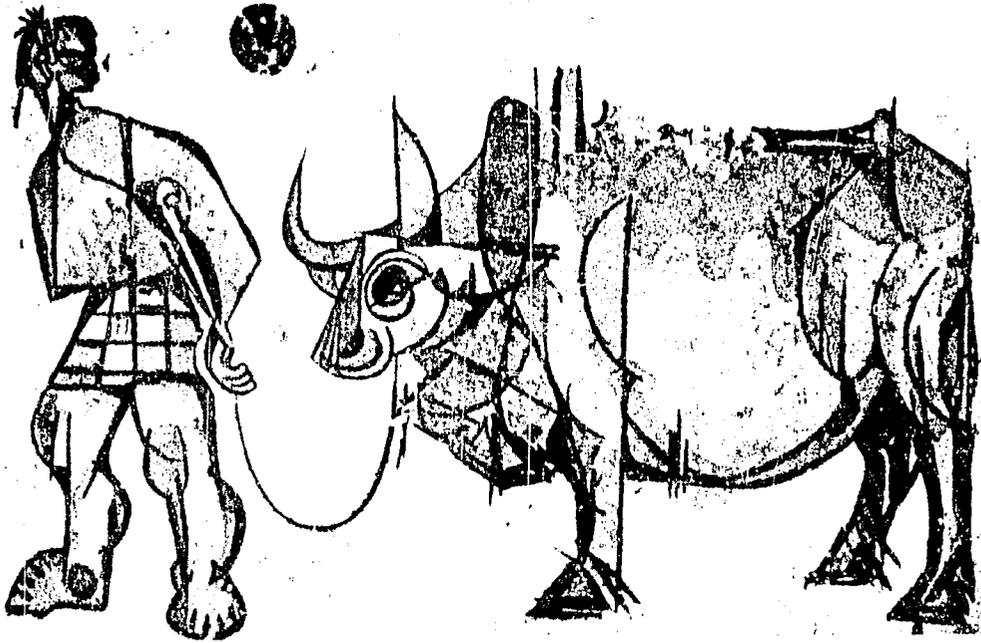


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# RURAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE



*Occasional Papers*

## WOMEN AND PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A FRAMEWORK FOR PROJECT DESIGN AND POLICY-ORIENTED RESEARCH

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WOMEN AND PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT:  
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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Women's participation in rural development will be enhanced both through direct involvement in decision making and through equalizing the opportunity structure between men and women in their interaction with development staff. To do so, women must be integral to any and all project designs. Making women integral requires that project staff be able to assess the variety of the situations women are in. The monograph presents a perspective on women in different economic strata and a household typology which allow designers to incorporate the variety of women's situations into the formulation of project activities. The monograph also provides numerous examples of design possibilities which build on women's traditional strengths in economic and group activity or work within existing culture patterns.

Staff accountability to women is seen as the central issue for realizing equalized opportunity. To activate accountability to women, it is necessary to build some incentive for staff to interact with female clientele. This is accomplished in three broad ways. First, through internal management solutions, women's work should be correctly enumerated for design and later evaluation procedures. In addition, better management will enable administrators to monitor staff more effectively so that women are included in all parts of program process. Another solution is through changed composition of the bureaucracy to achieve approximate functional parity between the sexes through adding female staff, advocates of female clientele, women paraprofessionals, and most significantly, a carefully constructed women's program that actively develops multiple linkages between all program staff and female clientele. Finally, building direct accountability of staff to clientele completes and enhances the process of equalizing opportunity structures. This would include representation of the rural poor majority and women through institutions which advise, control, or pressure staff and administration. This would be done through separate and/or mixed organizations, depending on existing sex communication patterns. If mixed organizations are developed, careful attention is merited to the proportion of minority people in the group, be they the poor or women. A variety of women, sharing accountability with the administration over multiple programs, including a women's program, builds an administration responsive to disadvantaged women, formerly excluded from the process.

Efforts aimed at women, particularly those of disadvantaged households, can expand the rural poor's access to resources in ways that traditional project design practices aimed at men cannot. Particularly among the rural poor, families depend on women's income-learning capability and ability to produce goods without cash outlays. Only through expanding resources and opportunities to the now disadvantaged, or through redistributing opportunities and resources, will development goals be realized.

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## PART I

### WOMEN AND PARTICIPATION

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Though women's work activities are integral to rural life and development, women are not integral to all development programs, either as direct beneficiaries or decision-makers. Examples are many.<sup>1</sup> Segregated and sparsely staffed women's programs, such as handicraft training without regard for the market demand, and training in impractical "modern housewifery" all too often constitute the main opportunities offered for women. Though technology is inherently sex-neutral, it is frequently introduced to men and its use becomes defined over time as a male skill. A largely male staff gives preference to men.

The choices before project designers are to involve women and equalize access, to develop programs which remedy past discrimination through special attention, or to acquiesce in established patterns of discrimination. The latter choice is counter-developmental because women's continued marginality in major program activities makes little economic sense. Moreover, it further disadvantages rural poor households who depend both on women's income-earning capability and ability to produce goods without family cash outlays.

Utilizing research and project documentation, this monograph is addressed to ways women can be made more integral to project design and participation in rural development choices. First, the contexts of economic and sex disparities are examined. The opportunity structure framework is then discussed. Following that is an analysis of development participation. Throughout, project examples are cited in the text and in footnotes. A review of policy-oriented research needs is found in Part II of the monograph.

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<sup>1</sup> Comprehensive overviews include Ester Boserup, *WOMAN'S ROLE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970], selections in Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen, *WOMEN & WORLD DEVELOPMENT*, [Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976] and Sidney Mintz, "Men, Woman, & Trade," *COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN SOCIETY & HISTORY*, 13, 1971, pp. 248-268. Country-specific and greater detailed studies are cited later.

### Contexts of Sex and Economic Disparities

Due to the variety of social structures found in less-developed countries, discussions of women in development become complex. In assessing how development affects women, two dimensions require consideration. The first concerns the general pattern of relations between men and women within the society, which can be characterized either as egalitarian [with minimal sex differences in access to and control over resources] or as sexually inegalitarian. The second dimension concerns economic differences within the society, which can be characterized as egalitarian (little distance between upper and lower economic groups minimal class differentiation) or economically inegalitarian.<sup>1</sup> This dimension cuts across distinctions made about sex differences. To deal with rural development in ways that benefit the disadvantaged by sex and economic status, designers must be aware of how sex and poverty interact. We can no more deal with poverty while ignoring sex disparities than we can deal with sex disparities while ignoring poverty.

Four types of societies can be identified: [a] those with minimal sex and economic disparities, [b] those with minimal sex disparities but marked economic disparities, [c] those with minimal economic disparities and wide sex disparities. Whether disparities between economic strata or the sexes are the more pronounced merits close attention; otherwise any intent to lessen disparities may be thwarted.

In societies with minimal disparities between the sexes yet wide economic disparities [b], programs that channel resources to women will reinforce economic disparities, to the extent that female elites capture resources. Conversely, channelling resources to disadvantaged male occupational groups in areas where sex disparities far outweigh economic ones [c] will reinforce sex disparities. The most common pattern, [d],

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<sup>1</sup> Using Gerhard Lenski's more flexible definition, "class" here refers to a set of persons who stand in a similar position with respect to some form of power, privilege or prestige. See POWER AND PRIVILEGE [New York: McGraw Hill, 1966]. The more common Marxian definition has not been used because we need to be concerned also with some rural societies where emerging class differentiation is a relatively recent phenomenon and cannot yet be characterized in terms of rigidified relations to the means of production.

Figure 1. Four Types of Societies According to Economic and Sex Disparities [country examples in parenthesis].

		<u>SEX DISPARITIES</u>	
		Minimal	Wide
<u>CLASS DISPARITIES</u>	Minimal	<b>A</b> Relatively Egalitarian [nomadic societies]	<b>C</b> Economically egalitarian, Sexually inegalitarian [Afghanistan, Yemen]
	Wide	<b>B</b> Sexually egalitarian, Economically inegalitarian [coastal West Africa; Philippines]	<b>D</b> Relatively Inegalitarian [most countries]

with wide sex and economic disparities, requires explicit attention to both disadvantaged women and men. Designers should consider maximum income or land size limits for program participation, or set aside proportions of program opportunities or funding for disadvantaged men and women.<sup>1</sup> Reaching women is an important route to reaching the rural poor majority in societies where rigid class distinctions exclude disadvantaged men and where channelling resources to women is more compatible with existing political relations.

<sup>1</sup> Restrictions and set aside features are discussed later. E.A. Cebotarev discusses a loan program for disadvantaged women explicitly designed to raise family income in "Rural Women in Non-Familial Activities: Credit and Political Action in Latin America," Paper presented to the Conference on Women and Development, Wellesley, 1976. Virginia Maher's study of Moroccan women analyzes the redistribution of resources among women through the exchange of services and patron-client relations outside the market economy, cited in Elise Boulding, "Integrating Women into What: Some Reflections on Development Planning for Women," Paper presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science Annual Meeting, January 1979, Houston, Texas, p. 18.

Two factors add to the complexity of sex and economic dimensions: First, actual disparities between the sexes usually vary across classes within any society, and second, idealized sex differences may be a model to which people aspire, for status. Among disadvantaged households in rigidly class differentiated societies, there are often minimal sex disparities in work, in contributions to the family, and in control over resources, as there is relatively little to control.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, among the privileged, sex differences may be most exaggerated; the fact that females are minimally productive economically, make little contribution to family maintenance, and have no control over resources may be seen as sources of prestige. These households serve as models to which men and women in other households are supposed to aspire, if only because the model is associated with wealth.<sup>2</sup>

Complicating any analysis still further is the growing number of female household heads in areas where there is male out-migration in search of employment and income. Female heads are found at all econo-

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<sup>1</sup> Low income Javanese households are a typical example. Women are expected to contribute to household maintenance with cash or in-kind resources from outside the household; men and women contribute similar proportions. As household income increases, women's contribution becomes progressively smaller. See Ann Stoler, "Class Structure and Female Autonomy in Rural Java," SIGNS 3, 1, August, 1977; and Pauline Moline, "A Preliminary Study in Three Countries: Indonesia Report; Paper Prepared for Office of Women in Development, USAID, September, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> In a number of mid-eastern societies, female seclusion is associated with higher economic status. Families which can afford to withdraw an adult from production do so. While not a viable economic model for the disadvantaged, it is often preferred by women and men alike. See Pamela Hunte, "Women and the Development Process in Afghanistan", "Near East Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development, July 1978, p. 44; Cynthia Myntii, "Women in Rural Yemen," U.S.A.I.D., Sana'a; Yemen, November 1978; Moline, *ibid.*, p. 167, discusses this as well for Indonesia. In Montserrat, ideologies of male dominance are idealized, but realized only in middle income households. See Yolanda Moses, "Female Status, the Family, and Male Dominance in a West Indian Community," SIGNS, 3, 1, August, 1977. Thorstein Veblen in The Theory of the Leisure Class already identified this behavior in the aspiring American middle class as a form of "conspicuous consumption."

mic levels, though disproportionate numbers are found among the disadvantaged.<sup>1</sup>

The next section outlines a framework which identifies the range of options available for equalizing women's opportunities with men's, once economic and sex disparities are taken into account.

## II. OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

### Women's Status

The bases of women's status are similar to those of men's status. Status differences between men and women can be analyzed in the following ways, just as can other differences between people on the basis of class, caste, or occupational differences [examples of which are mixed below].<sup>2</sup> Differences we would point to include:

-participation in labor valued by the society. If labor is "valued" this establishes its centrality, rather than marginality. Work may be essential to the society, yet still be undervalued, as was that of slaves in the American antebellum south.

-control over the fruits of one's labor.

-balanced labor contributions, or interchangeable work. Invidious distinctions are made when one group is totally responsible for a task another group shuns, such as domestic service, collecting dung, or bathing the dead.

-personal resources such as education and skills. Girl's exclusion from formal education in some rural Moslem societies restricts access to subsequent opportunities.

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<sup>1</sup> Mayra Buvinic, Nadia Youssef, and Barbara Von Elm, "Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning," Report Submitted to the Office of Women in Development, U.S.A.I.D., March, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Mayra Buvinic defines status as the ranking accorded to women [in terms of prestige, power, or esteem] relative to the ranking accorded to men, in WOMEN AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. [Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976], p. 2. The discussion of status is drawn from Albert Bacdayan, "Mechanistic Cooperation and Sexual Equality Among the Western Bontoc," and Alice Schlegel, "Toward a Theory of Sexual Stratification," in SEXUAL STRATIFICATION, [New York: Columbia University Press, 1977], and Peggy Sanday, "Female Status in the Public Domain," in Michele Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., WOMAN, CULTURE AND SOCIETY, [Stanford: Stanford University, 1974].

-support from and involvement in organizations. These provide access to information and contacts, as well as mobilize labor resources or political support. Examples include labor unions, rotating credit societies, and communal agricultural labor groups.

-formal, legal guarantees, predicated on some standard of civil rights and responsibilities. [Without knowledge of rights--or the individual and collective will to activate and enforce rights--this factor is near meaningless, however.] In most countries, sex distinctions are built into laws concerning rights and responsibilities and permeate, for example, grounds for divorce, property ownership and inheritance rights, child custody, and age of marriage, all of which have implications for other status factors.

The crucial factor encompassing and reaffirming all other bases of status is direct participation in political institutions where decisions are made about social values and resource allocation. International, national, and community institutions--both secular and religious--determine for example, which work is valued and whether it can be interchangeable between sexes. More important for program design are the institutions which channel resources and skills to those involved and represented by decision makers. Together with the above-mentioned bases of status, public participation activates other resources. Consider the following examples:

#### Andean Highlands

In a study of communities in the Peruvian Highlands, women had a consistently subordinate position, despite their control over such significant resources as land in several of the communities. Why? Men controlled the institutions in all communities which determined the value and distribution of social benefits. Regardless of women's direct contribution in public and community work projects, or their involvement in non-domestic labor which freed husbands to participate in that community work, women were not granted the full responsibilities and privileges of comunero status.<sup>1</sup>

#### East Africa

A Tanzanian Ujamaa village channelled land rights and cash proceeds for work on the communal plot [on which both men

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Bourque and Kay Warren, "Campesinas and Comuneras: Subordination in the Sierra," JOURNAL OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY, 38, November, 1976.

and women worked] to "households"--which in effect meant men. Women traditionally had had control over money acquired through the sale of crops on which they had labored, as well as land rights. Yet the new government program had altered the terms of distributing control over output. When men were questioned about whether women should have a part of the cash proceeds from the communal plot, three-fourths of the men polled said women should receive at least 10% [!]; eleven percent of the men said women should have a separate field or a small portion of plots; three percent said the government should handle it, and the rest thought no action needed to be taken. Though the terms of this sharing are hardly generous, they were noticeably better than the government community development commissioner who said the issue should go unraised because it would cause discontent between husbands and wives.<sup>1</sup> As representatives of the family and as government staff, men influenced and made decisions about proceeds from labor.

In Kenyan settlement schemes, pyrethrum is marketed through cooperatives, institutions with membership and payment collection controlled by men. As men monopolized incomes from pyrethrum sales, women, who were the primary laborers in pyrethrum production and accustomed in the past to controlling the fruits of their labor, refused to work on fields, while some even uprooted crops.<sup>2</sup>

#### West Africa

In parts of the Sahel, women traditionally own cattle and other domestic animals, obtained through the offspring of bridewealth animals or from dowry. Among the Tuareg, women sell or slaughter their animals without consulting husbands. The government program to reconstitute herds lost during the drought replaced cattle only for men, disrupting the social system.<sup>3</sup> It may be inferred that women's lack of participation in decision making biased the decisions about benefits from government.

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<sup>1</sup> James Brain, "Less Than Second Class: Women in Rural Settlement Schemes in Tanzania," in Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds., *AFRICAN WOMEN IN CHANGING PERSPECTIVE*. [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976]. Seventy-five men were polled.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Robert Chambers, *MANAGING RURAL DEVELOPMENT: IDEAS AND EXPERIENCES FROM EAST AFRICA*, [Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974], p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Kathleen Cloud, "Sex Roles in Food Production and Food Distribution Systems in the Sahel," Report Submitted to the Africa Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development, December, 1977.

### China

Through integrating women into production and socializing some housework, women in China have heightened prospects for equality. Yet men control local political institutions and collective work units, a result of patrilineal kinship structures. In those parts of China where women marry outside their original home community [exogamy], workteam affiliations tend to pass from father to son, while women remain either "in-marrying strangers" or temporary residents who will soon leave for marriage.<sup>1</sup>

The women described in these cases are not unproductive, nor are they working in sectors unrelated to rural development. Yet, their participation in and control over community institutions which place a value on their work and which confer status, rewards and related responsibilities is marginal. In middle to high-level policy-making positions throughout the world, women comprise less than a tenth of all incumbents, while among political elites in general, women have been described as the most underrepresented category around the world.<sup>2</sup> Unless a broad and representative number of women participate in institutions which determine values, make choices, and allocate rewards, other economic and legal bases of status will remain dormant.

### Opportunity Structure: The Concept

Analyzing the opportunity structure of a society, government, program, or organization permits focus on how one's position activates access to and control over resources. In a hierarchy, those few at the top have access to valued resources and possibilities for mobility which are unavailable to most persons, and particularly women. Peoples' perceptions of themselves and their work are defined by the opportunity structure in which they participate. One's place in the opportunity structure creates ascending cycles of advantage for some and descending cycles of disadvantage for others. This dynamic can be applied to relations between underdeveloped and developed nations, racial and ethnic groups, as well as to women and men.

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<sup>1</sup> Norma Diamond, "Collectivization, Kinship and the Status of Women in Rural China," BULLETIN OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS, January-March, 1975.

<sup>2</sup> Elise Boulding's precise figure is six percent, in HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL DATA ON WOMEN, [Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1976], p. 36. On elites, see Robert Putnam, THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICAL ELITES, [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976], p. 32.

The opportunity structure concept can be applied to the interaction between administrative staff and intended beneficiaries of programs [the clientele]. An informal hierarchy among clientele reflects their different degrees of access to decision making, staff, and support services. It is in the clientele's interest to obtain information, goods, and services to which they are entitled, and in the staff's interest to perform their jobs by supplying those goods, services and information. Yet staff do not serve all clientele in the same way; they respond to the more influential or skillful clientele, a practice exacerbated by the time and resource constraints affecting program staff.<sup>1</sup> A central question becomes: How can program staff and clientele become mutually aware of entitlements and obligations so that staff are accountable to clientele and perform their jobs effectively and equitably? For this, clientele must be aware of and participate in development choices, and staff must have a clear stake in interacting with clientele in ways that equalize the opportunity structure.

#### Women and Opportunity Structures

Accumulating evidence indicates that women--both in households with a man present and in female headed households--and the rural poor majority are located in disadvantaged positions of the informal discriminatory hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> To compensate for this structural problem, it becomes necessary to equalize the opportunity structure by opening channels of communication, supplying information, and supporting new forms of access for those disadvantaged in the hierarchy.

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<sup>1</sup> David K. Leonard, REACHING THE PEASANT FARMER: ORGANIZATION THEORY AND PRACTICE IN KENYA [Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1977], Chapter 9; Uma Lele, THE DESIGN OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins 1975], and Philip H. Coombes, ATTACKING RURAL POVERTY: HOW NON-FORMAL EDUCATION CAN HELP [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1974], p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the overviews cited in the first footnote, specific evidence on a country or regional basis included Ruth Dixon, RURAL WOMEN AT WORK, [Baltimore; Johns Hopkins, 1978], Chapter 2; Lele, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27; Annette Correzze, *et. al.*, THE PARTICIPATION OF RURAL WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: A PROJECT OF RURAL WOMEN'S ANIMATION IN NIGER, 1965-75, [Paris: I.R.A.M., 1976]; John de Wilde, EXPERIENCES WITH AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TROPICAL AFRICA [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1967], *passim.*; and Kathleen A. Staudt, "Women Farmers and Inequities in Agricultural Services," RURAL AFRICANA 29, Winter, 1975-76, and Carol Bond, "Women's Involvement in Agriculture in Botswana," 1974, unpublished. For numerous further citations, see section IV.

Usually indirectly linked to rural development programs, women are thought to be represented by men in the households. The conception of women as "wives" rather than as farmers or traders, a perception often found in the media, programs, and documents, perpetuates the indirect nature of the relationship. With extensive documentation that much of development adversely affects women, and only belated attention to addressing food processing and local technology problems of women users, women's interests appear to have gone underreflected. This is partly explained by the nonexistence or ineffectiveness of rural people's participation in general. But a more basic explanation rests on the absence of a variety of women representatives and women's organizations which participate in development choices.<sup>1</sup> As women participate integrally in a comprehensive, multiple set of programs, an increased flow of information, goods and services more in line with meeting women's needs is expected.

#### A Women's Program: The Dilemmas

Many governments and donor institutions organize services for women within a particular ministry, division, or program in the social services, with only one or no frontline staff person at the local level. The choice of ministry can shape orientation toward women, with a welfare focus usually emanating from social service ministries, rather than an emphasis on women's productive roles. Program size, budget, and proportion of staff compared to overall development programs, budgets and staff, tend to be marginal. Unless such a program works to integrate women's participa-

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<sup>1</sup> Inattention to women's traditional work responsibilities to supply family food through agricultural production had adverse effects on a settlement scheme's total marketed rice production. Planners allotted plots to men which were worked primarily by women. Membership in the marketing cooperative was primarily for men, to whom proceeds from rice sales were allocated. To avoid having to make continual requests to men for cash [quickly spent when the once or twice yearly payment was made], women hid rice and sold it on the black market to obtain income to meet their traditional obligations. Another offshoot of the scheme was a higher rate of marital dissolution, as young newly married women fled such unsatisfactory conditions. See Jane Hanger and Jon Moris, "Women and the Household Economy," in Robert Chambers and Jon Moris, eds., MWEA: AN IRRIGATED RICE SETTLEMENT IN KENYA, [Weltforum Verlag Munchen, Afrika Studien, 1973]. Other examples are found on pp. 6-8.

tion into all other programs, the women's program will remain separate, isolated, and vulnerable to dissolution. A single multi-purpose staff person assigned to serve "the women" in an area [often a larger territorial area than that assigned to single-purpose staff] is thinly spread in time, expertise, and ability to interact with clientele.<sup>1</sup>

A Women's Bureau is one response to the problem of making women integral to other institutions. If supplemented by staff at all hierarchical levels, reaching down to the grass roots, there is the possibility for such bureaus playing a watchdog role over other staff at those levels, or an advocacy role for programs.<sup>2</sup> The watchdog rule need not be one associated with negative sanctions, but rather with positive incentives such as seed money for programs and staff to work with women. Unless other parts of the administration begin shouldering their responsibility for reaching the female clientele, this measure can be a mere palliative, however. The more that such a Bureau can permeate and penetrate other agencies to establish direct, multiple communication to women, the better the prospects that women are made more integral to all programs.

<sup>1</sup> In a western Kenya district, only two percent of the agricultural staff were women, and most were Home Economics Assistants. The area to which they were assigned was larger [averaging 50,000 households] than regular agricultural extension staff [averaging 1-2,000 households]. Home economists were responsible for teaching cooking, gardening, prenatal care, nutrition, sanitation, and sewing, a broad focus which greatly exceeded the specialized focus of agricultural staff or the special tea authority staff. Male agricultural staff concentrated disproportionately on men, largely excluding female headed households which numbered two-fifths of the 212 farms sampled. See Staudt, *op. cit.*

In Indonesia, sixteen percent of the extension workers are women, and few men direct their attention at women. Female staff spent most of their time teaching domestic arts. Moline, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

Documenting women's limited access to programs, a regional three-country A.I.D. project in Latin America aims to test media approaches to integrate women into existing development programs. See Project Paper #598-0574, "Educational Media for Women," Latin American Caribbean Region, U.S. Agency for International Development, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Such is anticipated in the Jamaican Women's Bureau with policy and program authority. The bureau is lodged within the office of the Prime Minister, and supplemented by a Ministry of State for Women's Affairs and liaison officers with each and all ministries. [Personal Communication, Adrienne Germain, 1977].

If a women's program is to be strengthened or added, its structural location within the administration merits close consideration. Attachment to the chief executive's office fosters high visibility, but limits actual involvement in planning and implementation, as well as the continuity and financial security of greater permanence.

All programs affect women, not simply those labeled as such. While women's interests should be integral to all staff and agencies, the dilemma, however, is that unless a strong women's program exists, women may be almost totally ignored, with little visible attention to the task of integrating their activities into all other programs. Program scope should range from areas clearly bound up with women's activity as mother and homemaker or family planning "acceptors," to address them as water carriers, technology and energy users, food producers, processors, and traders. These developments require much broader interaction by women with staff than traditional bureaucratic patterns of organization provide.

#### Opportunity Structure: The Framework

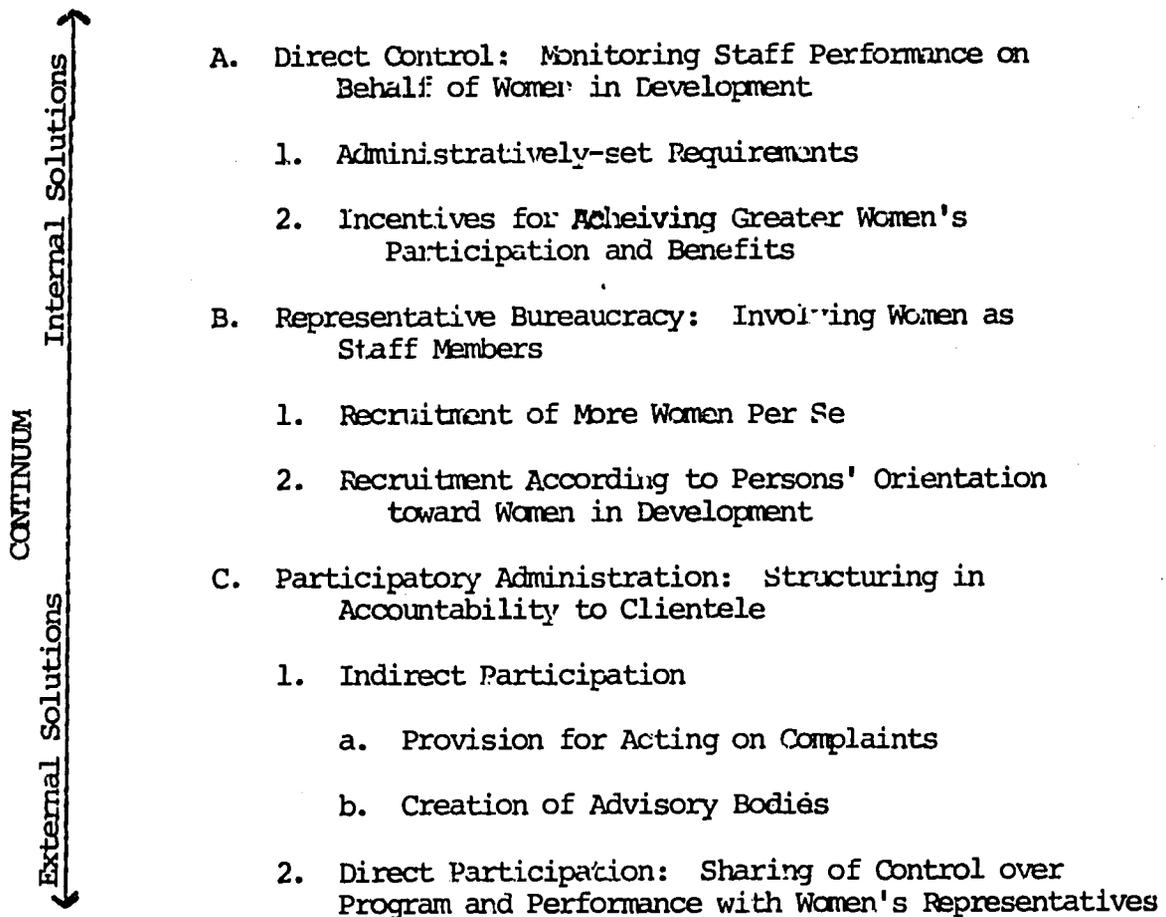
To increase the effectiveness of staff interaction with formerly neglected clientele, there are two general approaches:

- an internal solution, which involves more effective management [requiring that management be thoroughly aware of past neglect], and

- an external solution, which includes giving the clientele some share in authority over staff, as well as participation in decision making over development choices.

The latter enhances local participation in administration, while the former requires more effective recruitment, management, and monitoring of job performance. These options are illustrated in a framework illustrated in Figure 2, and discussed below. The framework presumes the importance of women's direct involvement with all rural development programs as individuals, through one or several women's groups, in partnership with men, or through participation in mixed-sex groups. The underlying idea is to build on and create action opportunities, including access to staff and program support, contact with and recruitment into a more representative bureaucracy, and participation in decision-making. Action opportunities are expected to feed back and strengthen status resources discussed earlier in this section.

Figure 2: Equalizing Opportunity through Changes in Patterns of Administration, Staffing and Decision-Making



### Monitoring Staff: An Internal Solution

Because of the selective and preferential attention usually given to the influential and to men, shown already, an internal solution would be to have management monitor staff performance with women and other disadvantaged groups through spot checks and records--kept either in staff diaries or by clientele--with periodic surveys of clientele, questioning information levels, asking for farmer evaluations, measuring crop output. etc. If staff are aware that judgments are made which affect job tenure, salary increases, and promotions based on their performance vis-a-vis women, incentives are created for more effective and equitable interaction with women. Contact with female household heads, as well as with women in households with men present, should be monitored.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, since women often concentrate on different crops than men, e.g. in parts of the Sahel, special contacts may be needed with women whether heads of households or not. In order to be effective, those who design the monitoring devices must be aware of women's work and of how disparities in access compromise effective staff performance. A certain cost to this option is increased bureaucratization and red tape, however.

### Representative Staff: A Mixed Solution

A second option consists of recruiting a more socially representative bureaucracy to redress prevailing patterns of preference and disparity. Representative bureaucracy notions parallel political appointee formulas known as "Ethnic Arithmetic" in culturally plural nations. Greater balance between the sexes in staffing is an extended form of representative bureau-

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<sup>1</sup> See Leonard, op. cit., for an extended discussion of altering the incentive and career structure in which extension staff operate. Michael M. Cernea and Benjamin Tepping, in "A System for Monitoring and Evaluating Agricultural Extension Projects," [Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1977], offer a number of monitoring suggestions to measure quantity, quality, and impact of extension visits, including surveys, spotchecks, and crop cuttings.

In their discussion of "Agricultural Extension: Training and Visit System," Daniel Benor and James Q. Harrison briefly consider incentives in their "contact farmer" system as well. In all these proposals to improve the extension system, designers could with relative ease add female heads and women as beneficiaries to include in monitoring schemes, or as some of the "contact farmers." Importantly, none of these works even touch on the issue of assisting women producers in their discussions of monitoring.

cracy, though the proportion of women included is a crucial consideration in any case, as discussed later.

Female staff present greater possibilities [or perhaps the only viable one] for contacting women's groups or individual women, particularly in societies where contact between unrelated men and women is discouraged. A study of the 'Arifa role in Morocco documents her crucial intermediary role in allowing male-female interaction in sexually segregated settings. Local Moroccan governments employ a liaison, the 'Arifa, between the court and her district's women. She is chaperone to the police, and offers refuge to women temporarily separated from their husbands. The 'Arifa also makes judgments on virginity and pregnancy, important legally in some circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

Representative bureaucracy can be based on physical attributes or origins, as well as on attitudes. Staff can be selected and recruited according to attributes such as color, sex, or caste that match those of groups poorly served by the administration. Persons from those groups are assumed to be aware of and willing to act to improve the subordinate status of their group. Yet people seek jobs for a variety of reasons, the least of which may be to advance the interests of their group. Furthermore, members of subordinate groups may embrace the ideology rationalizing inequality, regarding their own advancement as a sign of personal superiority. And of course, staff, whatever their attributes and origins, still must operate within a bureaucratic framework that constrains independent and discretionary action beyond certain boundaries.

Despite these considerations, some positive consequences are expected from recruiting a more socially representative staff. First, the communication flow between staff and formerly excluded clientele should increase. An obvious example is found with added female staff in societies where it is socially unacceptable for unrelated women and men to converse. Second, role models are visible to subordinate groups, resulting in wider expectations about life chances, as well as increased status for members of the whole group. Third, the presence of subordinate group members will sensitize dominant group staff who may hold stereotyped views, for example,

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<sup>1</sup> Daisy Dwyer, "Bridging the Gap Between the Sexes in Moroccan Legal Practice," in Alice Schlegel, *SEXUAL STRATIFICATION* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1977].

about women, to the unfairness and unfoundedness of such views. In any case, recruiting a more socially representative staff is expected over the long term to result in a wider spread distribution of benefits.<sup>1</sup> To that extent, increased government benefits are likely to stimulate organization among parts of a clientele. Another long-term consequence is the increased employment of subordinate group members in the better remunerated jobs.

A certain constraint to this option, however, is the wide sex disparities in educational achievement and literacy rates, dimming the prospects for recruiting substantial numbers of women in many societies.<sup>2</sup> In some rural Moslem societies, female education beyond puberty may be seen as threatening to family honor. These facts imply the need to consider short-term paraprofessional training, with relaxed job entrance requirements. At the same time, continued recruitment of women for professional positions should not slacken.

Given the limitations noted above about the effectiveness of representative bureaucracy based solely on physical attributes, a second, stronger solution is recruitment based on added qualifications of knowledge about and commitment to integrating the disadvantaged, above and beyond regular qualifications. In this option, job descriptions are written to include the responsibility of explicit advocacy on behalf of women and to recruit staff with appropriate attitudes and commitments. As above, recruiting paraprofessionals from organizations or local neighborhoods is a possibility, with the expected gain of paraprofessional

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<sup>1</sup> Drawing on analogy, UNESCO data indicates that the percentage of elementary school children who are female increases proportionally with the percentage of elementary school teachers who are women. From "Perspectives of Educational Development in Asia," mimeo, 1965, p. 96, as cited in "Access of Rural Girls to Primary Education in the Third World: State of Art, Obstacles, and Policy Recommendations," Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Paper prepared for USAID/Office of Women in Development, June, 1979.

<sup>2</sup> This is illustrated with a variety of indicators. According to 1972 UNESCO figures, only a quarter, on the average, of all secondary school students in the Near East are women. The 1976 U.N. Statistical Yearbook figures for South Asia indicate men's literacy rates to be about twice or more as high as women's, true also in many parts of Africa. "Report on Women in Development Submitted to the Congress," August, 1978, U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of Women in Development, pp. 58, 123. Only in Latin America and parts of East Asia have women's educational opportunities been similar to men's [prior to the university level].

identification with those units. The advocacy role, whether by professionals or paraprofessionals, requires some consultation with groups indirectly represented in this fashion. This can be problematic when the advocate, perhaps selected because of organizational leadership, no longer sees herself bound by member demands.

#### Clientele Accountability: An External Solution

An external solution formally widens staff accountability from the administration to include the clientele as well. This can occur in a variety of ways, ranging from enhancing clientele voice through consultation, to some degree of control over staff wages, work plans, and job tenure.

If clientele accountability is viable, people must be aware of the services and support to which they are entitled, as well as of the possibilities inherent in rural development.<sup>1</sup> Institutionalizing formal accountability without a knowledgeable clientele will mask "top-down" control in the name of participatory administration.

At minimum, this option increases the ease of making complaints from the disadvantaged, provided that complaints carry some weight in the political arena. In some countries, such as Tanzania, the local political party branch is an institution to which complaints can be made [with varying degrees of effectiveness]. Ombudsmen with powers that range from investigating complaints to making criminal charges are also useful mechanisms.

Informal or formal consultation is another way to institutionalize clientele voice. Such consultation can range from advisory bodies to those that share control over staff work and salary decisions with the administration. Early U.S. agricultural extension activity formalized such control-sharing with farmers. This contributed to the creation of farm pressure groups at the county level, later linked in a national federa-

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<sup>1</sup> A "small media" audio-cassette project in Tanzania stimulated such awareness in activities with two women's groups--one dynamic and the other dormant prior to the project. After learning how to operate the cassettes, group members discussed common difficulties and formulated problem-solving options. See Joyce Stanley, "The Audio Cassette Listening Forum: A Participatory Women's Development Project," USAID, 1979.

tion [a group that grew to represent the more privileged strata of farmers over time, however].<sup>1</sup>

Selection and recruitment mechanisms for any such advisory or supervisory body deserve considerable attention; otherwise they will be captured by those already advantaged in the distributive process, reducing or eliminating the possibility of representativeness. Indeed, the bodies may be controlled exclusively or de facto by men. Anticipating this, several bodies might be created to reflect different perceptions and communication patterns among economic strata or between men and women. With several bodies existing, however, there emerge problems of reconciling differences among the diverse bodies and of adding time to decision-making processes. If a single body is seen as more appropriate instead, limits on, for example, the number of wealthy persons, or men, can be set, restricting them to a certain proportion of the entire body. Restrictions on the wealthy is a practice already in some farmer cooperatives, a precedent also possible for creating functional parity between the sexes [see next section]. A likely result of participatory administration is more overt politicization of the administrative process, already politicized at least implicitly by prevailing distribution patterns. If administrative impact and effectiveness are widened, this is a positive result.

#### Proportional Representation

An important consideration in equalizing opportunity is whether the disadvantaged will control their own groups or whether they will be part of larger community groups. Can we assume that large groups, dominated by those already advantaged in a distributive system, will represent interests of the whole community and spread benefits or information to others? Most probably not. It may not be in the interests of the privileged to spread certain benefits. If only one person is selected to represent the disadvantaged, such as tenants, he may be there primarily for appearance, operating under weighty constraints for bargaining and effectively representing his group. Given the frequency with which those advantaged by a

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<sup>1</sup> On the U.S., see Grant McConnell, PRIVATE POWER AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY [New York Vantage, 1966]. On a participatory system in Taiwan, see Herbert Lionberger and H.C. Chang, FARM INFORMATION FOR MODERN AGRICULTURE: THE TAIWAN SYSTEM [New York: Praeger, 1970].

distributive system capture and control local institutions, separate institutions reflecting the social structure and existing patterns of communication may be more appropriate. Even though separate institutions, they should still be integral to, for example, an integrated rural development program.

In the same way, a lone woman representative should not be expected to represent all women's interests on a committee of men any more than could a single farmer in early colonial committees or a tenant among a group of landlords. With women, the question of representatives is heightened, and the problem of tokenism persists. First, because of different class backgrounds and interests among women, any one woman is unlikely to be representative of all other women, though she will be treated and listened to as such. A tenant may be co-opted in a landlord group, reducing his representativeness, yet his material situation and life chances are nevertheless very different from those of landlords. An individual woman representative's life chances, however, may be very similar to the male elites who surround her. Frequently, wealthy women or women with marital connections to male members of the elite are chosen to represent women, paving the way for augmenting elite control. Second, a woman's behavior is likely to be constrained by her high visibility, a result of tokenism. In societies which formally excluded female voices in public meetings in the not-so-distant past, women hardly are likely to assert women's interests very forcefully, unless they are very exceptional individuals.

If women are to participate in mixed-sex groups, careful attention must be given to selection and recruitment mechanisms, as well as to relative proportions of women. If serious about moving toward balance, there should be at least one-third minority participants, whether women among men, or tenants among landlords, for effective representation within one group of minority viewpoints! If such a proportion is unrealistic, proj-

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<sup>1</sup> Another possibility is simply increasing the number of representatives, adding more women and thus changing proportions. Established quotas are consistent with national philosophies in some South Asian societies, such as India. See Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 55. For a fascinating discussion of number and proportionality in an institutional opportunity structure, see Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *MEN AND WOMEN OF THE CORPORATION* [New York: Basic Books, 1977].

ect designers ought to consider the prospects of selecting a batch of several women to provide representation as well as support. Numbers are critical for peer support and for alleviating suspicions.

In contexts where women have few precedents for mixed-sex participation, a temporary strategy is to have separate-sex organizations that reflect existing patterns of communication. Rather than artificially divide a community, separate groups may actually build on the precedents of parallel organization existing in a wide variety of subsaharan African countries and of informal visitor networks found in rural mideast and Moslem societies. Like the earlier example, these separate institutions should still be integral to larger projects.

To sum up this section, traditional channels of decision making do not adequately articulate women's issues of relative disparities between the sexes, affecting the output and consequences of institutional activity. Women's work and potential productivity goes almost ignored, technology is made available primarily to men, and sex equity is a non-issue. Husbands are often paid for women's work whether or not payment is shared between them and without regard for women's work incentive. A nearly all-male staff simply will be not reach women clientele in certain contexts. Decision-making structures reinforce male access to and ability to activate opportunity, just as they reinforce elite access. Similarities between women and other disadvantaged groups call attention to the structural cause of the problem, implying the need for structural solutions equalizing access and involving the disadvantaged through opening or redistributing channels within the opportunity structure.

### III. ORGANIZATIONS AND PARTICIPATION

Development participation includes involvement in decision-making processes, implementation, benefits, and the evaluation of rural development activities.<sup>1</sup> Participation signals that development activities have some local community support, thus providing greater prospects for development continuity. Only through locally perceived stake in development will

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<sup>1</sup> This definition and conception comes from John Cohen and Norman Uphoff, RURAL DEVELOPMENT PARTICIPATION: CONCEPTS FOR PROJECT DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION [Ithaca: Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1977].

efforts become institutionalized along local lines. A crucial part of securing any benefits to be derived from rural development is through awareness of the options and possibilities in rural development, which take shape through organization and through contact with development staff. Such contacting can occur through program-linked institutions designed explicitly to advise or control staff, and through organizations which operate autonomously from, yet influence or activate the delivery of services.<sup>1</sup>

#### Organization: Its Prospects

In most societies, persons of higher socio-economic status participate in decision making more than those of lower status. Men also participate more than women. To compensate for existing disadvantage,

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<sup>1</sup> A number of studies have systematically tested how local participation or local organization affect development across regional and program sector areas. In LOCAL ORGANIZATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT: ANALYSIS OF ASIAN EXPERIENCE [Ithaca: Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1974], Norman Uphoff and Milton Esman document higher rural productivity, welfare and self-sustained development in the "more organized" in contrast to "less organized" countries.

In STRATEGIES FOR SMALL FARMER DEVELOPMENT: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS [Boulder: Westview, 1976], Elliot Morss and others find that farmers taking local action to complement management resources and farmer involvement in decision making explained much of project success.

In "The Development Impact of Private Voluntary Organizations: Kenya and Niger," Paper submitted to U.S.A.I.D. by Development Alternatives Inc., February 2, 1979, A.H. Barclay identified four strategies in the seventeen cases analyzed. The two successful strategies were [1] supplementing a community self-help project with materials and equipment and [2] providing low profile support to small groups which make key decisions and implement projects. The next two, unsuccessful, strategies involved [3] major technical assistance commitment and high PVO involvement, and [4] top-down government initiation and implementation.

None of the studies systematically and explicitly examined organization among women, or women's integral involvement in local organization and participatory projects, affecting development as measured, except to note examples of women's organizations in passing. Studies subsume women within the family, and assume their interests are thus represented--not always a valid assumption. The documentation cited earlier suggests women's interests often go unreflected. Thus, analysts might label a community "well organized," or a project "participatory," yet women may be totally uninvolved.

organization and group consciousness can provide information, confidence, and support for the disadvantaged, encouraging assumption of a larger role in public affairs.<sup>1</sup>

In most societies, women have less access than men to productive resources--such as land, livestock, and money--which translate into, or reinforce political power. Group action capitalizes on size, scale, and cohesion, and can operate in self-sustaining ways to counterbalance this disparity in access to resources. While economic growth and redistribution, better planning and design, and more accurate assesment of what women do in a given society are important considerations bearing on women in development, these factors alone do not adequately meet women's needs, because they leave essential power balances untouched. Organizational activity, on the other hand, provides such redress, assisting a variety of women affected and involved in government programs. The initiatives and pressures produced by organization can translate both broad economic change and improved administration into more meaningful programs, as the previously cited participation studies indicate. The precise conditions under which this occurs await systematic comparison of accumulating cases and fuller integration into studies of participation. Exploring existing cases and project possibilities is one task of this monograph.

People may have common problems and interests, but they do not automatically perceive those commonalities, necessary for organizational action. The conditions usually associated with group awareness include:

- the opportunity to interact and communicate with one another,
- the absence of strong competing loyalties, and
- actual shared values or deprivations.

The larger context also affects group awareness and action. Most important, is group expression and action considered legitimate? Prior to the middle of the century, many women were unenfranchised, lacking basic political tools such as the vote. Even the right to speak publicly amidst

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<sup>1</sup> In an analysis of 93 preindustrial societies, derived from a random sample of George Murdock's 186 standard cross cultural sample, men were found to be exclusive political leaders in 88% of the 74 societies about which information was available, and participated disproportionately in political gatherings and councils. See Martin King Whyte, *THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN PREINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 57-8.

unrelated men was [and is still] forbidden in some societies. Also important are the expectations which religious or secular institutions set. If either motherhood, or food production, are the dominant attributes of women, this will define the shape, scope, and style of group action.<sup>1</sup> Finally, individualism, commercialization and competitiveness may limit how much people use collective action to resolve and meet their needs. Wealthy women traders in highly competitive arenas and with their own source of credit, may operate individually, unlike small-scale women traders who depend on one another for capitalization through rotating credit societies.

### Women's Similarities to Other Disadvantaged Groups

Women, like other disadvantaged groups in society, face certain difficulties in building on and strengthening organization. By definition, disadvantaged groups [such as untouchable castes, racial minorities, and Andean Indian ethnic minorities] have less access to resources, such as contacts, money, and information that support successful organizational action. Particularly among those living at or near survival levels, time for group activity is limited. Disadvantaged groups also lack experience, skills, leadership, and organizational alliances, unlike the edge possessed by long-standing, well-integrated participants.<sup>2</sup> If excluded from government or program benefits, people are likely to drop out of participation, while those within the distribution network have incentives to continue. As either non-recipients or indirect recipients of political benefits, women and other disadvantaged groups, such as tenants, lack the reinforcement associated with sporadic or continual success action.

A more subtle aspect of disadvantaged status is the stigma that goes along with it, an attitude learned by all, including the disadvantaged.

<sup>1</sup> Among the Bamileke in the Cameroon where women's involvement in food production is long-standing, some female farmers are admitted into the Mansu, a society composed of the best cultivators. The Mandjon was a group of important women who administered village work done by women, such as clearing paths. From R. Delaoziere, as cited in Judy Bryson, "Women and Economic Development in Cameroon," Report submitted to USAID, Yaounde, January, 1979, pp. 25, 114. Food production was a dominant attribute of women, defining group action.

<sup>2</sup> A U.S. Private Voluntary Organization, the Overseas Education Fund, has a number of women's projects in Latin America addressed to leadership training. See Section VI.

If women, minority, poverty, or caste groups internalize values which denigrate them, the will to act on common interests is inhibited, unless countered by skepticism, reevaluation, and positive affirmation of group culture.<sup>1</sup> The longer a group has been subordinate, such as women in parts of the middle east, the greater the difficulty in overcoming this more subtle inhibition to organized action. Nevertheless, for women in sexually egalitarian societies, such as parts of sub-saharan Africa, where centralized, male-controlled political structures have taken hold only in this last century, this is not expected to be as difficult a problem as elsewhere.

#### Organizational Incentives

Unless members see some clear benefit, or incentive, to be derived from their participation, building or strengthening organization among any group--disadvantaged or not--is difficult. These incentives include:

- material gain,
- social benefits from associating,
- satisfaction from contributing to a worthy cause, and
- avoidance of sanction.

Common queries of potential group members, are "what's in it for me, or people close to me?" and of established members, "what has the organization done for me lately?"<sup>2</sup> Even if people recognize common interests, they may not consider participation to be worth any time and effort because benefits

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<sup>1</sup> The Inter-American Foundation has a number of programs for ethnic minorities in Latin American countries addressed to affirmations of group culture. See *THEY KNOW HOW: AN EXPERIMENT IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE* [U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977; on language revival, theater and other such programs.

<sup>2</sup> For a penetrating analysis of rural society in this regard, see Joel Migdal, *PEASANTS, POLITICS AND REVOLUTION* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974]. On voluntary incentives, see James Q. Wilson, *POLITICAL ORGANIZATION* [New York: Basic Books, 1973].

.As Cohen and Uphoff note, *op. cit.*, there is often a fine line dividing voluntary and involuntary incentives, p. 91. A review of communication studies also notes how obvious and immediate rewards enhance change; see "Educational Media for Women," *op. cit.*, p. 24.

derived will be conferred upon all members of the group, regardless of whether they participated in the organization. Therefore, it is up to organizational leaders and project designers who work with organizations to devise at least some selective incentives to induce participation, and make other benefits available only to those who commit time and effort to the organization.<sup>1</sup>

### Unique Aspects of Women's Participation

Despite differences among women in various times and cultures, there are certain uniformities common to women which suggest women's participation as unique compared to that of other disadvantaged groups. These common factors in women's experience may either exaggerate or soften other aspects of subordination, or even totally change its form. The following elements distinguish women's participation from that of other groups.

#### Women's Marginalization

Some disparity in access to resources between the sexes invariably exists, and accumulating evidence suggests it becomes more pronounced as most development proceeds.

#### Within Household Participation

Women are situated within households, which affects their participation in profound ways. Close attention to the relationships among household members is required, as is a consideration of women's stake and incentive in household-based participation.

#### Strong, Competing Loyalties

Through ties of marriage and family, women face relatively permanent competing loyalties to those of their sex group, affecting both group identification and sex consciousness.

#### Reproduction

Women's ability to give birth--whether they do so or not,--affects the division of labor by sex and defines or limits women's participation. Deep-seated values are associated with the reproductive role, though values differ in centrality across societies.

The remainder of Part I explores these elements in greater depth and develops implications for program design.

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<sup>1</sup> Mancur Olson, *THE LOGIC OF COLLECTIVE ACTION* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965].

#### IV. WOMEN'S MARGINALIZATION

Economic growth is associated with declining female contributions within households and in the larger economy, relative to men.<sup>1</sup> While women's access to income and opportunity may increase in an absolute sense,<sup>2</sup> transformations in the wider economy, both in terms of technology and opportunity, reduce women's proportional control over resources and contribution to development. Machines replace women's labor, manufactured goods compete with women's crafts, and large-scale trading companies compete with women's small-scale trade.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Patricia Garrett's analysis of landholding and agricultural employment documents this in Chile; see "Some Structural Constraints on the Agricultural Activities of Women: The Chilean Hacienda," University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center Paper, No. 70, December, 1976.

Mintz, op.cit., documents this with respect to women traders in the Caribbean and West Africa, as does Dorothy Remy for Nigeria in "Underdevelopment and the Experience of Women: A Nigerian Case Study," in Rayna R. Reiter, TOWARD AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF WOMEN [New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975], and Claire Robertson for Ghana in "Women and Change in Marketing Conditions in the Accra Area," RURAL AFRICANA, 29, 1975-76. Dixon, op. cit., documents this for India in Chapter 2.

A study in the Peruvian sierra documents how women in landless and smallholder agricultural households contribute larger numbers of labor days to agricultural production compared to women in the middle and rich peasant households. See Carmen Diana Deere, "Intra-Familial Labor Deployment and the Formation of Peasant Household Income: A Case Study of the Peruvian Sierra," Paper presented at the Women and Poverty conference, International Center for Research on Women, Washington, D.C., April 30 - May 2, 1978. Also see her "Changing Social Relations of Production and Peruvian Peasant Women's Work," LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES, 4, 1-2, Winter and Spring, 1977, where she documents improvements for women in the transition from a feudal to capitalist economy with respect to wages, fixed work hours, and more secure employment.

Stoler's study in Java documents women's declining proportional contribution to household maintenance, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Elite women may have similar or greater opportunities than non-elite men, obscuring sex disparity patterns.

<sup>3</sup> While technology could potentially alleviate woman's work burden and replace it with income-earning opportunities, it frequently displaces women from jobs and trains men in the new technology. Mechanized rice hullers in Indonesia displaced women, and only men were trained to use the machines. [William Collier, cited in Milone, op. cit., p. 79]. Imported foods are also often replacing women's locally processed food; Milone, p. 159. See also Elsa Chaney and Marianne Schminck, "Women and Modernization: Access to Tools," in June Nash and Helen Safa, SEX AND CLASS IN LATIN AMERICA, [New York: Praeger: 1976].

Women's marginalization in the larger economy parallels marginalization within households. The centrality of women's contribution declines, as commercial services and technology absorb domestic work. To be sure, women's work burden may be reduced [to the extent technology is affordable], freeing time for other productive activities. Frequently, however, those other productive activities have been undercut for women, and turned into specialized income-earning opportunities or wage occupations available primarily to men, since the constant responsibility for child care remains, tying women to the home.<sup>1</sup> Even the centrality of reproductive ability declines as societies become densely settled and overpopulated and as children become more like economic liabilities than assets. This marginalization is tenable for neither the near nor distant future. Households, particularly among the rural poor majority and with female heads, cannot afford the marginalization of the female adult. Withdrawing one adult from income-earning activities undercuts the disadvantaged even further.

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<sup>1</sup> For country documentation, see citations in footnote 1 on previous page.

Ingrid Palmer, in "The Role of Rural Women in a New Economic Order," argues that women lose in the development process as a result of three factors which promote entrepreneurialism among men, but not women: monetization of productivity, market incorporation of production, and the creation of support institutions. Goods women produce rarely are monetized. Products that command a monetary exchange enter a market pricing mechanism and their values are indexed accordingly. Technology can alter productivity and values and is therefore rational, yet technology for nonmonetized production has no compelling economic rationale. Supporting institutions emerge, along with a dealer-seller role within the market system, and "he who is free of the hearth" usually claims the position. See Palmer and Kathryn Bissell, "Introduction: Women and Equality of Opportunity," in Khadija Haq, EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY WITHIN AND AMONG NATIONS, [New York: Praeger, 1977].

In another example from Brazil, a metal press was introduced into the mashing process for cassava flour processing. Prior to that, all stages of processing were labor-intensive, and eventually higher male labor costs made electrical and gasoline powered presses more economical, an innovation saving more male labor. Peeling cassava was the last phase of production to undergo technological change, and peelers were invariably women. Finally, cassava flour production was completely converted to capital-using technology, replacing all female workers with men to work the machines. See C.R. Campbell, "The Impact of Mechanization on the Employment of Women in Traditional Sectors," Paper presented to the National Council on Women and Development Seminar on Women in Ghanaian Development, September, 1978, Accra.

In discussions of marginalization, specifying the precise conditions under which these processes hasten or are arrested awaits systematic comparison and integration into other development studies. Exploring program possibilities and organizational efforts to address this marginalization is addressed in the section.

### Household Production

In many parts of the developing world, household production is integrally tied to farm production.<sup>1</sup> Goods and services are frequently used, or consumed, in the home rather than exchanged outside the home. Examples of consumption-oriented work of women include growing food, carrying water, collecting firewood, hulling rice, clarifying butter, grinding meal, spinning wool, cooking, fishing, and raising small animals and poultry, among other things.<sup>2</sup> The work men do, either in the form of goods or labor, tends to be quantified because it transcends the household, while the work women do is absorbed or consumed within the household, while the work women do is absorbed or consumed within the household, thereby remaining unquantified.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Household production is defined as unpaid activities carried out by and for members of a household which could be replaced by market goods if income, market conditions and personal inclinations permitted the creation of goods and services to be delegated outside the household. See M. Reid, *ECONOMICS OF HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION* [New York: John Wiley, 1934]. Accordingly, household production has value which can be quantified.

<sup>2</sup> Women contribute a great deal to subsistence. In Whyte's analysis of 93 preindustrial societies, *op. cit.*, he found that in 90% of the societies women's contribution to subsistence ranged from 30-60%. The highest decile [up to 50% contribution to subsistence] represented 30% of the sample [p. 30]. In almost two-thirds of the societies, women and men contributed about the same time and effort to subsistence [p. 62].

<sup>3</sup> Even when women do work which is quantified, it draws a lower return for a variety of reasons, including women's nearness to the home, inequitable wages, and women's lack of access to capital. In Yemen, women may carry goods to the road and sell them, but men go all the way to the city, with prospects for higher profits. See Rebecca Swanson, "Role of Women in the Yemen Arab Republic," Report submitted to USAID, Sana'a, September, 1975, p. 17.

(Continued on next page)

The family food plot has until recently been ignored by government extension and donor agencies who focus instead on cash and export crops. Family food consumption should be integral to any agricultural project, and not simply the responsibility of home economists. A Jamaican integrated rural development project recognizes the importance of food consumed on site. Initially the Farm Plan, a basic working document in the project, addressed only what was sold. Annual income calculations, an indicator of project progress, did not count the food the family grows and consumes as income, even though consumption contributes to family welfare, and is purchased in other settings. If revised, the Farm Plan will join income and consumption concerns.<sup>1</sup>

Examining the variety of production inputs, as well as the ultimate returns to a household--in terms of cash and consumption, brings projects squarely into women's work activities. Work contributions paid in cash, in kind, and unpaid, require assessment.<sup>2</sup> Reciprocal gifts and labor ex-

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<sup>3</sup> (Continued).

In Western Kenya, women traders remark, about access to capital, "women have hundreds [of shillings]; men have thousands." See Kathleen A. Staudt, "Sex, Class and Ethnic Consciousness in Western Kenya," Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Baltimore, November, 1978. Women there accumulate their own capital while men have access to small business loans from government because they have land title deeds or salaries which can be used as loan guarantees.

In Indonesia, Milone, *op. cit.*, also reports that women traders operated within walking distance of their homes, unlike men, p. 88.

Women's mobility may be restricted by tradition or for safety concerns. One private voluntary organization in Haiti directly addresses this constraint. The Petion-Ville Leadership Training Program for market women is organized around a social center/dormitory provided for women who require housing at the end of the market day. By providing safe shelter, restrictions on female mobility are lessened. See Annex 4 in "Educational Media for Women," *op. cit.* The YWCA fulfills similar functions on longer-term bases by providing safe, woman-only shelter for urban job seekers.

<sup>1</sup> Elsa Chaney and B. Samuels, "Planning a Women's Component in Integrated Rural Development Project: Two Meetings and Pindars Watersheds, Jamaica," Office of Women in Development, U.S.A.I.D., March 26, 1979, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Women's work contributions are often seen as secondary, and go uncounted by government censuses or project designers. Some governments, however, gather statistics on the unpaid family labor of workers if at (Continued on next page).

changes though outside a money economy, directly affect labor inputs and remuneration in agricultural production. The effectiveness of crop storage and processing greatly affect what farmers can eat and sell, often within the realm of women's work. According to U.N. estimates, up to one-fourth of crop output is lost through lack of pest or insect control in crop storage.<sup>1</sup>

### Time Constraints

Assessing women's time constraints through Time Budget Studies is also important in project design. Technology should be designed to alleviate user time constraints for tasks such as hoeing, grinding, gathering firewood, lifting and hauling water, and extracting palm oil, in order to free women for productive activities, more leisure, and better health. The Cameroon corn mill societies are a classic case of such design. Recognizing that women had little time to attend literacy classes, a community development officer introduced hand operated corn mills which owned and operated as groups. Mills were loaned, not donated, and each group collected fees to repay loans. The initial 15 corn mill societies expanded into 232, and groups developed other activities, including poultry schemes using bran from the milling process, tree planting for fuel, and individual fences to prevent livestock from entering women's fields and destroying crops. What was called the Pila Project in Guatemala addressed the time constraints problem by playing cassettes while women were at communal laundry facilities. The thirty-minute program combined health information with music, radio novellas, and spot announcements, and follow-up surveys indicated women enjoyed the tapes, particularly the advice on health and nutrition.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> (Continued).

least a third of normal working hours to an economic enterprise is contributed by other household members. From Boulding, 1978, op.cit., p. 5. If the census taker or project designer speaks to men in the house, women's contributions may go unrevealed, for prestige reasons; [see next section].

<sup>1</sup> Lele, op. cit., p. 118. The figure refers to Africa.

<sup>2</sup> The project was Elizabeth O'Kelly's, cited in Bryson, op. cit., p. 93. See "Educational Media for Women," op. cit., Annex 4B, p. 21. R.D. and S.F. Colle, in "The Communications Factor in Health & Nutrition Programs," Department of Communication Arts, Cornell University, 1979, provide an analysis and evaluation of the Pila Project.

Designers cannot presume women will move directly into economic activities, once burdens are alleviated, without assessing the local context. A primary condition is institutional support for such movement, but whether women will derive any benefit is also critical. In parts of Mali, it is by no means certain women would welcome a switch from water carrying to gardening because their labor and its benefits are controlled by husbands.<sup>1</sup>

### Women's Productivity

At the same time, women's production must be included in comparisons of productivity that use more conventional measures, such as output per acre, crop-cuttings, and crop diversification. Such studies may dispell notions that women are less productive than men. A study of farm managerial efficiency which compared female managers to male managers found women to be more technically efficient maize farmers than men in the Vihiga Division, Kenya. Women's productivity equalled men's, but when women had the same access to resources and opportunities as men, women's maize output per acre surpassed men's.<sup>2</sup>

Another study from Western Kenya found women managers' productivity [measured in terms of crop diversification, time of innovation, and income-earning orientation] to be equal to men's in an area with minimal agricultural services. In a different area similar in all respects except that it offered numerous services and greater agricultural staff availability, as well as greater land density, women's productivity relative to men's was less. This differential was attributed to the male preference permeating the provision of agricultural services since the late colonial period and a program doctrine that minimized women's role in agricultural work. Sewing, knitting, and house decoration were the dominant conceptions of women's work though these were of little interest

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<sup>1</sup> Social Soundness Analysis in "Mali Renewable Energy Project," #688-0217, USAID Project Paper, June 22, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Russell Moock, "The Efficiency of Women as Farm Managers: Kenya," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, 58:5, December, 1976.

to women, and further aggravated their time constraints were they to participate.<sup>1</sup>

Both studies suggest detrimental implications for programs aimed at increasing productivity if they bypass women, and these cases can be generalized to most areas where women have traditional interest and expertise in agriculture. Like other agricultural societies, western Kenya is in transition, and women's productivity can be predicted to decline in the next decades unless they are given similar support to men. In those areas where women's productivity is already lower, designers must look to past program activity for partial causation.

#### Organizations in Development

One important feature ties together successful women's groups in development: an income-earning orientation, so critical to addressing the incentive question discussed earlier.<sup>2</sup> Such an incentive may also appeal to husbands, who have a stake in expanding household resources, one means of which is through women's income. Previous sections have illustrated this feature, but several more fully developed examples follow, divided into two sections: organizations in societies with fewer disparities between the sexes, and organizations in societies with wider disparities between the sexes.

#### Building on Women's Traditional Strengths

In societies where women are traditionally involved in substantial economic activity, program possibilities include creating or supporting new and varied organizational forms which further build on these strengths.

A participatory women's project in Tanzania was introduced in two villages, using audio cassettes to encourage local problem solving. One village had a thriving women's group, while the other, a dormant group which the cassette project helped to rejuvenate. Through group discussion, participants identified, prioritized, and developed action strategies to overcome prob-

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<sup>1</sup> Kathleen A. Staudt, "Agricultural Productivity Gaps: A Case Study of Male Preference in Government Policy Implementation," DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE, July, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Marion Misch, in "Rural Women's Groups as Potential Change Agents: A study of Colombia, Korea and the Philippines." Report submitted to the Technical Assistance Bureau. U.S.A.I.D., May, 1975, also makes this point.

lems. In one village where drunkenness was a major problem, women decided to set into motion existing laws banning brewing in homes, and improved the existing women's group beer hall to enable supervision of brewing. Tapes were of two types: problem-posing [focusing dialogue and discussion], and informational, [containing health and nutrition information]. By extending the reach of extension personnel, cassettes alleviated the access problem common to women.<sup>1</sup>

Community Development Centers in rural Mali sought to improve women's household conditions and nutrition practices, but with women's attention heavily focused on providing family's basic needs, projects attracted little interest. A reoriented program sought to increase women's earning capacity and incomes through a training program in which women from a Gambian urban tie-dyers cooperative taught participants advanced dyeing techniques. Malian participants were then charged with the responsibility of teaching new skills to members at the Centers upon return. A women's cooperative transmitted skills across national and linguistic barriers. For the Gambian cooperative, one program impact was an enhancement of cohesiveness among members who work in a highly competitive and individualist market.<sup>2</sup>

#### Congruence with Cultural Settings

While programs illustrated above supported women's traditional strengths and skills, in other societies, women's mobility is restricted and there are few or no organizations to enhance. Programs must then be developed within existing constraints, seeking support or tolerance from husbands, and stressing women's venerated role, such as that of mother. Strategies should mesh with the cultural context, with attention to whether contact is impersonal or personal. Communication studies indicate media are more effective in influencing "low risk" behavioral change.<sup>3</sup> Presumably, limited departure from accepted behaviors [both

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley, op. cit. Redirecting brewing to their own hall was also an economic protectionist move and no doubt increased their profits as well.

<sup>2</sup> Susan L. Caughman, "New Skills for Rural Women: Report of a Training Program for Twelve Malian Community Development Workers Held in Banjul, the Gambia," Women and Development Program, International Division, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, 1977.

<sup>3</sup> See reviews of communication literature by Human Resources Management and Stanford Institute for Communication Research, as cited in "Educational Media For Women," op. cit., pp. 22-24.

as others view women, and as women view themselves] reduces "risk," and the interpersonal communication and support of group action enhances change. Following are several examples.

The Korean Planned Parenthood Federation initiated Mother's Clubs to facilitate the dissemination of family planning ideas. Successful clubs are generally supplemented with income-earning or consumption-oriented savings activities, such as credit unions, cooperative stores, land purchases, agricultural and construction projects. The peer support available in groups both reinforces individual change and permits the sharing of labor and cash for experimentation and risk-taking.<sup>1</sup>

The Rural Feminine Credit program of INCORA, an agrarian reform institute, required credit candidates to form organizations or join existing women's associations. Women learned skills and participated in productive individual or group projects such as food production and processing for the market, as well as established neighborhood stores and cooperative clothing construction operations. The program emphasized family unity and the need to expand women's role into learning and income-earning activities. Program documents stressed how the program would "ayudara al hombre..." ["help a man to..."], realistically reflecting requirements that a man's consent needed to be obtained for participation.<sup>2</sup>

In a description of milk cooperatives in India, the idea of separate women's cooperatives was criticized, yet it was recognized that men who joined the cooperative would receive payment regardless of the fact that women did the work. However, milk collection and payment procedures resulted in women receiving recognition and compensation for their work. Central milk collection points were created with payment on delivery specified. Initially, men would not allow women to deliver milk, but they soon tired of the twice-daily trips, and eventually women made most deliveries. Besides increasing women's and family incomes, another offshoot of the program was to increase women's contact with others outside the home and place them in new communication networks.<sup>3</sup>

Though great obstacles to integrated programming exist in sexually segregated societies, there are possibilities for building on those bases

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<sup>1</sup> D. Lawrence Kincaid, Hyung-John Park, Kyung-Kyoon Chung, Chin-Chaun Lee, MOTHER'S CLUBS AND FAMILY PLANNING IN RURAL KOREA: THE CASE OF ORYU LI. Case Study No. 2. Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center, n.d., probably 1973.

<sup>2</sup> Cebotarev, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Dixon, op. cit., pp. 54ff.

in ways to enhance women's participation. In labor-short countries of the near east such as Yemen, Morocco, and Jordan, substantial policy commitment to recruiting women in non-traditional vocational education exists, though training programs are sometimes hardpressed to recruit women. Fears about mixing the sexes must be taken into account. In both schools and workplaces, segregated shifts, rooms, and buildings should conform to cultural parameters. Proposals in Afghanistan for "women's houses," with nurseries attached, would have women assemble for income-earning opportunities in rug weaving, and milk and cheese production, among other activities.<sup>1</sup> Working with groups of women can solve some of the constraints women face regarding male restrictions on mobility. Where individual women cannot tread, a group perhaps can. In a Peruvian case, providing project vehicles for groups of women to attend regional markets to sell their crafts not only alleviated husbands' concerns, but eliminated middlemen.<sup>2</sup>

Vocational educational programs have been saddled by limited training options, often based on western stereotypes of appropriate women's work, including sewing, secretarial work, nursing, and hair care. Yet in most parts of the middle east, nursing is considered so unsuitable an occupation for women that recruitment is problematic. Furthermore, what is considered non-traditional in the west may blend well with cultural practices elsewhere. Training women in carpentry and technical repair, for example, permits women to participate in family-based businesses, thus enhancing family income prospects. Training women as plumbers permits woman-to-woman service during daytime hours, accommodating service to sex segregation, as women are left in the home.

Congruency, however, is not the absolute criteria for program design, and certainly has not been so in the design of development programs for men. Building on women's traditional economic roles in societies with few sex disparities is appropriate, yet building on highly inequitable

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<sup>1</sup> Hunte, op. cit., pp. 101-102. For a useful study on the middle east, see Roxann Van Dusen, "Integrating Women into National Economies: Programming Considerations with Special Reference to the Near East," Report submitted to OTS/NE/U.S.A.I.D., July, 1977.

<sup>2</sup> Cited from Human Resources Management Study, in "Educational Media for Women," op. cit., p. 21 and Annex 4.

roles may simply perpetuate the imbalance. Wholehearted pursuit of the latter is antithetical to development.

#### V. WITHIN-HOUSEHOLD STATUS

Unless single household heads, women are part of household units which pool labor and share resources to varying extents. Researchers and program designers typically assume households have a single male head. Instead, a variety of household types exist, discussed further in this section.

#### Household Analysis

Crucial to project designers in understanding community contexts is an analysis of households. Sex differences require attention to the following. [Key questions are listed under each factor].

##### labor allocation and the work context

Who does what work? How much time do tasks take? What proportion of labor do women contribute to subsistence? Is the context of work sex specialized or integrated?

##### decision making<sup>1</sup>

Is authority skewed or not, for which kinds of decisions? Who makes major and minor decisions, and how often are those kinds of decisions made?<sup>2</sup> Does shared decision making exist? How does decision making vary by content [e.g., cattle care, food production, child care, etc.]

##### control over resources

##### control over fruits of labor

Who benefits from labor?  
How are proceeds divided?  
What are proceeds used for?

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<sup>1</sup> Asking people "who made the decision" is problematic, as people often answer what they think is appropriate. Who makes decisions varies by decision content and the stage at which an innovation diffuses. Moreover, influence on decision making is difficult to assess. By posing the question "who," an unnecessarily individualist thrust may bias results in areas where shared decision making is the rule.

<sup>2</sup> Traditionally, a man may decide which land will be used for planting, of major importance in areas with extensive land availability [or a carryover from eras of plentiful land]. In densely settled societies, such a decision is purely symbolic.

ties to informal and formal networks which share labor, goods, and cash.

What groups are people part of?

What functions do groups play, with what return to members?

Answers to these questions will vary across regions, economic strata, and age.<sup>1</sup> Careful observation and questioning prior to program implementation, and baseline studies sensitive to women's labor, return, and resources in the variety of households that exist, are critical to planning, building information collection into design, and later evaluations. An assessment of project impact on these factors is necessary.

For answers to these questions, asking the man in the house will not suffice. If male headship is considered legally appropriate, respondents will invariably cite men as heads, sometimes regardless of actual practice. If asked "do you work?" a rural Mexican woman will often say no--even if she does most of the planting, harvesting, and caring for animals and garden--partly because she is not paid and considers the work a family duty.<sup>2</sup> Female interviewers will usually be necessary to question women directly and obtain more accurate answers. An account of men trying to interview women in rural Indonesian households described how interviewers questioned sons or husbands, who in turn shouted to women hidden in other rooms of the house. An answer contrary to the husband's expectation would probably not be made.<sup>3</sup>

Considerable caution should be exercised using government census figures on the number of male and female heads. Even if respondents do not cite men as heads, government data collectors may do so. In Indonesia, the eldest male is by definition the head, even if a child or if too old to work.<sup>4</sup> In one research study in Sierra Leone, persons under 15 and over 55 were included in a "dependency ratio" figure, yet in the same chart,

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<sup>1</sup> With advancing age, women's authority and autonomy often increase.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Elmendorf, "The Dilemma of the Peasant Woman: A View from a Village in Yucatan," in Tinker & Bramsen, op. cit. See also Dixon, p. 20, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Moline, op. cit., pp. 175, 183.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

the mean age of household heads was over 55.<sup>1</sup> Either "dependency" is meaningless in that context, or someone other than the designated head is exercising managerial authority. In Kenya, the proportion of female heads declined from the 1969 census to other censuses as data gatherers were instructed to define even those men who worked away from their rural homes permanently as heads.<sup>2</sup> In sum, definitions of head vary from nation to nation, and statistics often underestimate the proportion of female heads. If a man is only tenuously connected to the household residence, but absent for most of the year, this may meet the census criteria for headship, even though women invariably assume more authority within the household.

### Household Typology

For purposes of this discussion, women will be classified according to three intra-household situations, where they are respectively, autonomous, interdependent, and dependent. Whether women are autonomous or dependent within households will be crucial for program decisions about whom to contact among household members. Similarly, even where there is interdependence, programs should be more sensitive to the balance, which will be tipped toward men if the program focus is on men. These implications are spelled out in further detail after the typology is presented. Figure 3 contains an overview of the typology, along with examples. Characteristics are described generally, and project designers must detail the specifics according to the actual context.

### Autonomous

Autonomy can occur in two different contexts: First, while men reside in the household or compound, and second, when men are absent, resulting in de facto female headship. Absence can range from weekly work days, to a season or several years, or even abandonment. It is expected that the longer the range of time, the more that autonomy among women will be pronounced.

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<sup>1</sup> Dunstan Spencer, "African Women in Agricultural Development: A Case Study in Sierre Leone," Overseas Liaison Committee, No. 9, 1976.

<sup>2</sup> Dorene Reynolds, "A Preliminary Study of Three Countries: Kenya Report," Report submitted to the Office of Women in Development, USAID, December, 1978, pp. 8-10. For fuller consideration of these problems in definitions, see Buvinic, et. al., op. cit.

Figure 3. Women in the Household Typology

	I <u>Autonomous</u>		II <u>Interdependent</u>	III <u>Dependent</u>
	I/a <u>Men Present</u>	I/b <u>Men Absent</u>		
Labor Allocation and Work Context	Substantial labor contribution  Shared or sex-specialized context	(Contingent on prevailing model, though tends toward I/a)	Substantial labor contribution  Shared or sex-specialized context	Minimal*--sex specialized  (* or near invisible)
Decision Making	Different decision spheres		Different decision spheres or shared	Minimal
Resource Control	Considerable		Balanced, but tipped toward men	Minimal, though may own possessions
Control Over Fruits or Labor	Substantial, within bounds of family obligations		Substantial, within bounds of family obligations	Minimal
Ties to Formal and Informal Organizations	Considerable		Some	Minimal; some informal ties
EXAMPLES	Coastal West Africa; some areas in the Sahel	Male out-migration areas: eastern & southern Africa; Morocco, Yemen & Jordan; Caribbean	Indonesia, Philippines, Andean Latin America	Parts of South Asia; Rural Moslems Middle East; Parts of Latin America

Women's Autonomy: Male Presence

Women's labor contributions to households are considerable. Women supply from one-third to three-fourths of total income and consumption needs through food production, handicraft work, or trade. Sex-specialized labor tends to occur, often following separate authority spheres for decision making. Women control the fruits of their labor, usually contingent, however, on meeting family obligations such as supplying food. Ties to networks--kin, neighbors, organizations--are often substantial.

In East Asia, women often control financial affairs within a family, yet operate under other social constrictions unmatched for men.<sup>1</sup> In parts of subsaharan Africa, where agriculture is women's work, a man works minimally, in clearing and plowing, but shuns remaining tasks as women's work.<sup>2</sup> In areas where agriculture is no longer able to support households completely and off-farm employment opportunities are available to men, males are likely to retain only intermittent interest in agriculture, even if still residing on the farm. Alternatively, either plots are separated into male, female, and family, or crops are separated into male, female, and family.<sup>3</sup>

In parts of subsaharan Africa, financial independence between spouses is an actual, and sometimes preferred marital arrangement. A striking example of this is the lending between spouses for trading or business ventures, provided at rates only slightly less usurious than those of moneylenders.<sup>4</sup> Responding to an income study which only questioned men, a researcher interviewed Moslem women in northern Nigeria and found significant amounts of income earned by women. Even though women are secluded in marriage, with advancing age, or through agents [often children], women were able to barter and sell goods.<sup>5</sup> In polygynous house-

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<sup>1</sup> Also true in Indonesia, see Moline, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Bryson, op. cit., p. 5. Staudt, 1978, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Correzze describes this in Niger, op. cit. Also see the social analysis in "Strengthening Women's Roles in Development," Project Paper #686-0211, U.S.A.I.D., 1976, pp. 49-62.

<sup>4</sup> Robertson, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Emmy Simmons, "Economic Research on Women in Rural Development in Northern Nigeria," Overseas Liaison Committee, No. 10, 1976.

holds, women often have their own houses, and men, the status of visitors in women's houses. Polygynous marriages tend to result in a very formal relationship between husband and wife, to avoid quarrels between co-wives.<sup>1</sup>

#### Female Heads

A working definition of a female-headed household is male absence and residence elsewhere, regardless of the length of time away. Women who head households represent a special type of female autonomy, made visible by the absence of men. Distance between spouses, either a result of migration or traditional separate residences, reinforces or even creates autonomy. Female headship occurs on more permanent bases among widows, women abandoned by male migrants, female property owners, matrilineal people with separate spouse residences, and in some forms of polygyny.

De facto female headship occurs in eastern and southern Africa, as well as in rural Yemeni nuclear [not extended] families.<sup>2</sup> These areas are characterized by extensive male migration, and men are anticipated to return home upon withdrawal from the labor force. Sporadic communication and financial exchanges typify migrants earning marginal wages. Travel can be as infrequent as yearly or less often, with illiteracy and distant post offices limiting postal communication. Though patterns are contingent upon household characteristics prior to migration, they tend toward those of the autonomous woman.

Rural female-headed households have special characteristics, important for program design. While female heads are found at all economic levels, poverty is more prevalent among this group of households.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, women's labor contributions are heavier than women's in other household types. At the same time, if female heads receive remittances from husbands working elsewhere, they hold capital available for innovation and risktaking. Use of such funds for development may be contingent, however, on institutional support and extension.

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<sup>1</sup> Bryson, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Myntii, *op. cit.* Extended families are characterized by formal decision making delegated to the eldest male.

<sup>3</sup> Buvinic, Youssef, and Von Elm, *op. cit.* See also Deere, *op. cit.*

### Interdependence

Possibly the most common yet overlooked pattern in rural households, particularly those of the rural poor majority, is one characterized by a high degree of interdependency.<sup>1</sup> This is so for survival reasons. Fairly balanced labor pooling, even interchangeable work, characterize these households. Women's contributions to total household productivity and resource supply are as considerable as with the "autonomous" pattern for women. Decisions, made jointly or by consensus, are often determined by the survival and maintenance needs of the household, requiring closely cooperative work patterns.<sup>2</sup> Those who labor tend to control the fruits of their labor.<sup>3</sup> As discussed earlier, in parts of Niger women operate their own plots and men their own; men and women work jointly on a plot as well. During the drought, as men increasingly saw women's agriculture and livestock as important sources of family income, women were given dispensation from working on the joint plots.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gillian Hart, "Labor Allocation Strategies in Rural Japanese Households," Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1978; Deere, op. cit., and "The Agricultural Division of Labor by Sex: Myths, Facts, and Contradictions in the Northern Peruvian Sierra," Paper presented to the Latin American Studies Association and the African Studies Association, Houston, November, 1977. This section also builds on Whyte's analysis of preindustrial societies, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> An integrated rural development program in Jamaica, taking into account Ministry of Agriculture studies indicating that over two-thirds of men consult their wives on major farm changes, as well as sample surveys estimating that women manage nearly a quarter of holdings may build into project design the notion of interdependence through the Farm Plan. The plan is a document assessing all aspects of the farm [tenancy, crops and animals marketed, and soil conservation]. Women managers are covered in the plan, yet women who are spouses are not. Project designers proposed that the farm plan be revised to include a family food crop plan which includes provisions for crops and animals consumed. See Chaney and Samuels; also previous discussion in Marginalization section.

<sup>3</sup> Whyte, op. cit., found in his study of 93 preindustrial societies that in over half the societies, women have 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.

<sup>4</sup> Correzze, op. cit., pp. 37, 44.

The interdependence pattern occurs either after land has been separated from parental in-laws, or while still integrated with in-laws, though in the latter, the aged person, male or female, may serve as final arbiter.

#### Dependence

In this pattern, women are dependent upon men for decision making and resources, fitting the common image and validating common assumptions of male household headship. Women either work on a variety of tasks related to development under close male supervision, or work inside the home or compound in a segregated fashion. Husbands may market women's products, [e.g., rugs in Afghanistan]. Husbands even shop for family consumption needs. While husband permission may be required for movement, women have mobility within bounds. For example in Afghanistan and Yemen, dress codes such as the veil and chadri, afford limited movement.<sup>1</sup> Communication and resources acquired from outside the home are mediated by men, according to their judgment. Yet informal women's visitor networks provide important sources of information.<sup>2</sup> Even with male absence, decision-making responsibility is assigned to a father or brother, as in rural Yemen among extended families, when men work outside the country.<sup>3</sup>

Another pattern found in this category is that of minimal female involvement in and contribution to productive tasks. Among the middle class and well off, the "luxury" of withdrawing a household member from production is possible. Women's independent access to productive resources has been undercut over time by laws, socio-economic changes, and even specific development programs. Among the wealthier, her basic needs may be met, though her ability to make independent choices is curtailed. In Moslem societies, women may bring resources into a marriage or inherit a fraction of their father's estate. This will be retained as

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<sup>1</sup> Myntii, op. cit., p. 14, Hunte, op. cit., p. 44 [called Chador in Iran].

<sup>2</sup> Hunte, op. cit., pp. 61, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Myntii, p. 26, op. cit.

their own property, or invested in jewelry, for example, rather than used in household consumption.<sup>1</sup>

This dependency takes its toll on female initiative, incentive, and productivity over time. Curiously, many programs are predicated on this outcome, where men become sole "breadwinners" and women are withdrawn from production.

#### Program Implications

The preoccupation with male household heads--in contexts where a variety of households exist--leads to negative, unintended consequences in program planning and implementation, as follows.

#### Contacting

If household responsibilities are inaccurately assessed, staff may be contacting inappropriate persons, or mistakenly focusing on certain individuals when the entire household figures in decision making and labor contributions. Several near failures of programs have occurred when poultry projects were designed for men, yet the tasks were traditionally women's, which men avoided. One project for resettled farmers in Cavite Province, Philippines, expected men to be recipients of techniques on raising rabbit and swine. Most men were in cities during the week, and project orientation was transferred to women.<sup>2</sup> Planners exaggerate fears that male pride will be tarnished through staff contact with a household group or with women who very visibly labor on those tasks with which the programs are concerned. In interviews with farm household members in western Kenya, for example, husbands openly deferred to wives when questioned about the time of crop adoption and husbandry practices. Women did this work and made these decisions, supplemented by mild male interest.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See article on Iran and Indonesia, among others, in the COLUMBIA HUMAN RIGHTS LAW REVIEW, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring-Summer, 1978, Special Issue on "Law and the Status of Women: An International Symposium."

<sup>2</sup> Office of Women in Development Congressional Report, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> From the author's field research. See Kathleen A. Staudt, "Agricultural Policy, Political Power, and Women Farmers in Western Kenya," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1976. Chapter 4.

With more information on who does what work within the farm household, perhaps no more will designers of a radio program for farmers address them "Buenos Dias, Senor Agricultor," [Good morning, Mr. Farmer"], as the program begins, in areas where women have substantial responsibilities for agricultural production. Such a case was true in a program in Guatemala, a bias that escaped even evaluation.<sup>1</sup>

### Credit

Procedures that appear fair on the surface can be discriminatory in practice, through either perpetuating the effects of past discrimination, or absorbing discrimination from other institutions. For example, credit may be available to either sex, provided guarantees can be made. Loans are usually made available through collateral--land title or salaries--disproportionately held by men. Such procedures unintentionally discriminate against women, who may be the real farmers or de facto household heads.<sup>2</sup> Programmers should re-evaluate procedures and consider alternative loan collateral. In areas which undergo land reform, land is frequently lodged in a man's name, without legal recognition of the joint labor partnership which prevails or women's residual user rights protected in some customary law. In parts of rural Indonesia, rural credit institutions use rice fields as collateral, controlled by men, rather than the garden, more often controlled by women.<sup>3</sup>

Credit programs ought to consider making loans available for other forms of collateral which give women access, and land reform programs ought to grant title to the tiller or to marital partners. Government-run pawn shops in Indonesia partly compensate for poor women's nonaccess to credit, where loans are made for half the value of an article pawned at an interest of 5%.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, group loan programs should consider

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<sup>1</sup> John Davidson, "The Basic Village Education Project in Guatemala," Case Studies in Development Assistance No. 2, Development Support Bureau, U.S.A.I.D., 1976, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Staudt, 1975-76 and 1978, op. cit. Farms with a man present were 14 times as likely to receive a farm loan than were those with woman managers.

<sup>3</sup> Milone, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

women's groups as vehicles for loans, a format which supplies peer pressure to reduce default. In Bangladesh, one program gave women access to loans through a women's cooperative in which in-kind saving [rice storage] served as a guarantee, as did membership in the larger cooperative federation.<sup>1</sup> An AID project is currently dispensing loans to women's groups for income-earning activities such as mills, collective gardening, and sewing machines, among others.<sup>2</sup> National women's organizations in Indonesia have established savings and loan societies for women, and a women's bank began in the 1930s, with 17 branches by the 1950s.<sup>3</sup>

Planners overlook a significant cash resource available through remittances from migrant males to female household heads and farm managers. Through remittances, capital is available to a wide number of households, most probably more than government agencies now have the capability to deliver through loans. Even without remittances, planners overlook women's capital accumulation, and thereby undercut available development capital. A study of women plantation worker credit unions in the Cameroon documents this availability.<sup>4</sup>

#### Ability: Sex Differences

Studies cannot assume that the most able and skilled members have migrated from a community. To the extent that a normal distribution of ability exists among both men and women, and to the extent women are constrained from migration due to familial responsibilities, higher proportions of able women than men remain in a rural community affected by migration. This may explain women's greater farm managerial efficiency

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<sup>1</sup> Dixon, pp. 45ff, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Strengthening Women's Roles in Development, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Milone, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Virginia Delancey, "Credit Accumulation in Cameroon: An Exploration of an Untapped Source of Investment Funds," Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Economic Association, Washington, D.C., November, 1978. Also see her "Women at the Cameroon Development Corporation: How Their Money Works," forthcoming, RURAL AFRICANA. Staudt, op. cit., 1976, estimated that a third of migrant husbands regularly sent remittances to rural wives, and another third, irregularly, Chapter 4.

in some areas. A program implication is that higher proportions of female headed households in areas of male out-migration may be most amenable to innovation and change.<sup>1</sup>

#### Stake and Return for Labor

Past preoccupations with serving male household heads, portraying men as "the family breadwinner," and lodging land ownership and cooperative enrollment with men, have all artificially created a limited economic stake for women. Customary practices sometimes reinforce limited stake as well. For example, in Niger, women in precarious marital situations do not want to invest in tree-planting, as trees take a long time to bear fruit and husbands would then benefit from results.<sup>2</sup> In parts of Uganda, polygyny is a disincentive to investment, as women realize their allocated plot may be redivided.<sup>3</sup> While the question of an identifiable women's stake is often moot at economically marginal levels [among the landless or land poor both men and women must make every possible effort for survival], at other levels, an imbalance in stake will adversely affect family relations, productivity, initiative, and incentive.

In any immediate assessment of a project, planners, designers, and evaluators must ask "Who Benefits?" and "How?"<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, long-term consequences require consideration as well, provided by the following hypothetical example. Let us assume that women customarily tended chickens and sold them sporadically, but now men are registered as cooperative

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<sup>1</sup> Moock, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Correzze, p. 24, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Curley, *ELDERS, SHADES AND WOMEN*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), Chapter 2. In many societies women do not even have rights to their own children upon marital dissolution, further enhancing insecurity. See Correzze on Niger, p.62, and Staudt, 1976, op. cit., Chapter 4, on the Luyia in Kenya.

<sup>4</sup> Simple attention to fairness and to directing resources toward those who do the work to be affected by a project should help to curb continued favoritism for men. For example, the Action Riz Sorgho agricultural project in Mali notes that 48% of persons active in agriculture are women, yet women constitute only 15% of project participants, Congressional Report, Office of Women in Development, op. cit., p. 47.

A recent USAID education project in Afghanistan set aside only 15% of elementary school seats for girls.

members and paid accordingly. Men now do part, but not all of the labor associated with the task. Men benefit through their institutional affiliation, their group consciousness with other poultry producers, and their more regularized income. Women benefit through a reduction in labor and a growth in interchangeable labor between the sexes [though it is important to observe exactly how the labor divides], yet they benefit from the income derived only to the extent men decide to share it. Over the long term, women lose through the undercutting of this source of income. Also there is loss of a source of family food supply with probable effects on nutrition as chickens are now commercialized and less available for home consumption. In the meantime, the entire structure of opportunity between women and men has been altered. With contacts and institutional affiliation, men have access to a far-reaching network of opportunities, while women have become dependent upon men for marketing their produce.

In families where each spouse has his or her own responsibilities and income, such as those cited in the previous sections, channelling services or income to a man may disrupt the financial and work balance between men and women and lead to women's increased labor, lessened commitment, and ultimately, lowered productivity. In many societies, women have the responsibility for feeding the family and working on food plots. Innovations which, through mechanization, increase the land under cultivation, or through fertilizer application, increase the amount of weeds as well as crops grown, add to women's work. In project design, women's work contributions are often unknown, or are taken for granted, accounting for limited program impact or detrimental consequences for the female portion of the rural populace.<sup>1</sup> A study in central Kenya explains women's begrudging work on cash crops, because the labor interfered with food crop work, and women shared little in the cash crops proceeds.<sup>2</sup> When programs can be evaluated for their

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<sup>1</sup> T. Scarlett Epstein, in her comparison of an irrigated and non-irrigated village in south India, analyzes how women's absorption of men's agricultural work enabled men to seek employment elsewhere. See *ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTH INDIA* [London: Manchester, 1962].

<sup>2</sup> DeWilde, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 51-55. Also refer to the Mwea Rice Settlement Scheme discussed earlier. See Hanger and Moris, *op. cit.*

effects on a whole community, including women, evaluations once labeled successful or failures may require reconsideration. The same standard of direct benefit must be used for men and women. To increase income or choices for men while undermining income or choices for women suggests at best, minimal goal achievement in increasing income or choice.

More attention to the variety of household structures should enable program staff to plan, design, and monitor staff practices more effectively. Assessing the household structure will prompt questioning of possible invalid assumptions. In this way, labor contributions by sex will be taken into account and periodically assessed over the span of program implementation. Direct contact between actual clientele and staff can also be planned into project design. Creating farmer institutions which assume male control over the entire household and identify women's interests as identical to men's will disadvantage women. It may further exclude female headed households, who--in parts of eastern and southern Africa as well as [male] labor-short parts of the Near East such as Jordan, Morocco, and Yemen--are a sizeable portion of program clientele, numbering between one-third to one-half of rural households.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. COMPETING LOYALTIES

Sex disparities in access to resources, women's marginalization, and limited economic stake, as discussed in previous sections, also affect women's organizational affiliations, consciousness of sex discrimination, and direct involvement in development programs. To the extent that women are not direct recipients of program benefits, but depend instead upon their relationship to male direct recipients, women's organizational affiliations, loyalties, and identifications will reflect those attachments. Women's interests as women will be less clear because resources and life chances are contingent on household relationships to varying extents. Competing identifications confuse clear awareness of common interests, and thus diminish actual or potential organizational

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<sup>1</sup> Elise Boulding, "Women, Bread and Babies: Directing Aid to Fifth World Farmers," Paper for the World Food and Population Crisis Conference, April 1975, p. 21. Buvinic, Youssef and Von Elm, op. cit., report the estimate of 25% to 33% of households as headed de facto by women, but discuss the inadequate data base for comparison. Only in parts of Latin America do female migrants equal or surpass male.

strength. Conversely, identifications that reinforce and build upon one another quicken awareness and ability to act on common interests. For example, tenants residing in a common geographical area and situated at similarly low income levels, share income, geographic, and occupational interests that reinforce one another. Women, residing with men in a variety of geographically dispersed households at varying economic strata levels, share certain interests, while other interests contradict one another.

### Women's Interests

What interests do all women share? With the exception of reproductive issues, there are few universal, world-wide women's interests, because societies vary in the type of work women do, the context in which women work, and relations between the sexes. As residents in a community, women have general interests in improved health care, more schools, potable water supplies, and farm to market roads. Yet to label better roads a women's issue [or road building as a women in development project] stretches the uniqueness of women's issues. By locating sex disparities in work, opportunities, and resource control, the following women's issues are identifiable.

- special health care needs, as reproducers and as guardians of children's health,
  - less access to agricultural and vocational opportunities and to training and support services for those occupations than men,
  - less access to education than men, and stereotyping in schools, resulting in differential skills between the sexes and a narrower range of occupational choices than for men,
  - imbalance between the sexes in domestic work and compensation, a result of men's work patterns outside the home and a cause for women's more limited options outside the home,
  - legitimacy of overt physical abuse towards women or covert abuse continued through a reluctance of public authorities to interfere in "private" matters, and
  - underrepresentation and nonparticipation in political, institutional, and bureaucratic structures [a dimension that spans and affects other interests].
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The priority of these interests varies to women in different societies and economic strata. For example, women born in wealthy families face fewer problems in access to education and employment, and even employ (female) domestic help to alleviate household chores. These differences among women further complicate identifying women's interests. For the vast majority of women, however, these "women's interests" are held in common and are integral to the development process, since they concern education, upgrading skills, health, and participation.

### Representatives of Women's Organizations

Those persons who vocalize interests, set agendas, and establish boundaries around women's interests merit close attention. Organizational leaders may foster their own interests, or interests aimed at organizational maintenance, more than member interests. The extent to which group members, group leaders, or external forces vocalize interests has lasting consequences for the effective resolution of women's interests. In Indonesia, one study concluded that the kind of education women receive [focused on etiquette, embroidery, and domestic specialities] created an elite unprepared to participate in development.<sup>1</sup> Presumably, it is these women who lead women's organizations.

Elite dominance is a potential problem affecting virtually all organizations, men's or mixed sex.<sup>2</sup> There is little reason to doubt that women's organizations are not similarly affected by elite control. Researchers have found, for example, that upper and middle class women appear to identify little with lower class women.<sup>3</sup> This is expected to

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<sup>1</sup> Valerie J. Hull, "Women in Java's Rural Middle Class: Progress or Regress?" Paper presented to the Fourth World Congress for Rural Sociology, 1976, pp. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> One review of relevant literature discussed problems of relying on communication with community leaders. Questions which arise are their representativeness, degree of authority, knowledge, and sensitivity to development and understanding of broader planning. See Development Gap, "Eliciting Local Needs in Planning for Urban Based Services for Rural Development," Report to USAID, March 31, 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Elsa Chaney, "Women in Latin American Politics: The Case of Peru and Chile," in Anne Pescatello, ed., FEMALE AND MALE IN LATIN AMERICA [Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973], and selections in June Nash and Helen Safa, SEX AND CLASS IN LATIN AMERICA [New York: Praeger, 1976].

affect relationships between national organizations [often urban based] and rural organizations. The near inevitability of elite dominance suggests that attempts either to eliminate or mitigate this pattern are in order.

In economically egalitarian societies, elite control over women's organizations will be less problematic than in societies with wide economic disparities. If a tradition exists for group cooperation among women across kin, class, and neighborhood lines, or if sex disparity is marked, prospects for the representativeness of women's organizations may be heightened. The absence of hierarchy among peasant women in some Arab villages illustrates this enforced solidarity of women. In a dialogue about reciprocal obligations between women, one woman spoke to another of other women, "they are not better than us. It is forbidden."<sup>1</sup> Organizations which include women from various economic classes benefit from group scale and potential empowerment; thus, efforts to mitigate elite control are crucial.

#### Mitigating Elite Control

Elite leadership brings skills, influential contacts, the potential for in-country institutionalization, and consequently, increased leverage in the larger political context. To the extent that equality and solidarity among women are more prevalent than among men in a given society, prospects for effective and representative collective action are enhanced--even more so than among men. Three possibilities in the pattern of project development add to this prospect:

- leaders acquiring a developmental, rather than charity orientation,
- internal group practices ensuring accountability to, and participation of members, and
- group goals, which when accomplished, widen [or make more equitable] the benefits among members.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Rosenfield, "Non-Hierarchical, Hierarchical, and Marked Reciprocity in the Arab Village," in D. Raphael, BEING FEMALE [Mouton: The Hague, 1975].

A study in Lango District, Uganda, notes the "leveling mechanism" that exists among women. If a man accumulates wealth over the years through his wife's cultivation, he can afford another wife. See Richard Curley, ELDERS, SHADES AND WOMEN: CEREMONIAL CHANGE IN LANGO, UGANDA [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973], Chapter 2.

Various programs offer leadership training which, besides upgrading managerial skills, provide information and provoke discussions to enhance the awareness of development possibilities and women's interests.<sup>1</sup> Training in group processes, emphasizing democracy and accountability to members, is one possibility for leadership training seminars as well. The Rural Feminine Credit program in Colombia deliberately rotated officers every six to twelve months to avoid domination by a small group and to spread opportunities for learning membership skills.<sup>2</sup> In a project, if the benefits produced are scarce, divisible and unavailable to all members, such as individual loans and scholarships, benefits may accrue to leaders alone. On the other hand, nondivisible project benefits [such as water supplies] or internal mechanisms to distribute benefits fairly or in sequence [such as in cooperatives or rotating credit societies] offer enhanced prospects for mitigating elite control successfully.

#### Eliminating Elite Control

If more divisible, individual benefits are to be well distributed, elite predominance probably needs to be checked, or elite control may misrepresent member goals--either intentionally or unintentionally,

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<sup>1</sup> The International Training Division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture runs women-in-management seminars, as do two Washington, D.C.-based groups, the Center for Family Planning Activities [CEFPA] and the Overseas Educational Fund. OEF projects throughout the world have conducted leadership training to enhance the effectiveness of existing organizations, and to provide for liaison and contacts with other donor organizations, as well as advice on pooling resources and coordinating projects with other organizations. In a proposal to work in Zambia, OEF would work on developing project design and grant-writing skills, complemented by fund raising techniques and skills for creating self-sustaining organizational revenue. See "Technical Advisory Services to the Zambian Council for Social Development," Operation Program Grant Proposal submitted to USAID, January 1979.

Careful attention to those skills or problems that are transferable across countries and cultures is necessary [e.g., assertiveness training and confidence building or confrontational tactics may not be universally applicable or productive].

<sup>2</sup> Cebotarev, p. 17, op. cit.

making its negation appropriate. Unintentional misrepresentation occurs when elite women vocalize women's interests that are based on past experience with early mission or colonial programs unrelated to development. Despite the alien conception of, for example, teaching embroidery sewing, or table decoration as "women's work", such programs set a model of "modern" womanhood that contemporary group leaders internalize and articulate as "women's interests." This reinforces the norms and values associated with the wealthy, leisured class, both contrary to and of little utility for ordinary women.<sup>1</sup>

The different issue priorities among women call for an organizational strategy which recognizes divergent interests and supports a variety of women's groups rather than only one. The appointment of one "representative of women," or the support of a single women's association in a community of many associations, is based on the assumption that women are all alike. This assessment could legitimately be made only after careful observation of a community, as well as of existing women's organizations and informal networks. Adding one woman to a board, or one group to a multitude of groups, cannot be expected to redress severe imbalances in disparities between the sexes. Numerical disadvantage easily sustains inequality, as the discussion on proportional representation above indicated.

As economic disparities widen in society, generally it is less likely that women will be uniformly and comprehensively affected in the types of women's interests vocalized, particularly by the elite. If one externally initiated women's group or an appointed women's representative comes forward in societies with wide economic disparities, one must ask with urgency whether all women are represented, or which women's interests are reflected. Having one single woman or group of women acting on behalf of others will exacerbate selection and recruitment problems and pave the way for elite control over the vocalization of women's interests. An example is a Gambian "women's vegetable project" for which recruit-

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<sup>1</sup> Kathleen A. Staudt, "Administrative Resources, Political Patrons, and Redressing Sex Inequities: A Case from Western Kenya," JOURNAL OF DEVELOPING AREAS, July, 1978, and "Victorian Womanhood in British Colonial Africa: The Role of Social Service Programs," Paper presented to the conference on the History of Women, St. Paul, October 21-23, 1977.

ment was controlled by the local chief. Those women who participated were wives of wealthier men in the community.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, if innovations introduced to women spread widely and quickly, qualifications to these remarks would be necessary.

#### Separate v. Mixed-Sex Organizations

If household identifications are strong, developing and addressing awareness of women's interests among women, men, or both may be difficult. Consequently, a key question is whether women's participation in mixed-sex organizations is more appropriate than separate-sex organizations. Separate women's organizations are sometimes seen as either "dividing" a community, union, or organization, or further marginalizing women's interests through isolation. A mixed-sex organization, or one with a women's branch within it, on the other hand, is thought to avoid such problems. The costs and benefits of this strategy are illustrated in the following example.

A Central American peasant communal union introduced programs to expand the role of women within the organization and publicize the problems of campesina women.<sup>2</sup> Officers and promoters were added to various levels of the organization's hierarchy. Their tasks involved visiting villages to disseminate advice and organize classes on sewing, household and artisan skills. Several consumer and marketing cooperatives were founded. Yet reports on membership indicated that women comprised only a half percent of the total number of participants in the organization. This mixed-sex organization still perpetuated a sex-linked division of interests, though among only a minute proportion of women, it is true. Extending awareness of women and their interests to the remaining 99% is doubtful, especially with the remaining sex-separateness of internal structures. As discussed earlier, project attention to assuring at least minimal proportions of the minority sex would have been in order here.

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<sup>1</sup> Elliot Morss, et. al. STRATEGIES FOR SMALL FARMER DEVELOPMENT: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS [Boulder: Westview Press, 1976].

<sup>2</sup> Instituto Centroamericano de Administracion de Empresas. Managua, Nicaragua, September, 1976 [typescript].

Integrating women rather early into larger, mixed-sex organizations has often resulted in having low priority for women's interests, in societies of varying ideological persuasion. If starting without sufficient resources and power to press claims and acquire bargaining leverage, those resources women bring to organizations have often been co-opted and appropriated by existing leadership, as examples from revolutionary societies, one-party, and multi-party governments indicate.<sup>1</sup> Early integration may reduce prospects for having women advocates and mentors who use their resources to advance women's interests as in separate-sex organizations. Early separate organizational activity is often appropriate for developing organizational skills, leaders, and a wider acceptance of the importance of women's interests. Only with separate women's organizations in India have women been assured of managing their own affairs; in mixed-sex cooperatives, men invariably dominate leadership.

An important guide to answering the question of separate versus integrated organizations in program design is existing sex communication and organization. In one report of a pilot project in Tanzania which utilized a "dialogue methodology" to develop a participatory mode to solve grain storage problems, special efforts were made to attract

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<sup>1</sup> A study of the Convention People's Party in Ghana shows the progressive cooptation and marginalization of women, once absorbed in the organization. See Barbara Calloway, "Women in Ghana," in Lynn Iglitzen and Ruth Ross, *WOMEN IN THE WORLD: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE* [Palo Alto, California: Clio Press, 1976].

Within several years after the war in Eastern Europe, independent women's organizations were said to have completed the task of integrating women into production. Yet continued low wages, low-skill employment, inattention to child care and domestic work, and reproductive-related restrictions went unaddressed. See Hilda Scott, *DOES SOCIALISM LIBERATE WOMEN?* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1974].

In one interpretation, Soviet strategy in Central Asia after the revolution was designed to break down the feudal order through transforming women's roles, and then rebuild it again on Soviet terms. See Gregory Massell, *THE SURROGATE PROLETARIAT: MOSLEM WOMEN AND REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGIES IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA, 1919-1929*, [Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1974].

See also Lenore Manderson, "The Shaping of the Kaum Ibu [Women's Section] of the United Malays National Organization," in *SIGNS*, Vol. 3. No. 1, Autumn, 1977, Elsa Chaney, "The Mobilization of Women in Allende's Chile," in Jane Jaquette, ed., *WOMEN IN POLITICS* [New York: John Wiley, 1974] and Dixon, p. 55, op. cit.

women to discussion group meetings, to little avail. Women viewed discussions as formal meetings in which they could not participate.<sup>1</sup> This was viewed as a major failing of the project. Even though men build the storage structures, it is women who look after produce once it is placed in storage, as part of their role in household maintenance. Designers in this case should have considered separate meetings for women. The length of time spent in planning a participatory project such as this [900 "man-hours" were spent in formal discussion alone for this project] was, undoubtedly, also a factor affecting the very limited participation of women, who had other things to do with their time. In many parts of East Africa, the women's economy is a labor-deficit one, while the men's economy is labor-surplus.

Ultimately, promoting organizational activities and relationships with staff that are based on peoples' interests, work, and occupations, rather than on sex, is at the heart of development. The near-inevitability of competing household indentifications for women also suggests the importance of household or class-based organization for influencing the wider political context. Until women are integrated into mixed-sex organizations at all levels of decision making, however, they will remain separate from and marginal to influencing the mainstream of society.

#### VII. REPRODUCTIVE POTENTIAL

Women's potential to reproduce children has implications for analyzing women's participation. Reproductive ability is crucial to the survival of society, and creates a common bond for women on this one issue as well as on other interests derived from child-bearing related responsibilities. Nevertheless, this reproductive ability limits and confines women's participation in work, organizational issues, and organizational style. For women to step outside the prescribed boundaries of work or to go beyond issues related to childbirth and childcare is regarded as inappropriate in a wide variety of societies. This specialization has a certain persistence, even when births are planned and occupy

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<sup>1</sup> "Appropriate Technology for Grain Storage," Community Development Trust Fund of Tanzania in Collaboration with Institute of Adult Education, Economic Development Bureau, 1977.

only a minor proportion [or no proportion] of a women's life. When contrasted with men, this limitation and confinement of women is unique; men's ability to sire children has not limited the scope and style of participation, in work or organization.<sup>1</sup>

With these limitations and possibilities in mind, this section will analyze existing women's organizations which, in part, reflect this common bond that women share. The degree to which reproduction is stressed in women's organizations appears to vary with the degree of sex and economic disparities in a given society or economic strata. The wider these disparities are, the more women's issues which are reflected in organizations become fixated around the issue of reproduction and its ramifications. Societies with wide disparities in sex roles that have influenced relatively egalitarian societies [through colonialism, missionary activity, or aid programs] exaggerate and hasten these tendencies. Donor organizations reinforce this emphasis through projects which focus on "Pregnant and Lactating mothers" to the virtual exclusion of all other women, or women's activities [not to deny the importance of this focus, however]. The actual variance of sex roles among societies suggests the artificiality of reducing women's participation to just this issue.

#### Existing Women's Organizations

Organizations create conditions that facilitate information and labor exchange, provide the advantage of scale in operation, and serve as a link to other organizations. They are thus critical to the rural development process. Useful dimensions around which to analyze prospects for organizational possibilities include:

- an organization's developmental orientation, as locally defined in that society,
- its degree of formalization and institutionalization in the political mainstream, and

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<sup>1</sup> This perception may be not so much one of local women, but of outside donor organizations who define appropriate sex roles based on donor country attitudes. One analyst attributed the failure of a community development project in a Central American city to the agency's attempts to involve uninterested men, and its non-support of women leaders interested in water and rising prices for dairy products. See Kathleen Logan, "Women: Unrecognized Leaders," Journal of the Interamerican Foundation, 3, Spring-Summer, 1978.

-its number of goals and potential for coalescing, influencing, and establishing alliances with other organizations.

The last dimension, number of goals and potential for coalition building, is discussed here. It is appropriate to support a variety of single-purpose organizations and multi-purpose organizations in order to make women integral to development processes and programs. Reducing women's participation to a single focus around reproduction issues, on the other hand, has limited prospects for integrating women.

A brief section on single versus multi-purpose organizations is in order here. Single-purpose organizations tend to be small in scale and are concentrated on the achievement of one goal. Given the small scale, cohesion is more readily achieved. Nevertheless, full concentration on a single goal can mean that the accomplishment of that single goal will signal organizational collapse. A wide variety of single-purpose organizations enhances prospects for coalition building and direct connections into all development activities. Multi-purpose organizations, such as the YWCA, have heightened prospects for coalition building. Often larger in size and scale, having multiple goals runs the risk, however, of spreading people and resources thinly; cohesion too, is more limited, sometimes dependent on internal procedure. Women working cooperatively to accumulate capital, defend interests, and promote community welfare have long-standing precedents in many parts of the world. Organizations, of both single-and multi-purpose type, are described below.

#### Multi-purpose Groups

In societies with few disparities between the sexes, existing women's organizations are frequently of a multi-purpose type. Although transcending reproductive issues, organizations invariably still include them. These multi-purpose organizations reflect the division of labor which, for women in sexually egalitarian societies, tends to involve a wider variety of tasks than in inegalitarian societies. Certain West African women's organizations have a scope more far-reaching than any others in the world, whereby female authority structures are parallel to men's. They function as women's courts, market authorities, and community developers. Membership is often compulsory for all women in a community,

sanctioned by fine.<sup>1</sup> Other multi-purpose organizations include those among low-income neighborhood women in parts of the Caribbean and Lebanon, which provide mutual aid, disseminate information, and distribute food during times of shortage.<sup>2</sup> In one study of Surinam women's clubs, entertainment was regularly organized for profit. Halls were rented, bands commissioned, and tickets sold, with returns redistributed through group services.<sup>3</sup>

### Single-purpose Groups

Recruiting women on the basis of economic activity, single-purpose groups serve members through mutual aid, protection, and price-fixing. In Ghana such occupational groups include market traders, breadbakers' cooperatives, fishmonger associations, and butcher unions. Associating to gain an edge in a competitive market, the organizations are exclusive and selective, with scale dependent on optimal size for economic purposes.<sup>4</sup>

Nonetheless, agricultural communal groups and contract labor groups, as well as rotating credit societies for lending and saving, are more typical of women's groups found around the world. Small in scale, fluid

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<sup>1</sup> See Jamene Okonjo, "The Dual-Sex Political System in Operation: Igbo Women and Community Politics in Midwestern Nigeria," in Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds., *AFRICAN WOMEN IN CHANGING PERSPECTIVE*. [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976], Nancy Leis, "Women in Groups; Ijaw Women's Associations," and Carol Hoffer, "Madam Yoko: Ruler of the Kpa Mende Confederacy," in Michele Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *WOMAN, CULTURE AND SOCIETY* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974], and Kathleen A. Staudt, "The Umoja Federation: Women's Cooptation into a Local Power Structure," *WESTERN POLITICAL QUARTERLY*, forthcoming, July, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph, Saud, "Counter Institutions of Institutions: Structural Constraints and Potential for Women's Networks in an Urban Lower Class Neighborhood," Paper presented to the Conference on Women and Development, Wellesley, 1976 and Constance Sutton and Susan Makiesky-Barrow, "Social Inequality and Sexual Status in Barbados," in Alice Schlegel, ed., *SEXUAL STRATIFICATION*, [New York: Columbia University Press, 1977].

<sup>3</sup> Rosemary Brana-Shute, "Women's Clubs and Politics: The Case of a Lower Class Neighborhood in Paramaribo, Surinam." *URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY*, 5, 2, 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Agnes Klingshirn, "The Changing Position of Women in Ghana," [Unpublished Dissertation: Germany, Marburh/Lahn, 1971], pp. 232-235.

and informal, these organizations are based on reciprocity. Limited scale and fluidity may mean organizations are invisible to all but community residents. Project designers can only learn of groups through discussions with community people, particularly the women.

In the contexts where these organizations flourish, capital and commercial penetration is minimal, as is labor for hire; thus, groups serve as adaptations to seasonal labor and cash shortages. Women's rotating credit societies are found in widely dispersed areas, called arisans in Java, friendly societies in Jamaica, mabate groups in Kenya, susu in west Africa, and gamayas in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Those groups which build on rotating credit to invest in group income-generating ventures are relatively rare, reflecting different cash use patterns between sexes. Women, particularly the disadvantaged, tend to use cash to meet family or household consumption needs at higher rates than men. In Kenya, however, women acquire loans and establish companies to purchase land, shares in business, and agricultural inputs.<sup>2</sup> A project in Upper Volta works with existing groups to develop profitable ventures in milling, collective plots, and other activities.<sup>3</sup> In a seminar of Voltaic women, great interest was expressed in donor organizations providing feasibility studies for such productive ventures.<sup>4</sup>

#### Development Prospects

Organizations based on reciprocity and pooled labor are often informal and small in scale, part of the reason for their vitality and

<sup>1</sup> See Achola Pala, "African Women in Rural Development: Research Trends and Priorities," Overseas Liaison Committee, No. 12, 1976, Kincaid, et. al. op. cit., Staudt, 1980, op. cit., T. Scarlett Epstein, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTH INDIA [London: Manchester, 1962], p. 64, Phyllis Kaberry, WOMEN OF THE GRASSFIELDS [Cameroon] [London: HMSO, 1952], Bryson, op. cit., Misch, op. cit., and Hans Seibel and Andreas Massing, TRADITIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT [New York: Praeger, 1974], who discuss separate and mixed-sex groups in Liberia.

<sup>2</sup> Eleanor Wachtel, "A Farm of One's Own," RURAL AFRICANA, 29, 1975-76.

<sup>3</sup> "Strengthening Women's Roles in Development," USAID, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> "Social and Economic Development in Upper Volta: Woman's Perspective," S.A.E.D, REDSO/West Africa, USAID, April, 1978.

cohesion. Formalization through government registration, in the form of cooperatives to acquire loans, for example, may alter--even destroy--the character and strength of those organizations. Yet insulation inhibits genuine empowerment. Only careful attention to the specific context in order to determine the degree to which "seed" resources will catalyze or suffocate development can guide project activities.<sup>1</sup> Involvement in the mainstream involves groups in areas where valuable goods are distributed. Women's autonomy and informality may mean their groups remain outside the distributive network.

Existing women's groups have strong development possibilities. If such groups are deteriorating due to lack of recognition, this ought to be arrested through support and building on these strengths. Already engaged in economic activity that reflects their interests, such groups resolve on their own the problem of group creation, sustenance, recruitment, and leadership selection. Working with existing groups enhances the prospects of institutionalizing development along locally defined lines. Yet the paradox involved in supporting informal groups is that institutionalizing informality alters or even destroys the essence of those groups.<sup>2</sup> There is a fine line between stimulating and smothering an organization--true, of course, for men's organizations as well.

It is not simply strengthening women's organizations that is development, but transforming traditional skills into modern ones, effective in contemporary contexts. An assessment of regional development bank loans in West Africa documented how one-fourth to one-third of loans went to entrepreneurial businesswomen, but they tended to be for smaller amounts, commensurate with business size and earnings. Though the banks provided financial advice, women sought it less than men. Given educational disparities, more women are illiterate, and lack skills

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<sup>1</sup> In one project in Mali the Malian Women's Union dispenses small scale cash amounts for branches along organizationally-defined lines within general developmental criteria. Utilizing organizations as vehicles for development is a cost-effective means to disseminate seed money along locally defined lines. See "Assistance to the National Malian Women's Union," Activity Implementation letter, USAID.

<sup>2</sup> In Senegal, existing groups can be registered as "Pre-cooperatives" in a transitional stage to regular cooperative status.

to implement investment ideas. The policy implications drawn are not to require higher quotas, but rather to establish a woman's program to publicize available resources and provide advice.<sup>1</sup>

Without new or upgraded skills, existing groups are not always viable in contemporary political contexts. Abijan women's market groups, otherwise active and apparently effective, have shown a powerlessness when pressing officials to reduce market rental fees. Energetic delegations, chosen for possible influential connections and knowledge of French, awaited audience with officials to no avail.<sup>2</sup> Without effective linkage and leaders that have political clout, existing groups may be increasingly unable to meet the needs and interests of members,

#### Concluding Implications

Women's work, integral to development, should be reflected in organizational activities which represent the comprehensiveness of their participation. Such organizations can then support both influence on and involvement in a wide variety of decision-making institutions. Multi-purpose groups or a variety of single-purpose groups provide vehicles for comprehensive participation along these lines.

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<sup>1</sup> Philomena Friedman, "Women and the African Enterprises Program," REDSO/West Africa, USAID, n.d., [1979].

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Lewis, "The Limitations of Group Activity Among Entrepreneurs: The Market Women in Abidjan, Ivory Coast," in Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds., AFRICAN WOMEN IN CHANGING PERSPECTIVE [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976].

## PART TWO

ISSUES WARRANTING FURTHER RESEARCHI. INTRODUCTION

More systematic research on women and development policy, programs and projects is necessary before we will have a broad, comparative understanding of the conditions under which women's situation is enhanced, undermined, or maintained during development. Scattered research is now extensive, so much so, that the field is becoming a subdiscipline in itself. Much of the research, however, is either in case study format, with limited comparability, or still rather impressionistic, in need of more data. In order to be able to act on research findings, a more explicit policy and program focus is crucial. It is with these concerns in mind that the following enumeration of research topics relevant to projects and strategies for women is proposed.

Even after a decade of greater research concerns on women and development, far too many studies still eliminate women from designs.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this exclusion vary; perhaps women are seen as peripheral to the concepts analyzed, inconvenient to include, or unintentionally overlooked. If excluded, research is reduced to studies about men, not in the generic sense, but simply half the population. We cannot analyse modernization, farm management, land reform, development, equity and distribution, or any number of other concerns without routinely including women. Disparities between the sexes and the special situation of women household heads do have meaning for research undertakings. Until analysis makes women and sex inequities integral to design, special research attention to women and development is essential.

A wide variety of methods are available for policy-oriented research, ranging from broad, representative surveys, to small open-ended inter-

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Iskeles and David Smith, *BECOMING MODERN: INDIVIDUAL CHANGE IN SIX COUNTRIES* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1974) interview no women. The near 300 page text of *INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION*, in a special issue on the Global Food Economy, 32,3, 1978, made no reference to women. A study projected to address inequity by Keith Griffin, *LAND CONCENTRATION AND RURAL POVERTY*, (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976) is notably lacking on attention to women and sex inequity. These are some of the many examples.

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views. Oral history interview techniques offer a promising alternative, though oral history from only male respondents is incomplete. The practice of interviewing male household heads, or even assuming there is one head, must be seriously questioned [see Part I, Section V]. Indeed, an intriguing research design might be to compare designated head and nonhead responses on decision making, rewards, and contributions, to see how well they correlate. On assessing community needs, techniques have been utilized that seek community perceptions through respondents diagnosing and mapping out problematic situations. Like participatory administration discussed throughout Part I, participatory research is crucial, enhancing accuracy, relevance, and local utilization.

Three underlying concerns merit attention to future women and development research:

- including women and men in studies,
- building sensitivity to class and economic differences into the design, and
- utilizing a single conceptual framework, rather than concepts separated by sex.

Instead of isolating women for separate analytic treatment, women and men should be incorporated into a research design as much as possible. Research should provide insight into relative differences between the sexes, rather than only absolute changes experienced by women over time. Research should also take class differences among women into account in a design. As economies become more commercialized, it is increasingly difficult to analyze women as a single group. Finally, integrated analytic standards should be approximated as much as possible. Double or separate meanings, analytically differentiated by sex, perpetuate differences between women and men, and cloud understanding, especially when actual differences between them are small. Concepts such as status, "healthy" personality, fairness, and productivity are inclusive of all persons. To the extent, however, that male behavior or attitudes formed the conventional and traditional meanings of what underlies existing concepts, analysts should critically examine accepted meanings, so concepts encompass all behavior and attitudes, including men and women. This may require re-conceptualization of ideas underlying concepts.

Part II of this monograph addresses four general research areas; a certain amount of overlap is impossible to avoid, however. The first raises research questions of a broad nature, focusing on comparative institutions. The second proposes research areas related to women's productivity, while the third, to analysis of project staff and program. The final section covers women's organizations. Throughout, references to relevant sections in Part I are indicated in brackets.

## II. COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONS

As emphasized throughout Part I, women's work, participation, and organization are partially contingent on the larger political-economic setting. It would be useful to understand the broad institutional factors associated with minimal and wide disparities between the sexes, in order to isolate causality. This type of research has utility for program purposes because it provides some guide as to which types of programs are optimal in certain settings. Finally, comparative institutional research, relying on historical analysis, allows us to look at the past to assess lessons for the contemporary period. The following subsections address questions on law and social change, political and economic contexts, government intervention, government women's programs, and local organization.

### Law and Social Change

We need research that compares different legal systems for their effects on women and on the relations between the sexes. Comparisons of specific laws, such as civil rights, inheritance, property, marriage, and divorce laws within those different systems are required as well. How do broad legal systems and specific laws affect different classes of women, from both long- and short-term perspective? We also need to know the lag between instituting legal change and actual effects on relations between the sexes. Under what conditions does lag occur; under which is impact quickened? What are the dynamics of legal penetration? Which types of women are affected by legal change, and with what consequences for the women themselves, and for other institutions and processes in society?

Land reform is a legal area with crucial effects for women's access to an important means of production, as well as to activating

other opportunities and resources. We need comparisons of land types-- collective ownership, public ownership, joint tenancy, individual ownership, and exclusive male ownership--for their effects on relations between men and women over time. Have any land reform schemes institutionalized women's access to and control over land as a "partner" in marriage? What effects did this have on the productivity, incentive, and initiative of individuals within households?

#### Political and Economic Contexts

What variations exist among governments in women's position relative to men, and why? Can we draw any conclusions between types of government [such as open versus closed; pluralist versus authoritarian; different degrees of clientelism; and corporatist-pluralist-totalitarian-social democratic] for relationships between women and men? Under what economic conditions is women's marginalization fostered, maintained, or arrested? How does this vary by economic sector? Drawing from dependency theory, do we find different impacts on the bases of women's status [Part One, II] and on relations between the sexes associated with different degrees of a country's "dependency"?

#### Government Intervention

To what extent can and do governments intervene to affect women, or relations between the sexes? Can we trace different types of intervention [ideological, structural, or a combination of the two] to determine their effectiveness in various settings? One study distinguishes between three types of intervention: legalism, administrative initiatives, and systematic social engineering.<sup>1</sup> Can we determine the length of time and the scope of intervention that achieves certain types of change? Under what conditions are reactions to such intervention provoked so as to nullify previous action?

What is the process by which women's issues, frequently seen as private matters, become public and politicized? Does the process differ from that of other groups in society, and does that difference have any effect on the amount of time required to politicize issues, or the resilience of politicization? Distinctions have been developed for

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<sup>1</sup> Massell, op. cit.

analyzing the agenda-building process, pointing to outside initiation, mobilization within government, and inside initiative.<sup>1</sup> Does agenda-building on women's issues conform to those patterns, or add new insights [or even distinctions] for the framework proposed?

Women's participation created "from above" is rare, unlike that of other occupational groups in society. When governments do mobilize women from above, what are outcomes compared to those of other groups? Does this pattern stimulate or pre-empt consciousness of common interests? Women's groups created from above can be compared with similarly created groups without women or spontaneous women's organizations for their form, style, and ultimate empowerment. Do these groups interact with government in adversary, cooperative, or cooptative forms? Under which conditions do certain interactive patterns occur?

#### Government Women's Programs

Government affects whether organizations can emerge among some groups; it affects organizational form, style, and issues as well. We need historical and contemporary research on assumptions, strategies, and goals of government women's programs as lessons for future administrative strategy and as partial explanations for the style of contemporary women's organizations. Comparisons of the amount and duration of resources channelled into programs of "domestic" and "reproductive" types relative to those for other types of programs are also necessary. We need comparative evaluations of the range of contrasting approaches to women's programs, and whether the range has been wider or narrower than approaches designed for men. Do women's programs contain a resilience that is less than, greater than, or similar to programs developed for men? Who participated in government programs? What is the effect of programs on women's comparative access to resources relative to men, and to women of different economic strata? How did government-sponsored groups mesh, overlap, or contrast with existing groups and the actual activities of women?

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<sup>1</sup> Roger Cobb, Jennie Ross and Marc Ross, "Agenda Building as a Comparative Political Process," American Political Science Review 70, 1 [March, 1976].

Research on Commissions on the Status of Women, as well as on Women's Bureaus, is also necessary.<sup>1</sup> What are the costs and benefits of a committee or bureau form of assistance? Is concentrated or plural access [commissions, departments, or bureaus in several ministries] more effective? We also need assessments of institutional placement to determine effectiveness, (i.e., whether bodies are placed under the executive or in different ministries). In the case of committees, who is selected, and how are they recruited? What is the funding source? Does an institutional label without explicit attention to women [such as "sex equity," or "minority rights"] increase legitimacy and effectiveness, or simply obscure the committee's role? Comparisons of the functions and impacts of these commissions and bureaus should also be useful.

#### Local Organization

Some studies have found a relationship between local organization and productivity, welfare, and successful project completion [See Section III, Part One]. Does this relationship hold if we include women [that is, include measures of women's productivity, welfare, and successful project interaction]? Will male-dominated local organization lead to lower productivity for women and higher productivity for men [an imbalance, as women absorb tasks to enable male productivity to increase]? Will male-dominated local organization lead to greater limitation and segregation of women's issues? Does the classification "more" [as opposed to "less"] organized societies hold if women are seen as potential or necessary organizational participants?

One study distinguished organizations by the proportion of subordinate group members [Part One, Section II] uniform [i.e., all-male], skewed [one token woman], tilted, and balanced proportions.<sup>2</sup> How do relative proportions of each sex in local organizations affect group process, community welfare, and productivity?

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Gruberg in "Official Commissions on the Status of Women: A Worldwide Movement," Paper presented to the American Political Science Review Meetings, New Orleans, September, 1973, reviews these bodies.

<sup>2</sup> Kanter, op. cit.

### III. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY

In Sections IV and V of Part One, the importance of building systematic knowledge of women's productivity and of their contributions to a variety of household types was considered. Comprehensive knowledge of women's contributions and rewards will aid in developing programs more congruent, both with local contexts and with conceptions of rural development which include women. Subsections below focus attention on incentives, risk-taking, efficiency, and productivity.

#### Incentives

Incentives and rewards affect productivity, for women and men alike. How does internal household resource control, proportionally different for men and women, affect incentive? Is there a threshold beyond which women opt out of production? How is incentive conditioned by economic status of the household and by the surrounding sex-role ideology? As household income rises, what happens to the motive to involve women in nondomestic production? If female production continues, for what purpose [s] is it undertaken, and does it differ for males?

We also need to understand the comparative constraints on men and women in different occupations, and the ways to intervene in recognition of constraints. What unique constraints do female household heads [or any single-parent heads] operate under in terms of labor resources and propensity to join male-dominated local organizations or cooperatives?

A number of studies cited in Part One [Sections II and IV] indicate the effect of male control over compensation for women's labor, e.g., in cooperatives. Some studies call attention to how women resist, either individually [for example, running away from settlement schemes, destroying crops or cattle] or collectively. Under which conditions do women resist, individually or collectively, male appropriation of the products of women's labor? We are only aware of visible activities. Under which conditions do women acquiesce or comply with male appropriation? Is compliance associated with lower contribution and productivity on the part of women?

Studies of incentives reveal that vast, dramatic increases in production are often necessary to change farm behavior, especially when yield is not counted. Are there differences in these patterns between

men and women? Do the differences in response relate to who is responsible for the food supply, and who for cash crops? Do less dramatic increases stimulate food growers, who are often women?

### Risk-taking

Studies have provided insight into the "rationality" [and irrationality] of risk-taking on the part of marginal farmers. Are there differences between women and men farmers in the willingness to take risks in agricultural experimentation, and why? Do these differences hold when we examine, instead, the nature of obligations and responsibilities within households? For example, where women are responsible for food consumed in households, they may be less likely to risk the family food supply. In areas where men are responsible for the food supply, the same reluctance to take risks might apply.

### Efficiency

Comparative studies of men and women in different occupations and economic sectors on efficiency criteria such as time, labor, and energy are useful. It can be inferred from one study that women are more "energy efficient" in agriculture than men.<sup>1</sup>

### Productivity

We need to develop ways to enumerate and remunerate women's activities both of use and exchange value. Serious thinking is necessary on ways to recognize and compensate women's work in the micro-level household unit and in national economic figures. Time constraints should be incorporated into designs as well.

Though technology and crops are sex-neutral, they become associated with one sex or the other. What dynamics explain how and why technology and crops become sex specific?

## IV. APPLIED PROGRAM ANALYSIS

Though the difficulty of attributing causality in social science is well recognized, it is crucial to develop research designs which can address the question of whether programs affect behavior, attitudes, and

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<sup>1</sup> Moock, op. cit.

whole communities over time. Appropriate research methods include experimental or quasi-experimental designs, whereby one community with a program is compared to another similar community without the program [the "control"]. Ideally, the comparison occurs before the program begins, by collecting baseline data, and then again after an appropriate length of time, to isolate the effects of the program. Yet caution must be exercised about attributing change solely to the program, and alternative explanations must be vigorously tested to see whether the program explanation holds, or to what extent the program accounts for changes. To utilize this type of research, pilot programs must be developed immediately in order that such comparisons can be made.

Caution is necessary in the way program evaluations are conducted. Once units of comparison and measurements specific to a community and program goals are determined, random samples, or large representative samples are crucial for evaluation. Speaking with a handful of clientele leaves wide susceptibility to bias, especially if those clientele are selected by program administrators. Though collaboration with program administrators is crucial, particularly for getting evaluation utilization and feedback into future program planning, independent checks of administrator response are critical. Caution must be exercised in interpreting responses from those persons with an obvious stake in the evaluation. Finally, inferring outcomes from plans or specifications in project descriptions is unacceptable in program evaluation. Despite their self-evidence, these warnings are surprisingly overlooked in many evaluations.

An on-going part of program evaluation is analyzing implementation practices, known as process evaluation. Studies of the delivery structure, procedures, staff composition, and staff interaction with clientele provide key insights and explanations for an overall program evaluation.

This section is divided into four parts: opportunity structure, rural development staff, sources of innovation, and ability structure.

#### Opportunity Structure

We need studies which explore comparative male-female access to a multiple array of services and programs. Comparisons of program opportunity structures, such as informal consultation devices, advisory com-

mittees, and labor sharing between men and women are also necessary. We also need to explore the effects of the relative proportions [uniform, skewed, tilted, and balanced] of each sex in groups and committees for their effect on committee process, output, and ultimate impact on communities [Part One, II, Part Two, II] Experimentation with alternatives to ensure balanced representation is essential. Separate groups, restrictions against more than a certain proportion of men or wealthy persons, or even lottery selection are some of these alternatives.

An intriguing quasi-experimental research design would measure and compare cooperative types with individual productivity and benefit distribution within families. Cooperative types include male membership, family membership, and individual membership. The first two patterns are expected to inhibit female membership or participation, unless special recruitment occurs. In individual membership and participation, income is derived on the basis of labor input and work points earned. Yet this latter approach may adversely affect women whose responsibilities for time-consuming, domestic chores prohibit more extensive participation on plots [see Part One, II; IV]. If domestic chores are not considered a public activity to be compensated for, or if domestic work is not shared equally, disparities between men and women in income will remain.

#### Rural Development Staff

We need studies that compare and evaluate information transmission cross-sex [female to male; male to female] and single-sex [female to female; male to male] with respect to the numbers of contacts, quality of contact, length of contact time, and contact effects on farmer behavior. Like the study of proportionality discussed in the subsection above, the effects of various proportions of female staff on programs is also a useful approach.

Studies in Kenya indicate staff turnover and transfer is high, with staff spending on the average of less than two years in one location.<sup>1</sup> This practice, begun during the colonial era, is found in a predominantly male staff structure. Yet critics have questioned recruiting more female

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<sup>1</sup> E.R. Watts, "Agricultural Extension in the Embu District of Kenya," EAST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, 2, 1969.

staff, because they anticipate frequent turnover and transfer. Would this turnover be greater than for men? Personnel studies are needed which compare male and female staff with respect to turnover and transfer.

### Sources of Innovation

Serious questions have been raised about whether program staff have any effect at all on development, or whether program costs even match benefits derived. Questions are also raised about how much extension information is spontaneously transmitted in a community, in contrast to that instrumentally transmitted by staff. In one study, women farm managers were twice as likely to receive information about agricultural husbandry practices from non-agricultural staff sources, such as neighbors, market women, and seed stockists, than were members of farms managed jointly by men and women. Yet female managers adopted hybrid varieties at the same time, rate, and magnitude as farms with a man present.<sup>1</sup> Research is necessary to explore how sources of innovation vary between men and women in different economic sectors. How do women's organizations and networks compare with men's as sources of innovation? If elites have initial and extensive access to staff, what are the comparative spread effects of introducing innovations to male elites versus female elites? To the extent women's organizational affiliations cross class lines more than men's, innovation diffusion might occur more quickly or comprehensively among women than men.

Programs and staff operate under the assumption that men contacted by staff will communicate information to wives. We need to examine agricultural communication between husbands and wives. How and when does such communication occur? What is the extent of information loss?

### Ability Structure

To the extent that there is a normal distribution of ability within a community [and wider opportunity for men draws men from communities, while fewer opportunities plus family responsibilities reinforce women's residence in communities], a higher proportion of "able" persons may be found among women [Part One, V]. To what extent is this borne out, con-

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<sup>1</sup> Staudt. JDA, 1978, op. cit. Bond, op. cit., documents more frequent female-to-female discussions of agriculture than male-to-male.

strained as these female heads are by labor shortages? What is the effect of male migration and subsequent remittances on the proportion of male versus female farmers who have cash resources for agricultural innovation?

#### V. COMPARATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The entire thrust of this paper has focused on the utility of organization for offsetting subordination, reflected in women's lower access to resources than men. Organizations that can pressure for government services or attention, or that are ultimately integrated within government are crucial means for women to participate in the value and resource allocating decision-making institutions of society. Women's participation in organizations has precedent, even strong contemporary models in sexually egalitarian societies. More research on existing organizations is necessary in order that programs recognize this form of collective action which enhances greater balance and fewer disparities between the sexes.

#### Existing Organizations

Our general knowledge of existing women's organizations and other organizations in which women play a part needs expansion. We need documentation of patterns in informal and formal women's organizations, women within mixed-sex organizations, and women's interests expressed in male organizations.

On existing women's organizations, why do women's organizations emerge in some areas and not others? What types of political systems and economies are associated with emergence or collapse? What division of labor and task environment are conducive to cohesive women's organizations? Which groups are associated with entrepreneurial activity and which instead focus on service and redistribution? What conditions are associated with each? How do women's organizations interact with other groups and legal authorities?

A growing literature documents less hierarchy in women's organizations than men's in the United States, affecting internal democracy, efficiency, and style. We need comparisons of the internal structure of women's and men's organizations in LDCs and of the consequences this has for organizational performance.

Studies of changing housing patterns in neighborhoods and racial staff composition in public bureaucracies note a "tipping" phenomenon. Once a certain proportion of units reaches a threshold, the composition of the remaining parts is affected. These insights can be applied to women in male organizations. After assessing such factors as membership, attendance, speaking, and office-holding among women, can we analyze and predict the effects of women's participation on organizational process and outcome, or on the overall effect in a community? Which thresholds produce what kinds of changes?

### Organizations and Development

What are the effects of different types of women's organizations on arresting the growing marginality of women? What configurations of groups, in what types of political settings, have which impacts? Which factors explain the emergence of broadly-based women's organizations [Part One, VII]? What criteria allows one to identify developmental rather than charity organizations? Under what conditions do rotating credit societies become investment oriented?

Some level of economic development is necessary for groups to accumulate resources, yet some of the most successful all-women programs are found in economically marginal areas. Is this phenomenon common to both women's and men's organizations? Are productive women's groups specific to women in marginal areas due to a higher proportional female contribution to household maintenance among near-survival households [resulting in more relative power to women and greater recognition of their contributions to others]? How can appropriate levels of "seed money" be established to stimulate rather than smother existing organizations?

### Consciousness

Consciousness is a prerequisite to effective organization. What are the relationships between sex, class, and ethnic consciousness? Is this a sequential phenomenon? How do other institutions affect these types of consciousness? Do external resource infusions inhibit the growth of consciousness? How does the dominant sex-role ideology affect, frustrate, or illuminate consciousness? What other factors frustrate consciousness: economic growth, commercialization, individualism, and competitiveness, for example?

### Differences Among Women

Can we assess the extent to which elites dominate women's organizations? How do women's groups compare to men's in the extent to which elite domination exists? Do women's issues constrain elite domination? How does the internal hierarchy of women's groups affect degrees of elite domination? Does discrimination against women as women enhance the existence of shared interests between leaders and members?

What is the connection between urban and rural women's groups? Do their interests coincide? To what extent does a central, capital-city based women's organization and philosophy penetrate to rural chapters? What are effective models of group outreach?

### International Women's Year

Recent concerns have been expressed about developing "conference indicators" as means of assessing the process, outcomes, and effects of international conferences. What has been the impact of International Women's Year on legitimizing issues, building organizations, and instituting programs? Was the conference process different from other international conferences, and why? To what extent have resolutions penetrated national policy, and which political settings have been most conducive to penetration?

Once some of these questions are answered, we will have a better understanding of women's actual and potential contribution to the development process. Programs can then be better designed and implemented which build on and support women's participation in opportunity structures, and which eliminate obstacles to women's participation in the development process.