over. For instance, in a rice project in Upper Volta, land was parcelled out to family heads on the basis of the number of family members who could work in the rice field. Men and women traditionally worked together in the grain fields, the surplus of which belongs to the men. It is customary for women to provide the vegetables, served as a sauce for the the staple grains, and to trade or sell items in order to obtain personal

articles for themselves or their children. The project provided no separate land for women's gardens nor allowed women time for trade or other income-generating activities. Men earn more than ever; the income per family is higher, despite the fact women no longer have separate incomes. Men give some, but apparently insufficient money to their wives to buy vegetables and other sauce ingredients. As a result, social worker studies report increased incidence of malnutrition in the project area. Reports show a decrease in social contact for women who no longer have the personal funds to buy the gifts expected if they return to the home village to attend weddings, funerals, etc. On the other hand, the social activities of the men have increased with growing numbers of men owning motor bikes and dress clothes. The project, now a locally run cooperative, is frequently cited as a success because of the increased per family income. But here is a case where the women participate in the labor, the men receive the cash, and the trickle-over theory does not work.

A male-run poultry "community" cooperative in Upper Volta has increased greatly the amount of water women need to carry to the village and women perceive no benefits for this added labor. One man's cooperative project failed because men forgot that women were needed to process the fruit from their plantations at the exact time women were already busy with the family harvest.

At their worst, government agents or project directors design a community project (something that will be good for the locals), explain how beneficial it will be (usually to the men) and are angered when no one participates. However, there are many much more positive community programs and some sample projects will be examined in section III.

### Aspects of Participation

As one looks over the admittedly simplistic examples of changing forms of participation cited above, one can identify four types of participation which should be disaggregated and analyzed separately. These are: first, project selection, design and control; second, project implementation; third, choice, control and access to benefits; and finally, project evaluation. If women are to have developmentally dynamic roles, that is, if they are to develop skills in responding to ever-changing physical, as well as political, economic and social environments, they must participate in all four aspects. The possibility to participate at all of these levels will only be available when the underlying philosophy is accepted that participants, in this case women, are rational beings who will make rational choices when adequate information is known. It must also be accepted that women have the right to decide where and for which benefits they will expend their efforts and resources. Participation in added work is not enough to judge that a project is participatory.

### Constraints and Aids to Women's Participation

When traditional patterns of men and women working in separate but complementary activities in family enterprises is no longer feasible, new work patterns must be developed. Women may lack the time, space, credit, resources, knowledge, skills or information to make it easy for them to respond adequately to the new economic realities. They may be held back by customs or by other family responsibilities. Examples from projects indicate that there are some basic patterns of needs for differing socio-economic groups of women.

Another current scenario in the community development approach is the self-help project. The philosophy of this approach is sometimes expressed in terms of developing local control. But it is also frequently justified on economic grounds; there is not enough money to pay for all the buildings, roads, tree plantations, etc., needed. Therefore, community members should be encouraged to provide the labor to help implement these projects and thereby better their own situation. Once again, it is the rural poor who are most frequently asked to participate in these ventures. (It is hard to imagine residents of most urban communities building their own streets, clinics and schools, etc.)

In a road building program sponsored by CARE, the project provides heavy equipment and the community provides all the manual labor. Women again carry water and feed the workmen. The difference between this and the colonial project is that the community must ask for the road and presumably will benefit from its use. Self-help projects differ in amounts of local participation and what this means to women. In Sierra Leone, community self-help rice fields have produced mixed results. The communal profits have helped complete a local school and dispensary which the women value. On the other hand, women and elder sons now have so much added work that neither have time to generate income in traditional personal fields. This is cited by women as one reason why sons who need money to marry and establish households leave to find paying jobs. In this case the project control and benefit choices were in the hands of the men. Self-help gardens planted by women in Senegal have been the source of funds for mills and local community centers which were benefits selected by the women participants, themselves.

Women of the landless class who come only with their own willingness to participate may need communal space, basic supplies, perhaps skills, risk guarantees for the use of their time, and some money to pay debts and buy food, etc., before they are able to return funds to an economic venture or a revolving loan. If the women are nomadic, they may need something they can take in unfinished stages and return completed, or knowledge of something they can do in camp (such as how to make cheese).

Women of the poor farmer class are apt to have growing responsibilities for feeding the family because more men from this class are absent or involved in other than subsistence activities. These women need labor-saving technologies. They often need land or tenure guarantees, risk guarantees, sometimes a communal place to meet or work and often activities close to the household. They frequently need to organize in order to overcome outmoded traditional restrictions on their activities or on their mobility, as discussed earlier.

Women of the urban poor often need an adequate space in which to work, raw products, risk guarantees, child care, training to upgrade or develop new skills needed in the urban setting, and organization for support in gaining adequate wages, access to non-traditional employment and sometimes protection.

Middle and upper-class urban women find themselves especially financially dependent and with little freedom of movement. Many are socially restricted to activities considered appropriate for them. They may need projects they can do close to or in their homes and training in acceptable income-producing skills. They, too, may need the support of joining with other women to gain more flexibility and freedom. In situations where these women lack raw materials

they may form alliances with rural women. An example comes from Guinea where rural women send raw materials to cities which urban women process and/or market. In India there are cases where the more spacially restricted, higher class women manufacture products while more mobile groups bring them raw materials and take the products to market.

### Project Selection

Projects which are most successful in getting participation from women appear to be those which capitalize on skills women already have and/or activities they and their families find acceptable for women. Projects have a good chance when they use local resources, satisfy a local demand, involve the woman in as many aspects of the process as possible, and fit into the national development strategy. However, women's projects selection should never be restricted to a failing and non-profitable traditional activity.

After identifying the resources and needs, project designers will have to help local women obtain adequate market and other information in order to decide if the project will try to upgrade local practices, modify them, or redirect them entirely. If women's participation is limited the cause must be identified and addressed in formulating the original design of the income-generating activity. Frequently time-saving technology, day-care centers, marketing infrastructure, or other prerequisites for women's participation are identifiable only by the women themselves who know the subtle community specific restraints on their activities.

In Part III we shall look at success and limitations in a few sample case studies with differing formats.

### III. Case Studies

The following are examples which illustrate various strategies used to organize women's income generating projects. The first set of examples are for projects not specifically designed for women but which have included or have associated women's groups within a comprehensive community project. The second set are women-specific projects. Each of these organizational formats has frequently demonstrated differing advantages and disadvantages.

Generalized projects are apt to be supported by larger funding and to be tied directly to the national development strategy while women-specific projects are more apt to be minimally funded and out of mainstream activities. On the other hand, women-specific projects frequently focus on yielding benefits for women and may offer the participating woman opportunities to get experience in leadership and managerial skills. Projects that fail to disaggregate men's and women's tasks and benefits frequently do not affect women positively and sometimes leave them disadvantaged (see Dixon 1980).

The following case studies are briefly described and looked at in terms of their economic, social and political impact. They are also viewed from the perspective of types of participation by the women themselves. The case studies chosen are in no way presented as exhaustive of the types of projects available nor presented as the most or least successful projects, though all were perceived as having specific merit. They were chosen because they illustrate a type of approach which might be useful, because they raise interesting questions, or because they attempt to deal with specific problems in innovative ways.

The purpose is to evaluate not the projects, but how useful the ideas presented here and in theoretical literature might be when applied to real life

situations. Some information comes from cited project descriptions but in most cases the author either visited the project or discussed it formally or informally with organizers or others familiar with the project. Obviously, if one were to do an evaluation one would select projects on more specific or scientific criteria, go to the projects to find more complete information, verify each detail and assign specific weights to questions so cross-project evaluation would be possible.

1) A Regional Project:

An economically sound cattle fattening project in Libore, Niger, was designed by an advisor to the Nigerian Government after discussions with local residents (male). It was partially funded by a European private voluntary organization which established a revolving fund for cattle purchase. A group of village elders help manage the fund. Participants learn to select the animals which they keep in the courtyard. The project uses the government livestock department which provides a manager and has developed veterinary services for the area. As first designed, the project was a success in the sense that those who participated earned good profits. Organizers discovered, however, that only the owners of large land-holdings (no women) participated. The limiting factor was the ability to afford the risk of an expensive animal dying. Project managers then established compulsory insurance and the poor, women and men, eagerly joined the scheme. Women, in fact, became the major participants.

Though the project is organized to allow women to voluntarily select to participate and control their benefits, it leaves them economically disadvantaged in relation to men. Traditionally, women in this region neither buy nor sell animals in the market, nor do they paddle the boats along the river

to cut grass for cattle feed. Women participants pay local men to perform these tasks for them. Had organizing the women been an element of the project, one wonders if women's groups could have overcome these traditional barriers and made more complete participation and increased benefits possible.

### Project Impact

This project takes advantage of local economic resources (location close to markets, available agricultural bi-products) and takes into consideration the shortage of land (especially for women) as well as the low level of income (after inclusion of risk insurance). Short term economic impact on women is to increase income and educate women to a new skill. Long term economic impact looks good as the project is in the mainstream of national development, the marked demand is growing and government services are improving. Women's dependence upon men to buy and sell animals and collect needed grasses, however, is a handicap. Social constraints which keep women from fully profiting are not being overcome. There is no organized effort to change traditions. Political impact is not felt for local organization and awareness of women's issues, but there is a growing ability to use national resources (vet services, etc.). There is no international component. Participation does not include women in identifying the problem or design but their participation is voluntary. They have no choice of project benefits but have control over their profits. Though they have no direct voice in evaluation project methods, their lack of participation was considered in reformulating the project. They may make individual evaluations of worth of their own participation in the project. Outside expertise is strengthening ability of participants to continue to improve their economic status even when the outside support has terminated. (See DIA 1979).

## 2) Locally Planned Community Projects

"Maisons Familiales" is a project sponsored by a French based private voluntary organization and has about 100 centers in various African countries. It offers interested communities an alternative form of education for their youth and a mechanism for community development. A young man and a young woman organizer are housed and supported by the participating village. Community members are intergrated into the activities in that they develop an association to build and run a community training center. The local youth participate when the association discusses local problems and they conduct

research for potential solutions. Sometimes small groups with specific problems elect to work on a separate project. Occasionally these are all-women groups with income-generating activities. An example of such a project is a women's group which desired a village pharmacy and established one with the profit from a cooperative garden. Villages must request 'Maisons Familiales' organizers to come to their village and villagers (including women) participate in all phases from project selection to project evaluation (Maisons Familiales, 1979).

Project Impact. Though the focus of most of its programs is not economic, the project sited was economically successful in that the garden produce was adequate for establishing a pharmacy. Long term economic impact is not known but since the women are directing the project they will have gained experience which should help them solve problems arising in the future. Socially the women are now organized and have managed to increase their control over their own health. Politically the project has given women more awareness of women's problems and more local level control. At the national level women have developed more access to national supports through working with the health service. Participation has included women at all levels. In several countries such as Senegal the national government has integrated this private voluntary group approach into the national welfare system and some of the centers are being established with larger bi-lateral funding including a proposed center funded by AID. It remains to be seen if this model will be able to retain its focus on local initiative and on increasing local capabilities when integrated into large heavily financed programs. The question is especially important when one considers that most women's projects are small scale. It is an open debate as to whether successful small experimental projects are applicable on a larger scale.

### 3) Village Self-Help

Many villages in Sierra Leone have village self-help programs. One village near the town of Bo has an active program which includes raising communal rice fields with some of the profit going toward supplies for a community built school, clinic and feeder road. The village elders (including two women) are led by a resident who is now a government official and who has contacts with outside support agencies. Villagers (mainly the men) select

the goals and have received small amounts of aid from various U.S. and international groups, the town has obtained teachers and a nurse from the government. Women have participated in these activities, but, as was mentioned earlier, have had mixed feelings about the benefits. Although they value the selected project results they resent their time being so completely occupied as to prevent their earning the traditional private income necessary for their personal needs (Hoskins, Field Notes, 1980)

Project Impact. Economically this project has increased the income of the village but has worsened women's economic position. Village-wide there is increased social organization which has solved some of the local social-welfare problems. However, this organization is not focused specifically on solving women's problems or on allowing women to carry out auxiliary activities. Politically the village has been able to profit from more local control and from being able to tap national and international support systems, but women have had little part in these outside contacts and politically remain relatively untouched by the project. Participation is directed by the village elders, especially the one leader and women have little choice in project selection or design. Although they generally support the activities they have no individual or group control over their participation or the benefits, nor do they have any place in an evaluation process.

In Kenya the Harambee self-help movement is encouraged by the national government. Most of the projects are village oriented ventures for such things as water delivery systems, with small amounts of financial assistance. There are also, however, some associated women's groups. One such group discussed their economic situation and identified lack of transportation for market goods as their most serious problem. They bought a bus without governmental assistance but with some added contributions. With profits from the bus they expanded to other businesses such as a small store, all of which were unprofitable. The women did not save money to replace their bus and are

currently having to raise more money now that the bus has completely broken down. (see Kneerim, 1980).

Project Impact. This project contrasts with the one cited above in that the village-wide self-help structure also allowed women's projects. In the very short term this project increased the economic status of the women but because the women lacked adequate management skills they lost this advantage. In the long run their experience may help them regain this economic improvement, especially if they can obtain economic skills training. Socially the project helped women learn through a group effort, to work with banks, develop better ties to the markets, etc. It is with this group structure that potential for future gains lies. Politically, the women are more aware of their own problems and have gained national political strength. Women participated in all aspects of the project design, implementation, benefits, and evaluation, but lacked the management and technical skills which might have strengthened the effectiveness of their participation.

#### Women Only Projects

##### 4) Workshops with Follow-Up Projects

The International Alliance for Women (IAW) uses a format in which it organizes regional workshops for women from its affiliated chapters in developing countries. Most of the participants in these workshops are from the middle or upper-middle income groups. Participants identify problems which they perceive to be major problems for women in their respective countries and design projects to address these needs. A major focus of the Alliance is on improved family living and family planning, and the majority of the projects identified by participants reflect this focus. The Alliance tries to provide funding to support the follow-up projects. Some examples are a project in Jamaica to train motivators in the use of communications media for better family living, and a project in Sri Lanka to establish a day nursery and to train girls in child care, dressmaking, gardening, etc.

Project Impact. Most of the projects selected are not focused on economic activities. However, some projects such as forming day nurseries are facilitating services for women who want to work. Leaders of the IAW say that they use income generating activities around which to build family life education classes, etc. They are finding more interest expressed in real income generating projects especially among poor women. It will be interesting to watch if this voluntary international organization can draw needed technical and marketing expertise and build meaningful activities with long term positive economic impact. Social impact lies in the formation of local groups of women and girls which often select social-welfare issues to address. Politically many of these groups discuss women's problems and become more aware of local political issues. Groups often become part of a national network and a number of example projects draw on urban women who support enabling legislation or training activities for rural women. In principle these activities strengthen the ability of both groups to work with the national political structure. This format has the advantage of forming international networks with the potential of international political awareness and support. This type of approach allows women to participate from the beginning of project identification to end of project evaluation, although it is not always clear that in practice the women making the decisions are the same women or are of the same economic or interest group as those who implement and benefit from the activities.

##### 5) Improved Local Artisan Products

The Friends' Service Committee identifies and then supports indigenous women's projects through using local and regional resources. They have been actively involved in the formation of cooperatives and in providing training for women to run them. Organizers have identified lack of time as a major constraint to women's participation in income-generating projects. They are, therefore, incorporating labor saving technologies, such as grain mills, into their program. Among the projects sponsored are improved soap making and cloth dyeing activities using specialists from neighboring countries as the resource persons (American Friends Service Committee Report, Dec. 1979). The sponsor group is, however, concerned that despite a focus on local control and management training the group formation is weak and projects such as the craft cooperative in Bamako are not becoming self-sufficient. They are in search of a new approach to organizing these activities to strengthen potential for local self-sufficiency.

Project Impact. Economically a number of women have improved their own situation but the sample case in Bamako is still in need of outside financial backing. The idea of using local resources and upgrading local skills appears to be sound but the long term economic impact will depend upon the viability of the crafts projects themselves, and upon the women to develop some system of management which is socially appropriate to the environment. Perhaps in cases such as this a look at the traditional organization of economic activities will provide insights for potentially successful group formation. The weakness of the social organization has caused weakness of the economic potential. It is not clear if the women have more awareness or skill in the political sphere, although some have traveled to neighboring countries and may have formed networks with women in other areas giving them new insights to women's issues, etc.

The projects were selected by a sensitive staff after discussing possibilities with women and with owners of successful crafts factories. The participants, however, did not participate in a group process of selecting the project, or the benefits. The women, are, however, free to join in the activities to earn benefits and to evaluate their own successes.

This project did not start with the group process described in the project above but has the outside technical and management training which the above model lacks.

#### 6) Indigenous Organized Labor Group

In Sri Lanka women gave gratis help to male relatives in the transplanting of rice in a government development project area. They were given training by the government and became very efficient. They began working together and finally formed a group to look for paid jobs. Because they were organized they could require circumspect behavior of group members and gain the confidence of their families to let them work outside the village. Because they were efficient they could demand better wages, better living conditions, and insured personal security from employers. The women felt very proud of their group effort (ESCAP, 1979). However, some of their employers are starting to mechanize farm work. If this is not to become a dead-end economic venture, the locally formed and directed group will have to meet the challenge to divert their skills to another activity or learn to work with machinery. As of the present time the group shows no awareness of needed changes for their future.

Project Impact. The economic impact in the short run has pleased the women who write that they can now safely participate in a wage earning activity. The long-term impact is still in question as the skill they have learned has a potentially limited life expectancy. The social impact has been very strong as through group organization women have improved working conditions and overcome the traditional prohibitions of working in neighboring areas and of working for strangers. Politically the women have become aware of women's issues at the local level and have tied into the mainstream economic development program of the national government. The women took advantage of a training program offered by the government, however, this program itself might be examined for being exploitive. Participation was completely developed by the women themselves taking advantage of what they identified as an opportunity. This is perhaps another example of indigenous group formation in which the group process was well developed but not as effective as if easy access to information on long range impact and other technical options were available. If such help is offered it should be given in a manner which would not dilute the self direction of the group.

#### 7) Training for Improved Skills in The Modern Sector

The YMCA in Korea has a program of upgrading the skills of women who already participate in the building industry. Women who work in low paying manual labor are offered training in tile laying, a task formerly only undertaken by men. The goals at first were to improve the economic condition of these women through selecting a trade that required light weight, easy to use, inexpensive tools. Because this was a non-traditional role, these women found resistance to their entering the occupation and needed the support of an organized group. The first few groups have now successfully entered the building trade and the "Y" is expanding its training into other non-traditional construction skills for women (See Suh, 1980).

Project Impact. Economically, this small project is having the effect of raising the income of indigent working women and of proving to them and to others that women may perform non-traditional tasks. The project thus has a spread effect of opening up possibilities for future opportunities in non-traditional occupations. However, the number of women in the program is limited and no attempt is being made to multiply the program's impact by using the trained women to train others. The growing demand for the skills and the strong group support strengthen the long range potential of this positive economic effect. The group organization has improved the social

situation of the participants in overcoming limiting traditions. Politically, there is no evidence to indicate that the project has had a political impact other than that implicit in improved economic and social strength. Participation has been limited by enrolling into the structured courses, joining others in working together to withstand objections to their working in non-traditional jobs. The small trained group has taken no role in training others or in dealing with other problems.

#### 8) Projects with Indigeneous Middle-Class Leadership

In Upper Volta a woman whose husband was a high government official was widowed. She had sufficient money to be able to reject the traditional practice of remarrying her deceased husband's brother and having her children and savings scattered into various relatives' homes. She found that with increasing land pressure and urbanization many poor widows were unacceptable to their former husband's brothers who had no desire to add extra members to their families. These widows were totally without support. Because of a local belief that women sometimes poisoned their husbands, widows were also suspect and feared.

This woman leader organized widows in towns and cities throughout Upper Volta and these groups have managed to get some national and international support for several income-generating projects. The women agreed to tax themselves a small amount for some donated drought relief grain. With these funds fifteen women established a small-scale peanut oil business from which they repaid their loan. This revolving account with some supplemental funds has now started women into sewing, weaving, shea butter and other activities allowing a number of members to become self-supporting. This same leader tries to encourage the illiterate widows to participate more actively in organizational and management activities without a great deal of success.

Project Impact. Economically the small industries which are focused on traditional produce and have traditional markets are producing income for women. The long range outlook is good for some of these items. However, even with such a "sure seller" as peanut oil, the price, quality, and availability of factory produced oils will have to be observed periodically. One new product, woven table-cloths and dresser scarves are now selling at an elevated price to sympathetic foreign and other socially and economically well-placed women. Clearly the potential for a future market will need to be more carefully explored. An economic study might indicate that the group's current working capital is too limited to put some projects over the threshold of viability. Socially, the act of organizing has helped these women face a difficult role in a society where they are at best, marginal. The organization has also helped their welfare by channeling aid to those in special need. In the long run the social organization will require a larger number of involved and skilled women members taking responsible roles. It may require some outside input to provide training in management and other skills. Politically, this activity has helped the women develop a self awareness and an awareness of women's issues. The leadership has helped the women get into contact with national governmental agencies and the widow's group has joined a federated group of Voltaic women's organizations. This membership gives them a national level forum for sharing problems and ideas. Also the leader has been in contact with international groups and there is some possibility an American private voluntary organization will help them in the future.

A larger, more liberally funded project in Costa Rica uses local middle-class women to improve conditions for poor urban women. Conducting a survey of women coming to San Jose, the project organizers identified the need for information, better self-image, training, job opportunities, etc. They developed a program to increase income possibilities and confidence. Middle-class women are trainers and they act as liaisons to government support agencies. The project results are described as improving economic status of poor women through training offered in the community and at the work centers. The project offers women legal information and helps them negotiate better working conditions. Women also report improved self image due to economic success and to training in problem solving. Some groups have organized self-help services such as day-care centers (Human Development Project - San Jose, Costa Rica, 1977-79. Federation of Volunteer Agencies and Overseas Education Fund).

Project Impact. The short-term economic impact has been to improve the income of the participants in a way which appears to be viable in the long term as well. Socially the project has improved the women's welfare and their organizational skills. Politically it has increased participants awareness of their common problems and their legal rights. It has increased their ability to deal with national agencies. The participation element is not clear from the project description. Even though individual beneficiaries were polled about their problems the solutions appear to have been derived by the project organizers. The question arises whether or not these beneficiaries are developing skills to run the program, should the funds paying the organizers cease. This should be further investigated.

#### 9) Self-Employed Women's Associations

Several examples of self-employed women's associations came from India. A group of street vendors have reportedly reduced their feeling of subordination by becoming organized. They have improved their economic situation through increased bargaining power, legal aid, credit and savings possibilities, quantity purchasing, etc.

Pappad Rollers (bread makers) formed an organization to improve their business by quality control, better marketing and a less expensive and higher quality raw material supply. The women participate in all aspects of business management in regularly scheduled meetings although they produce the bread in their own homes (Jain, 1980).

Both of these examples have educated women organizers working with the groups but in both cases, the organizers have tried to provide only support functions and the organizational skills and managerial roles of the participating membership have increased as well as their economic situation.

Project Impact. Economically these projects have immediate benefits for participants. The long range economic picture looks good partially because the women have taken over increasing roles in the total production and marketing processes. Socially the women have not only organized but have improved their social welfare. Politically participants have learned of their rights and

obligations and have developed positive relations with the police and with other local and national institutions. As far as participation is concerned, the beneficiaries did not originally select the project activities but they appear to have assumed increasing leadership roles in project control including a regular feed-back evaluation.

#### IV CONCLUSIONS

When selecting projects it is essential to look at the identified group carefully and, when at all possible, with their collaboration to develop a profile of their resources and constraints. Specific questions one would use would depend upon the specific situation but might include some of the following considerations:

1) Economic. What products do women now supply to the market? What are their available economic, natural and skill resources? What projects might be best able to use these resources? What constraints have previously hindered the identified group from increased economic benefits? Are there needs in the market this group might meet?

2) Social. Does any current social organization include the identified group of women? If so, would it help or hinder their participation in a group effort to increase income as either a work group or a forum for establishing a project? What social welfare needs have the highest priority? Could an income generating project help solve these needs at either a personal or group level? Are there social (traditional) constraints to economic or group involvement which need to be addressed?

3) Political. How can the current political structure help or hinder the identified group's economic participation and/or success? How can increased economic participation help or hinder their political future on a local, national or international level?

After these elements are carefully considered, the technical and resource support needed in any economic should be explored. An insufficient resource base, market and management skills have been identified by many developers as the weakest aspect in women's projects. Because so many income generating projects are seen in terms of small businesses a list of questions has been developed from suggestions by bankers. The types of questions they explore to decide if a business is viable are:

1. Who specifically is the market clientele?
2. Why is this product needed by them?
3. What experience and/or training makes this the best group to fill that need?
4. What are the steps from obtaining raw materials until the profits are distributed or re-invested? What happens to the product after it leaves the group's hands? Could the group carry on all marketing processes?
5. What are the potentials for growth and/or for becoming obsolete? What is built into business to allow for change?
6. Where is outside expertise needed? How is that to be obtained?
7. At what point are outside resources needed? What would be the plan for obtaining and/or repaying any outside assistance?

It cannot be overstated that the identified group's participation is important in all aspects of projects from identification through feed-back evaluation. This not only improves the understanding of area-specific resources and constraints but also improves women's ability to be developmentally dynamic. Various project models show differing strengths and weaknesses and one may be preferred over another in specific cases.

In the examples discussed, it appeared that those strongest in organization and group participation were often groups formed by the participant women, themselves, in order to address some perceived need. These groups were frequently weakest in technical and macro-economic information. Those groups described with the strongest technical information were often those organized by outside organizers with strong technical support. This type of group usually lacked strong self-direction and commitment. To find indigenous groups already interested in solving a problem and to make needed and appropriate expertise and training available to them in a service-clientele relationship is one important type of project strengthening. This is not simple as experts, indigenous or expatriots, are generally desirous of helping the novices avoid mistakes and perhaps take on a parent-child relationship. This pattern invariably deters a group's self-determination and growth. A second type of project strengthening is that illustrated in the India examples where the outsiders helped women already involved in economic activities organize around their common needs. As in the above case, it is always difficult to give up power especially if one feels one could make better decisions or if one has felt success and pride in the leadership role. But in the India examples progressive group self-direction was built into the original design

and appears to be successful.

Improved income is vitally important to women who find themselves increasingly responsible for family support. It is urgent that predictable dead-end, ineffectual, and exploitive projects be recognized and the long-term effects considered. Local women must be able to find necessary information so they may take responsible decision-making roles. Women need improved social and political positions along with improved economic conditions in order to competently assume positive and directive roles in developing their future.

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TABLE 1

## PROJECT IMPACTS

Cited Examples	Objectives	Economic Impact	Social Impact	Political Impact		
				Local Awareness	Tied into National Government	Networks to International Groups
Regional Project (Niger)	Income generating	Increased income	Increased skills	-----	Increased government services	-----
Maisons Familiales	Training and community development	-----	Increased skills, improved community infrastructure	Increased	Made information available	-----
Village Self-Help (Sierra Leone)	Improve community development	Lowered women's economic situation	Improved community facilities	Increased	Increased at community level	Increased information and access to international agencies
Village Self-Help (Kenya)	Improve income	Unsure of long-term impact	Increased exposure of group project	Increased	Government supported in principle	Publicity has put in contact with international groups
Workshops with Follow-up (I.A.W.)	Identify and solve problems	Few projects	Major emphasis	Increased	-----	Increased
Improved Local Artisan Products (Mali)	Improve skills and economic condition	Increased income	Training for cooperatives	Increased	-----	Increased regional contacts
Indigeneous Organized Labor Group (Sri Lanka)	Improved economic condition	Increased income but unsure of long-range impact	Improved mobility and options; improved working conditions	Increased	Used government training program	-----

TABLE 1  
(Continued)

Cited Examples	Objectives	Economic Impact	Social Impact	Political Impact		
				Local Awareness	Tied into National Government	Networks to International Groups
Indigenous Middle-Class Leadership (Upper Volta)	Improved economic and social	Improved for an increasing number of women	Improved self image	Increased	Some support	Yes
Indigenous Middle Class Leadership (Costa Rica)	Improved economic and social conditions	Increased income	Improved skills and self image	Increased	-----	Yes
Self-Employed Women's Association (Vendors)	Improved economic condition	Increased	Improved bargaining and self image	Increased	Improved relations with police	-----
Self-Employed Women's Association (Bread Makers)	Improved economic condition	Improved income	Improved self-image from organizational and economic success	Increased	(Government support)	International marketing
Training for Improved Skills in the Modern Sector (Korea)	Upgrading skills; improved income	Improved income	Expanded options - training and organization	Increased	-----	-----

TABLE 2

## PROJECT PARTICIPATION

Cited Examples	Project Design		Implementation		Benefits		Evaluation	
	choice	control	choice	control	choice	access	individual	group
Regional Project (Niger)	--	--	I	--	i	I	I	--
Maisons Familiales	G	G	I & G	G	G	G	I	G
Village Self-Help (Sierra Leone)	--	--	--	--	--	G	--	--
Village Self-Help (Kenya)	G	G	I & G	G	G	G	--	G
Workshops with Follow-up (I.A.W.)	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G
Improved Local Artisan Products (Mali)	--	--	I	--	--	G & I	--	--
Indigeneous Organized Labor Group (Sri Lanka)	G	G	G & I	G	G	G	I	G
Training for Improved Skills in the Modern Sector (Korea)	--	--	I	--	--	I	I	--
Indigeneous Middle- Class Leadership (Upper Volta)	--	--	I	--	G	G & I	I	--
Indigeneous Middle- Class Leadership (Costa Rica)	--	--	I	--	I	I	--	--
Self-Employed Women's Association (Vendors)	--	G	I	G	G	I	I	C
Self Employed Women's Association (Bread Makers)	--	G	G & I	G	G	I	I	C

I = individual

G = group