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THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The International Journal of Rural Development is intended to serve as a means of communication between specialists, technicians, administrators and educators in the field of rural development on a worldwide basis. The objectives are to enhance rural life through the sharing of information on rural activities, problems and issues and to promote international cooperation in this area. Issues of the journal will be published three times during the academic year.

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THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN FOOD AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Kathleen Cloud*

World Food Crisis

Within the past decade there has been a growing recognition that the world is facing a world food crisis of unique proportions. On the one hand, the technical advances of the past 30 years have made it possible to produce greatly increased amounts of food, so that it would be possible to feed everyone in the world adequately. On the other hand, many individuals and many countries do not have enough food, because they do not produce enough for their own use and cannot afford to buy it. This has always been true for some, but now, constantly expanding populations and international trade relationships are causing some countries, who were previously self-sufficient in food, to generate food deficits. As the world population increases, the problem will become more acute, and the potential for international disruption more likely.

Therefore, international attention has begun to focus more intensely on world food production and distribution systems. American technical expertise in food production is being increasingly drawn into technical assistance to the agriculture of developing countries, so that they may feed their own populations. Title XII of the Foreign Assistance Act specifically mandates the involvement of American agricultural and technical universities (primarily the Land Grant Institutions) in "the battle against famine and world hunger."

Women and Food

As the international community has begun to pay more systematic attention to the world food problem, increasing numbers of women, both here and abroad, have sought to enter the international dialogue surrounding the issue. A coalition of women succeeded in having a strong resolution on women and food included in the 1974 World Food Conference in Rome.

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Since that time, women have used this resolution to generate a series of conferences, resolutions, and activities designed to amplify and implement the original resolutions. Within the United Nations system, the concern is reflected both within the World Plan of Action for the International Women's Decade, and the resolutions of the FAO World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD). The Copenhagen resolutions note that:

> 85% of women in many developing countries are engaged in agriculture and are the principal protagonists in the attainment of nutritional self-sufficiency at the family, community and national levels.

The WCARRD recommendations state:

> Recognition of the vital role of women in socio-economic life in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities, in accordance with the goals of the United Nations' Decade for Women, is a prerequisite for successful rural development planning and programme implementation. Rural development based on growth with equity will require full integration of women, including equitable access to land, water, other natural resources, inputs and services and equal opportunity to develop and employ their skills. There is also an urgent need to expand knowledge and statistical data on all aspects of women's roles in rural activities and to disseminate this information in order to promote greater awareness of women's role in society.

American response to the issue has been legislation that includes food and nutrition concerns in the broader issue of women's integration into the total economic structure of developing countries. The Percy amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 mandates that sections 103-107 (programs in food, nutrition, population, health, education, etc.):

> Shall be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status, and assisting the total development effort.

In 1978, $10,000,000 was earmarked for women and development activities within the foreign assistance bill, and the direction to AID was that the $10,000,000 "shall be used primarily to support activities which increase productivity and income earning capacity of women." AID policy determination Paper 60 says that women are to be integrated both as *agents* and as *beneficiaries* of development activities. The AID Policy Handbook #1 directs AID missions and bureaus to:

> Consider how the capacities of women can be more fully and effectively utilized in the design and implementation of each AID sponsored project or program.
>
> Take all appropriate steps to increase both the participation of, and the benefits to, women and to encourage and support LDC and donors in undertaking similar actions. (Section IV-V)

Where has all this policy activity come from, and what does it mean? What is producing this focus of attention on women's productive and economic roles, especially their roles in the rural economy? Why has there been such an active effort on the part of women to enter this international dialogue at the policy level and to speak on behalf of poor rural women? I would like to suggest some tentative explanations of what is happening.

Women and Policy Activities

In the last hundred years, several factors have converged in many different parts of the world, producing changes that have affected small but increasing numbers of women. The first is an increasing control over human fertility and the resultant drop in the number of children many women bear. The second is women's increased life span as better health care has become available. A hundred years ago most women died before their families were raised. For many women this is no longer the case. Third, a range of household technology has reduced the drudgery of women's life supporting domestic activities.

As increasing numbers of women have lived longer, mothered fewer children, and been released from constant labor to sustain their family's lives, for the first time in the history of the world there has developed a significant surplus of women's energy, energy that has sought outlet in the public world. As more women have become educated, and gained access to the tools of intellectual technology, this surplus energy has been used to turn around, to face the world, and to understand it from women's perspectives.

Because in every culture women stand in different places than men and have different relationships with the family and society, they have tended to see from a different angle—to see things that are invisible to men. Women have tried to understand the world using the intellectual and cultural technology inherited from men, as well as other tools of their own invention. What we're now witnessing worldwide is the attempt of women to understand both their personal experience and the social constructions of families, culture, nations and the world system from their perspectives, from the places where women stand.

Women and Food Production

Although 60% of the world's women live in rural areas, and 80% of these women are in the developing world, the conscious concern with the integration of women in developing rural economies is relatively new in western development dialogue. Even within agricultural economics, although there has been a long-term awareness of women's maternal and social roles and some awareness of their domestic food processing roles, it is only in the last decade, particularly since the publication of Esther Boserup's *Roles of Women in Economic Development* that western scholars have begun to develop a systematic view of women's roles in agricultural production. Percentages of total food supply produced by women seem to vary systematically by region. These percentages are probably highest in Africa, where the UN Economic Commission for Africa estimates that 60-80% of food production is done by women. Estimates for the other regions vary, but it seems safe to say that in a high

proportion of rural cultures, women are actively engaged in some forms of food production.

Most often they are responsible for vegetable production from gardens, and for smaller animals such as goats, pigs, rabbits and chickens. In many societies they also contribute significantly to cereal production, either by specializing in certain crops or certain parts of the production cycle. In some areas, they may be responsible for gathering substantial amounts of food from wild sources. Women are often responsible for milk production and processing, and almost universally responsible for other domestic food processing, storage and distribution activities. In many societies women have significant management responsibilities also. Men have traditionally had responsibilities that complement those of women. They may be responsible for clearing fields, for plowing, and harvesting, for the care of the larger livestock, or for wage labor to supplement family resources.

This description of the division of agricultural labor would fit our current understanding of both traditional and modern food systems. Yet until the mid-70's, the conventional view of the evolutionary path from traditional to modern food production systems would have assumed a continuously decreasing proportion of food production by women as agricultural production was intensified. The conventional view might be represented by an evolutionary path such as that below.

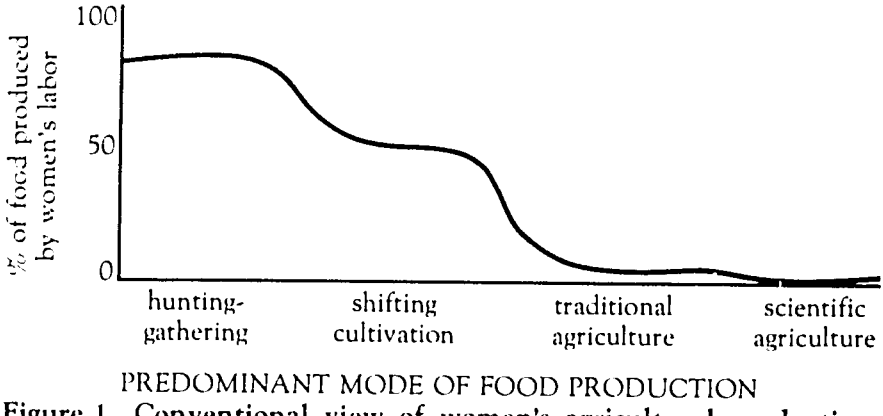

Figure 1. Conventional view of women's agricultural production, c1970

It was commonly understood that in hunting and gathering societies women had a fairly substantial responsibility for gathering of food for the family. Women were generally responsible for the gathering of the grains, fruits, and the oil producing nuts while men were responsible for the provision of protein through hunting and fishing. Figures in the ethnographic literature indicated that women probably produced somewhere between 60% and 80% of the total calories consumed in these societies while men were producing something in the range of 20% to 30%. Men, however, were also responsible for defense of the group. The sex role division of labor within these societies was generally explained by the difference in responsibility for the care of the young. Men were understood to be free to undertake hunts because they were

able to be away from children for longer periods of time. Their physical structure also permitted them access to greater bursts of energy for shorter periods of time. Women engaged in tasks that were compatible with child care, tasks which were relatively safe and close to home. It seems reasonable to assume that women were largely responsible for the invention of agriculture, to simplify the gathering of wild foods.

As the population expanded, and more people were dependent for food on limited amounts of land, agricultural production systems were gradually intensified. Land was cleared, and the bush was fired to provide soil nutrients. After a few years of farming, the land was left fallow to regenerate itself. In shifting cultivation systems with slash-and-burn hoe agriculture, the division of labor is more marked with the division of labor within cropping cycles as well as between crops. While there are few hunting/gathering cultures left in the world, hoe cultivators are a substantial proportion of the food producers of Africa, and exist to some extent in other regions. In these societies men traditionally fell the trees and clear the land for agriculture. Women have responsibility for all of the cereal cropping, as well as much of the vegetable production for sauces, gathering of food from the wild, and small animal production. The relative food productivity of women within these cultures was seen as somewhat less than in hunting and gathering societies. Anthropological studies documented that 40% to 50% of the food is produced by women in hoe cultures, though in some African societies the proportion ranges as high as 80%.

In some parts of the world as population density became greater, there was increased need to produce more food from the same ground. This need for increased productivity demanded that more labor be invested in each plot of land. If plowing is to occur, stones, roots and trees must be removed from the land. If irrigation is to be introduced, dikes, canals and terraces must be built and maintained. This investment of time in land preparation made the land more valuable, and led to arrangements where control over this land could be maintained by those who had invested in its preparation. In many parts of the world, this led to the development of systems of peasant agriculture, with some form of land inheritance. In traditional peasant agricultural systems it was generally thought that women's food productivity dropped sharply as the women's lives centered on the family compound. Women in many traditional agricultural peasant systems still had gardens and small animals. They might process and sell the milk but there was a perception that their actual food production activity was quite low. Rather, women were seen to invest proportionately more time in the quality of life through more elaborate cooking, storage, and food preservation activities. Food storage and food processing activities are important because they carry the family through the hungry season. These food preservation, processing and storage activities are particularly crucial in cold climates where people have to live through a long winter season with no fresh foods available to them.

Women and Agricultural Development Institutions

Peasant women were also seen to invest more time in family and human resource development; that is, in children as well as in family status produc-

tion through their participation in kinship networks and social obligations. This pattern of peasant agriculture is indigenous in many parts of the developing world, as well as the western world. It is at this point in the evolutionary path that most agricultural development institutions are formed, and at this point that western institutional models began to be exported around the world as disseminators of agricultural innovation.

The power of the intensification of agriculture with peasant farming systems is that it produces a surplus large enough to permit some people to leave direct food production and live in cities. Every nation must find some way to access a food surplus in order to support its urban population, its government officials, university professors, factory workers, miners, bus drivers and mailmen.

As the new feminist scholarship has made us aware, it is also at this point of transition from hoe to peasant agriculture that women lose independent access to land and become legal dependents of their fathers and their husbands. Women continue producing, processing, cooking, and storing what other people legally own. Under many legal systems, they cannot independently own or inherit land. It is at this point that women disappear legally and socially into the family.

High technology-scientific agriculture is a development of the last two to three generations although it has its roots earlier in Japan and in Germany. This high technology agriculture is characterized by biological innovations to improve yield per acre and mechanical innovations to reduce labor input per acre. Japan and the United States are seen as the two prime exemplars of this kind of high productivity agriculture.

It was assumed that women played very little role in high technology agricultural production. Common wisdom was that developing countries would evolve along an evolutionary path similar to that of developed countries, and institutions in the developing countries have been built on assumption of male farmers with male extension workers to serve them. Is this inevitable? Desirable? Appropriate? Can any lesson be learned from human experience to date that will facilitate production of more food and yet ease the social dislocations and upheavals? Do African women and Nepalese women really need to disappear into the household and lose independent access to productive resources of land and technology for generations in order to produce the necessary food surplus? Or were surplus women in peasant households really the silent dependents, processing and consuming but not producing? Is there really no room for women in modern hi-tech agriculture? Is off-farm employment for women the only way of raising their status and their productivity?

As research on women's agricultural participation gathered force in the 1970's, data began to point to some anomalies in the common view of this curve, particularly for the developing countries. As studies accumulated, a picture emerged reflecting a much higher percentage of food being produced by women in both traditional and modern agricultural systems.

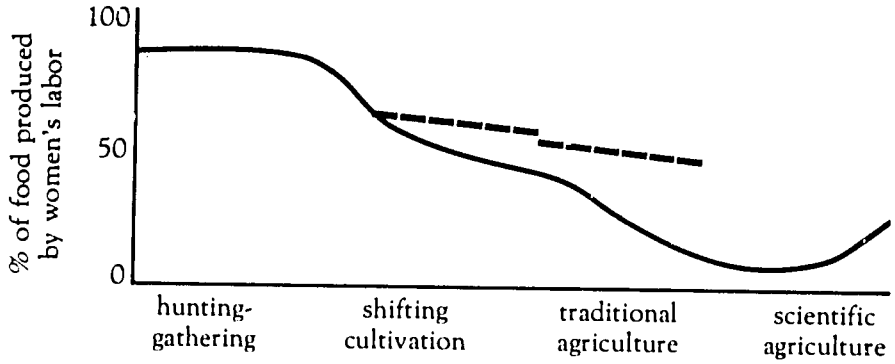

Figure 2. Evolutionary path reflecting pattern of bimodal agricultural development—traditional and modern agriculture side by side

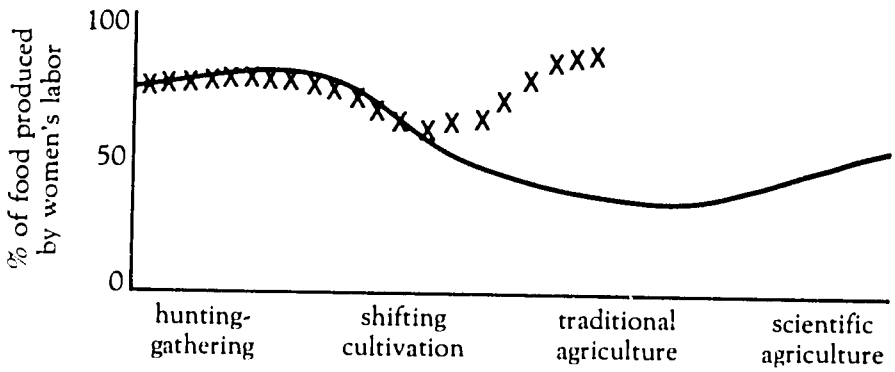

Figure 3. Two alternative paths for foods systems with large outmigration of males

What are the causes of this shallower curve reflecting a higher productivity for women in traditional agricultural systems? What is the upward hook on the end of the curve indicating a higher proportion of food produced by women in high technology agricultural systems? Several streams of work have emerged that each give partial explanations for these changes in the probable shape of the curve.

One stream of work has begun to establish that women within traditional agricultural systems produce more of the family and national food supplies than had been acknowledged. Peasant women often produce vegetables, eggs, pork, chickens, dairy products and calves, as well as participating in the production of field crops during parts of the cropping cycle. One has only to look at the art of the world to see women's participation in traditional peasant farming systems. Medieval manuscripts are full of it, and yet somehow, economic literature overlooks it.

A second reason for the somewhat shallower curve is that in many rural economies women are producing food crops while men are producing either fiber or food for export. In many cases women are using hoe technology to produce family food in the same local and national food systems where men are using draft animals, tractors and other technological innovations to produce non-domestic cash crops. This is true in many parts of Africa and Latin America.

A third cause is migration that siphons men off farms and into paid labor force participation in cities and mines both at home and abroad. Increasing numbers of women have been left to manage family food production systems, and often to make some attempt to produce surplus for sale, with children and older people as their only labor force. This is increasingly true in large parts of the Caribbean, in Africa, and the Mediterranean. More recently in the Near East, male workers are migrating to work in the Gulf states, leaving women at home with the responsibility for food production. Sometimes these men send remittances home but women are often making day to day decisions about the purchase of inputs of labor, and the use of technical packages, without secure access to credit, land, or information.

Another contributory factor to the somewhat shallower curve is the large number of women-headed households. Some are temporary, de facto women-headed households caused by migration. Others are de jure, widows, divorced women, polygamous wives with separate household budgets. These women are farming in areas where they have traditional rights to land or have enough resources to maintain their husbands' patrimony, often in the name of their sons.

But how to explain the hook on the end, the upward trend in the high technology cultures? This is an interesting question. Documentation in this area is very incomplete, but it does seem that at least in Denmark, Japan and the United States, as well as in eastern Europe, women are increasingly involved in the management and operation of high technology modern agriculture. According to the national reports submitted to the Copenhagen conference, 62% of all those engaged in Japanese agriculture and forestry production are women. Denmark has over 4,000 independent female farmers (just under 4% of all Danish farms) and 57% of Danish farm wives work 20 or more hours per week on farm work, in addition to their household work. It is unclear what women's labor contribution to agricultural production is in the United States but even casual observation indicates increasing numbers of women operating big rigs and milking parlors on family farms. The high capital investment in machinery and the limited number of laborers available to most family farm owners make the use of women increasingly efficient economically. Because farm families are smaller and they use the nuclear family for their unpaid labor pool, daughters as well as sons, wives as well as husbands, are running the sophisticated large machinery.

The general argument for shallower curves for higher percentages of the world's food supply being produced by women is beginning to be accepted. There is urgent need for systematic data collection and synthesis to articulate

what the correct percentages may be for particular food systems. The problem is complicated by a confusion in the literature between use of *hours worked*, or amount of labor invested, as the measure in one report and outcome/productivity in another. In general, the ethnographic literature has tended to use hours worked as the marker of women's involvement, while economic literature uses measures of productivity, often simply assuming that a woman's hour of labor is half as productive as a man's.

Women's Access to Food Production Technology

The wide discrepancy in modes of technical production that are available to men and women further compound the problem, both the problem of accurately reflecting women's agricultural productivity and the larger problem of increasing that productivity. *This* is a second insight gained from women's research in the past ten years. Many of the world's food producers are effectively cut off from the inputs of technology, information and credit that would permit them to increase their productivity. This is so because the institutions delivering these inputs are overwhelmingly male and are built with an implicit assumption of a male linkage delivery system. Various reports have documented the lesser access to extension and credit of female farmers in eastern Africa in areas of extensive female farming. The same kind of documentation is now emerging in a number of other places. This mismatch between access to factors of production and farmers who need them undoubtedly results in lower food productivity in many areas. Family food supplies are affected directly by this neglect. In Africa, many women farmers are not receiving the kind of research and services that would permit them to increase their production. In Latin America, the hacienda system means that women are producing large amounts of the family food supply on small marginal farms while their husbands , brothers and sons may be engaged as paid laborers on large farms which produce cash crops, crops which often do not enter the local economy. In the Caribbean, the Near East and in Africa, migration has thrown an extraordinary burden on women for family food production and yet they do not have access to the technical input, cannot secure land or gain access to credit and cooperatives that would support their food production activities. These are all problems of supply affected directly by misunderstanding and misperception of women's roles in food production activities.

There is a terrible inertia in the current institutions, institutions that were built upon other visions of women's roles in agricultural development. The actual sex role division of labor and responsibility at the farm level is not reflected either in the technical assistance institutions working in developing countries or in the government ministries that are the colonial heritage of the developing countries themselves. In both developed and developing countries, the further one moves from home and village, the less women participate in public decision-making roles. Most formal decision-making power is still lodged in male bureaucracies. Women's priorities and women's points of view tend to be given less attention, not through malice, but through the very structure of the decision-making process.

Research Priorities

This mismatch of institutions and farmers also results in the skewing of research priorities away from the need of many food-producing farmers. Hyami and Rutan's model of induced innovation in agriculture posits that research will tend to be undertaken to supplement the limited resources of a given agricultural system. If a system is short in land and rich in labor, research in technological innovation should flow toward increasing yields per acre through the development of fertilizers and improved seed varieties as it has in Taiwan and Japan. If, instead, a system is rich in land and short in labor as the United States has been, research and technical innovation should tend to flow toward increasing yields per worker hour through increased mechanization. Given this hypothesis, Africa, which is rich in land and experiences a seasonal labor bottleneck, should be investing in technology and research to release the labor constraint. Some such work is going forward. Bullocks are being introduced for plowing, but very few institutional resources are flowing into the development of technology for releasing time now bound in household tasks such as the pounding of grain, the carrying of water and the gathering of firewood so that this labor time could be invested in increased food production.

In many parts of the world, institutional bias has resulted also in lesser research attention to women's food crops. For example, there is little research and extension devoted to goats which produce both milk and meat for many families. Vegetable production receives proportionally less research resources, as do crops such as cassava, which spread the labor demand over the year and can be used to relieve the labor constrajnts. To some extent this is because the imported definition of who is a farmer and what is farm work has been institutionalized in African institutions in a way that prevents them from dealing effectively with the food production systems they are actually facing.

This is also, of course, a function of intense competition for scarce resources, in situations where women have little public power. But donors have power, they influence the allocation of research priorities, the design of credit systems, extension systems and agricultural college curriculums. They influence the degree to which women are *designed in*, or *designed out* of agricultural development, if in no other way than by the model they present, of women present or women absent in the most powerful parts of the development establishment.

The presence of women within the American land grant universities places them in a crucial position within the most powerful agricultural technical assistance institutions of the world. They have the opportunity to influence their institutions to make more realistic assessments of the food systems they are working with, to understand and relate to reality, rather than myth. They can assist their institutions in thinking through with host country governments the most efficient and equitable ways of increasing productivity, and building institutions that will sustain agricultural development.

As women scholars, we must keep reminding ourselves, as well as our male colleagues, that women's opportunity costs are different than men's. No matter what else they do, most women are also responsible for the reproduction of the society through producing, educating and cherishing the new

generations. Women the world over constantly make tradeoffs between their productive and reproductive roles. These tradeoffs between women's productive and reproductive roles have not yet been systematically and intensively studied at the personal, family, or national policy level. In order to think through realistic options for assistance to traditional food production systems, it seems important to do so with sensitivity to the issue of these tradeoffs. It is important that we neither squeeze women out of access to economic resources by emphasizing only women's reproductive roles nor by emphasizing only women's economic roles thus adding more work to already overburdened mothers. As more resources begin to flow into research and programs for women in developing countries we need to be sensitive to both of women's roles, and to the interplay between them. At the same time, we need to become more and more involved in dialogue with women throughout the world, so that we can learn from their insights as well as sharing ours with them.

In the short run, delivery of services to women farmers as well as men to increase the productivity of the total national food system seems the only equitable and efficient strategy to employ. In the longer run, the question of appropriate roles for women as higher productivity agriculture takes hold, as there are fewer farmers and more income per farm, is a question that needs to be thought through, country by country, over time. The question of appropriate roles for women, as an increasing proportion of the population moves away from direct food production, is a political and a social question as well as an efficiency question. There are both practical and moral questions, questions of *who decides*, and *who benefits*. These are questions that cannot be solved from outside an individual society. But it is possible for us from outside to provide clear information about the reality of the actual situation, and some sense of the consequences of particular courses of action that may permit societies to make an informed choice. As women, we can also work to assure that the voices of our sisters are heard.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT—PROJECT EVALUATION

K. C. Nobe*

Introduction

The most critical time to evaluate projects is in the design stage when alternatives can be considered and the goals set realistically in recognition of the limited resources available to achieve them. But, if the project is started then continued monitoring is advised. Of course, projects can be evaluated from a number of perspectives—economic growth, social justice, cultural reform, moral and equity considerations—to name but a few. However, I will focus on evaluating projects from an economic efficiency perspective.

Conceptual Economics of Public Project Evaluation

As a starting point, it is necessary to understand what economics is and what the relevant concepts are. In the abstract, economics is not just a field of study, it is a way of thinking. Lord Robbins has defined it merely as: "the pure logic of choice." Another way of saying this is that economics is "that science which analyzes human behavior in terms of a relationship between (alternative) ends and means which have alternative uses" (Robbins). This definition specifies the three essential ingredients of any economic problem:

a. First, there must be a plurality of ends, or objectives. (If there was only one objective in mind, no choices would have to be made on whether to proceed or not.)
b. Second, the means for achieving the objectives must be scarce. (If they weren't, then again no choices would have to be made because all the objectives could be achieved.)
c. Third, there must be alternative uses for the available means. (If resources could not be allocated from one objective to another, then again no need for choice would be present.)

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Evaluation of economic development projects simply refers to analyzing proposals or on-going efforts in terms of the above three essential ingredients. The basic tool for carrying out the application of the analysis is the *Opportunity Cost Concept* which is perhaps the most single important concept of economics. (All costs are lost potential benefits and this is the key to economic thinking and, therefore, to project evaluation.)

Other Economic Tools for Project Evaluation

a. The "With and Without" Principle
b. Separability and Marginality: The Problem of Sub-Optimization
c. Discounting: The Present Value of the Future
d. Indirect Costs and Benefits: The Secondary Impacts Problem
e. Lack of Markets—Shadow Pricing Issue
f. Non-pecuniary Costs and Benefits Concerns
g. Option Demands
h. Cost Effective Analysis

The Principle of Sufficient Information

1. The objective of project evaluation is to reach a decision, hopefully at least cost; therefore, the process of project evaluation in itself should be an economic process.
2. It follows that information useful to making a decision is valuable while information that doesn't contribute is useless (and unnecessarily costly to attain).
3. There is a means of testing the locus of this shift, in the value of information—it depends upon the magnitude of the "true" benefit/cost ratio of the project in question.
4. Quite often, with very little informational inputs, one of three situations can be identified: (a) The B/C ratio is so high that it is most unlikely that further information will reduce it to less than one-to-one. (b) The B/C ratio is so low that it is unlikely that further information will increase it to more than one-to-one. (c) The B/C ratio is at or near one but one can not say for sure whether it is really above or below one. Early in the project design stage, one of these three possible results can be ascertained, if the analyst uses his own experience and that of others associated with, or impacted by, the project. In any case, a *pro forma* benefit/cost ratio should be set, consisting of one of the three cases; then one attempts to refute the hypothesis of a "good," "bad" or "uncertain" project.
5. The tool to use at this point is *sensitivity analysis.*
   a. Make an assumption that either costs or benefits data is off by, say 20 percent, and recalculate. If such levels of error are sufficient to change the ratio from plus to minus, or vice versa, then additional information will be valuable; if not, why continue the analysis and gathering of costly data?
   b. What we are really doing in this phase of the analysis is *obtaining a shadow price for additional information* but in the process we can also

throw out "bad" proposals and get on with "good" ones in a surprisingly large number of cases.

Practical Consequences of This Approach to Project Evaluation

1. The economist should establish the pro forma B/C ratio of a project as soon as possible during the design stage (or during an interim review) and with as little information as he can tolerate.
2. Certain critical information can only be obtained with inherent large potentials for error; e.g., crop yields and prices may be in error by several 100 percent. Therefore, the project's B/C ratio must be able to withstand this kind of uncertainty as demonstrated by sensitivity analysis in order to be seriously considered for implementation (or continuation).
3. Sufficient information to make a decision can often be attained at a very low level of input—if so, that is the time to end the evaluation.

AID DOCUMENTS: POLITICS & PROCEDURE

Kathleen A. Staudt*

Introduction

AID, the major U.S. bilateral economic foreign assistance organization, was created in 1962. AID supports development projects in over 60 countries; decentralized field missions coordinate these efforts with relevant host country officials. AID/Washington is organized into nine bureaus, the following seven of which are relevant here: four regional bureaus (Latin America-Caribbean, Africa, Asia, and Near East), the Development Support Bureau (technical assistance), Program & Policy Coordination (policy), and Private & Development Cooperation, which provides support for private voluntary organizations doing developmental work overseas.

Besides the Women in Development (WID) office located in the policy bureau, there are WID officers located in all four regional bureaus, some of them giving 50 percent and others 100 percent of their time on women in development. In the technical bureau, various sector offices have a staff person assigned to "watch" WID for part of their time. Moreover, there are WID officers located in all the AID field missions. Their interest, commitment, and knowledge about women varies; moreoever, they are assigned as minute a portion of time as 5-10 percent on WID, in addition to other duties. Seemingly this appears to be a powerful structural penetration of the Agency. It must be recognized, however, that this is an agency of 6,000 direct hire employees and thousands more of temporary contractors, many of whom are oriented toward women in pre-WID mandate ways.

Decentralized organizations operating in different political jurisdictions and charged with tasks over which limited consensus exists are difficult to manage with central guidelines (Trendler, 1975). It is the project process, however, which represents the most enormous hurdle through which one must pass to

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infuse the design and resource allocation activities with concern for women. The process is a lengthy one as well, consuming an average of 2.7 years from the project idea stage until the project agreement is signed—before implementation even begins. The stages of the project process are described below.

The AID Project Process

Country Development Strategy Statements (CDSSs)

The project process begins with long-term planning, and in conjunction with that, the documents known as the Country Development Strategy Statements (or CDSSs) are written in each AID field mission. They are five-year, rolling plans (the latter referring to yearly revisions) in which poverty is analyzed as well as AID's response to that poverty analysis. CDSSs represent an opportunity to tap policy-oriented research in AID planning, although it is absent in some of the documents (which understandably vary enormously in quality). CDSSs are the primary document with country-specific information. They help to "socialize" new mission staff in their organization (in an agency with excessively frequent staff transfer). CDSSs are also the earliest point in the mission at which attention to women is possible and necessary. Indeed, if women are not included here, there are negative reverberations for later parts of the project process.

CDSSs provide the framework within which to engage in long-term mission budget strategizing and to "cue" other parts of the project process. During the project approval process, people will consult the CDSS for justification. If women are not included in the CDSS, it can be cause to reject such projects in a given country.

Each year, guidelines are sent to missions about what is to be included in their CDSSs. The 1978 instructions to missions consisted of 29 single-spaced pages for a document which was not to exceed 55 double-spaced pages! As might be imagined in this agency suffocating in paper, the documents are quite complicated, and not all guidance is followed. The guidelines themselves indicate the variety of special interests in AID, of which WID is but one of many. Although asked for each year, WID is easily lost in the instructions.

In a WID-analysis of 1979 CDSSs, which were to have considered cultural and social values in the human environment and the roles of males and females as producers, consumers, income earners, and decision makers (the guidance is paraphrased), most documents were found to be far too vague for meaningful planning and programming purposes. A full half dealt with women in a separate section, often not more than one or two paragraphs long. The paragraphs were about as meaningful as most woman-impact statements in Project Papers (discussed later). Little beyond generalities on the "role" and "status" of women were written. For example, some missions indicated that the "status of women was low" and that AID strategy should "increase the status of women." Imagine if the same fuzzy thinking would be applied to men or to various occupational groups. What would it mean to "raise the status of men or of small farmers"? Usually missions dealt with women solely in their domestic and reproductive roles, rather than in economic roles (the primary focus of WID). Several CDSSs referred to the special needs of pregnant and lactating women, but said nothing about the nonpregnant and nonlactating

woman. For the India CDSS, the only reference to women was that they died earlier than men, with nothing else said about AID strategy. Finally, a sixth of CDSSs reviewed said nothing about women at all, despite the guidance cable. CDSSs should address women's work (the sex division of labor), women's return from labor, special access to government programs, numbers of female-headed households (de facto and de jure), and women migrants in a way integral to the whole document.

In 1979, the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development (BIFAD) also conducted an analysis of CDSSs, and one of many conclusions was that women were not effectively addressed. Besides periodic assessments of long-term mission planning, there are other roles for Title XII people to play in this process. In the future, closer technical service links may be developed between individual Title XII schools and specific host country institutions (and AID missions in those countries). Through this connection, more policy-oriented research on women might be fed into the writing and planning process to affect subsequent parts of the project process. Those who have worked with government agencies realize that there is a real "translation" problem in translating research (with its own style, jargon, and communication channels) into language and action with which development practitioners can cope in their tight schedules. That realization should temper any connections that are developed.

Project Identification Documents (PIDs)

Guidance for the project process can be found in Handbook III, one of over 30 handbooks in AID. Handbook III was revised last year, and guidance on women was shortened. Nevertheless, what remained was a forceful statement that differential project impact between the sexes must be addressed in the earliest project document, the PID.

The first explicit stage of the project process is known as the Project Identification Document, called the PID. This relatively short document is the product of the so-called collaborative process between AID staff and host country government officials. The PID represents a very preliminary statement about an intended project. In earlier years, the PID was ten or so pages long, but it has subsequently become longer to cope with the many concerns that are raised in the committee which reviews the PID.

Once a PID is received in AID/Washington, the country desk officer will circulate copies and call a review committee meeting which all interested parties may attend. Hopefully, those attending the meeting will have read the document, because it is at the PID review committee where the project idea can be dissected. Indeed, much of this "picking" process may occur before and after the meeting, with informal dialogue among various parties. After this committee meeting, the desk officer will summarize meeting comments and cable them back to the mission. Hopefully, someone at this meeting will raise the WID issue and generate dialogue on how strategies to include women can be designed into the next stage of the project process. Frequently, however, nothing on women is found in this document. If the issue is dialogued over, the cable will reflect that, and then technical experts may be recruited to address this issue in the subsequent stages of project design.

Project Paper (PP)

The next stage of project design is represented in the Project Paper, or PP, which is a complex document compiled, ordinarily, by an interdisciplinary team who come from such diverse organizations as Title XII institutions, AID, or consulting firms. Often, teams are all male. Usually, at least one social scientist is on the team, an anthropologist and/or sociologist, who is responsible for the Social Soundness Analysis. For compiling the PP, the team takes its cues from the PID, the cable, and work assignments (the "scopes of work") that have been written in the AID regional bureau and/or in the mission. The more that different team members are sensitive to women in development, the more likely it is that women will be included. Ordinarily, the burden will fall on the social analyst. Nevertheless, even these social scientists do not always "see" women's work. Often unfamiliar with WID literature, they may not have access to the women's community in rural areas to the extent that there are cultural constraints against women interacting with stranger men. Part of the problem also relates to the speed by which PPs are sometimes compiled. A typical social soundness analysis will take two or three weeks, which may make researchers shudder (in terms of report quality).

Below is an example of the "cueing" process just discussed. When working in AID, I attended a PID review for a West African country higher agricultural education project. I raised specific issues at the committee meeting, relating to literature on women farmers in that country, access problems women have to extension and credit, and suggested recruitment and outreach strategies that might be built into the project. The response was somewhat typical: "Oh yes, the ladies; we hadn't thought about that." Yet some dialogue was provoked. This was duly noted by the desk officer (a WID supporter, I might add), who summarized comments in the cable to the mission. Late last year, I learned of a woman anthropologist from a Title XII university who had been recruited to work on the PP for that higher education project. Her scope of work included the responsibility to deal with women and family production. Because this responsibility was in writing, the team as a whole recognized that it was accountable for dealing with the issue and that it would most likely be addressed at the next project review. Consequently, a strategy to include women was designed into the project. The mission estimates that a ninth of project funding, or about a million dollars, will address women in development.

Just like the PID review committee, a similar meeting is held to discuss the PP. It, too, represents another hurdle to pass through. If positively reviewed, the way is paved for the project agreement to be signed. If women have not been designed in at this stage, it may be too late to include women. Project Papers are rarely revised on this issue alone, unless other committee members are convinced that integrating women is crucial to the entire project. WID does not have veto power over PPs, but it can disrupt the consensus which ordinarily characterizes decision making in those committees. Such disruption does occasionally occur.

One item relevant to this discussion of the PP is the "woman-impact" statement. Usually, this consists of a vague paragraph indicating that the project will have a positive impact on women. The woman-impact statements

sound amazingly alike from project to project and world region to world region. Indeed, agency people call them "boilerplate." One Near East mission officer once indicated, "We wrote a woman-impact statement just after the legislation in 1974; it has tremendous recyclable value." Although virtually meaningless in substance, the woman-impact statement does highlight to designers, some of whom may still be oblivious to the fact that women are part of the rural clientele, that projects must consider impact on women.

Logframe

One crucial element in the PP is the Logical Framework, also known as the Logframe. This is a concise, one-page chart containing the GPOI, or the Goals, Purposes, Outputs, and Inputs of the project. Parts of the chart contain quantifiable targets the project is to achieve and the time period this is to happen in, along with a methodology for verifying achievement. Column two, row two identifies the "EOPS," or End of Project Status, to which project managers are held accountable by later project evaluators.

Women are rarely specified in the Logframe. Because of this, designers, implementors, and evaluators can make the often faulty assumption that reaching households means reaching women, or that improving household income means women share in its benefits. If women were targeted in the Logframe, for example, as a percentage of total project participants, managers would know they were responsible to reach women and to "prove" that in evaluation. There would be a greater incentive to then include women during the implementation process.

On those rare occasions when women are targeted in the Logframe, the number targeted seems unnecessarily low. For example, in a Near East elementary education project, girls were targeted to have 16 percent of the slots. What was interesting about that figure was that it matched the percentage of all elementary-aged school children who were female in that district before the project even began. One would have assumed that sensitivity to women in development would aim to raise the percent of children in school that are girls rather than simply perpetuate the grave disparities between the sexes. Similarly, in a Sahelian agricultural project, a baseline survey found that women were 48 percent of the farmers in the project area; nevertheless, women farmers were targeted at 15 percent of project participants.

Evaluation.

The final part of the project process cycle is the evaluation which occurs after a project is initiated and at its completion. The evaluation provides real guidance and lessons for future projects, to the extent that evaluations accurately portray actual project operations and impacts. If women's participation is not specified in the evaluation, it will not be possible either to determine project effects on women or to understand how women's participation improves overall project success in meeting specified goals. Frequently, projects contain little information about impact on people, but much less on impact on women. An analysis of evaluations on agricultural extension and credit found that sex disaggregated data were usually absent, such that one could not tell if women participated, much less whether the project had negative or positive effects on women (Staudt, 1979).

Conclusion

The complex, lengthy project process has been described, along with suggestions on how to use that process to ensure that women are included in projects. Constant vigilance is necessary, as there are too many points at which WID sensitivity can fall through (or be built in) the project framework. This diagnosis of AID policy, structure, and procedure should be matched with a diagnosis of Title XII institutions in which people are situated. They, too, represent a potential hurdle for involvement in the project process.

By way of conclusion, I want to encourage development practitioners to not lose sight of what real development means for people. Unless people, the so-called targeted populace in bureaucratic jargon, are involved in decision making and benefit distribution, development—however defined—cannot occur in self-sustaining ways. Development practitioners should also realize that economic marginality is often simply a reflection of political marginality (Uphoff, 1980). Development practitioners ought to be sensitive to the need for people to be empowered politically, and the need for bureaucratic institutions (or pockets of those institutions) which are responsive to people to be strengthened if development with equity is to occur. Unfortunately, one must deal with the bureaucratic mazes I have described to make resources flow.

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WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: A VIEW FROM AFRICA

Mary Tadesse*

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa was established in 1958. The concerns of the Commission were focused primarily on institution building, training programs, highway development, technological development, engineering design programs and mineral resource management. Commission meetings have been held periodically since 1958. At the 7th meeting of the Commission, the following concerns of African women were identified: (a) Chronic food deficiency, (b) Promiscuous draughts, (c) Cost of energy, (d) Deteriorating trade balance, and (e) Lack of sense of direction. During the meeting it was emphasized that there is a need for the involvement of African women in the decision-making process particularly as it relates to economic involvement. This need is enhanced by the fact that many African men are seeking employment in urban areas away from the farms. Therefore, African women are assuming increasing responsibility for family food production without the benefit of adequate tools, credit or technological advances.

The priorities for involving African women in development programs are:

1. Training programs involving women — information refresher programs primarily for rural areas
2. Research data base with women appropriately included
3. Sensitize planners to needs of women
4. Strengthen organizations serving women
5. Network for commission of women

Africans believe that it is time to change the problem-solving process from academic/research to an operational approach. This approach must recognize

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that the greatest assets Africa possesses are its extensive mineral and human resources. These assets are viewed in relation to numerous problems:

—Obsession with external markets
—Neglected indigenous talent
—Foreign technology impossible to maintain
—Need to limit growth

In order to deal with economic development, the Lagos Plan of Action was adopted which recommended the following:

1. Improve food production
2. Reduce food loss and increase storage capacity
3. Improve agricultural infra-structure
4. Increase economic research
5. Increase emphasis on food crops and decrease emphasis on cash crops
6. Select appropriate techno'ogy
7. Improve dissemination of agricultural and technical information

AFRICAN WOMEN AND SMALL-SCALE RURAL INDUSTRIES

Sylvia White*

The 1970's produced a flurry of research on small-scale industries in rural Africa. Though it has long been known that women are the producers of many items used in the rural economy, the fact that women act as entrepreneurs—that is, that they invest in, operate, and assume the risk for their small-scale industrial ventures—is ignored by the research. Instead, men emerge as dominating the entrepreneurial activities and as a result, programs which extend aid to this sector focus on men to the virtual exclusion of women.

We can begin to understand why these programs ignore women if we examine the way they are portrayed in studies of the African rural nonfarm sector. First, women are characterized mainly as traders rather than as producers of commodities. Second, official labor statistics undercount and misrepresent the extent of women's participation in manufacturing and processing enterprises. For example, the thousands of women who are engaged in food processing are categorized as agricultural labor (I.L.O., 1970). This means, of course, that their contribution to what is, in fact, an important *agro-based industry* is severely underrated. Third, there are studies which discuss the need for women to be employed in terms of providing labor for rural industries, but the fact that women (and men, too) who labor in the informal sector are frequently exploited as the lowest of the low wage labor force is overlooked. Finally, some research tends to emphasize the idea that women operate individually and have only a transitory interest in their activities as a means of earning money for household expenses.

It is equally important to see the ways that women are not discussed in the literature on the small-scale sector. There are no studies which examine the magnitude of investment made by women entrepreneurs or that discuss the importance of their products to the rural economy. No studies present

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women's endeavors in terms of the benefits that flow from linkages established with other economic sectors; no studies emphasize the employment created by women's enterprises. Neither are there studies that focus specifically on rural women's need for management skills, credit, organization, tax incentives, or the myriad other forms of aid so often discussed as being beneficial to entrepreneurs of small-scale rural industries. Micro-level studies of women as entrepreneurs are almost nonexistent. Without such research it will be difficult to convince policy makers and program designers that women make an important contribution to the rural nonfarm sector.

Establishing the Importance of Women Entrepreneurs

The characteristics of entrepreneurial behavior have been defined earlier. According to this definition almost any woman engaged in the manufacture or processing of goods might qualify as an entrepreneur. But simply being an entrepreneur, albeit one with specific needs, does not assure the expenditure of government resources. There must be something about the entrepreneurial activity that makes it important enough to merit the allocation of money to a project. In my experience, one of the most effective ways to establish the importance of a particular group is to demonstrate its relationship to the achievement of priorities identified in the country's national development plan.

The adoption of policies designed to aid small-scale rural industries is a case in point. In the last decade at least 21 African nations identified employment creation as a priority in their national development plans. The research of the 1970's demonstrated that small-scale rural industries had particularly positive impacts on employment creation. As a consequence, rural industries that demonstrate their impact on employment are usually the ones that are "heard" by the development banks that give loans and extend credit; they are "heard" by the social agencies, and even the private organizations that mount training programs. It follows, then, that the importance of women as small-scale industrial entrepreneurs is established not only by demonstrating that they behave as shrewd business persons or that they "have a need," but that in addition to these attributes, their entrepreneurial activity contributes to the achievement of a national goal. Describing how this contribution takes place is the next challenge, for investigators will have to undertake a type of detailed micro-level research which is still quite rare.

Focusing on the Details

In order to describe the contribution of the industry and its proprietress, the researcher must become thoroughly familiar with the manufacturing process. Though it may be quite difficult to obtain data, it is important to gather as much detail as possible on the following items:

(1) Identification of costs— Everything that reduces the cash or the assets of the entrepreneur is a cost. For example, what is the cost of the equipment she uses? Is the equipment used of local or imported origin? What are the costs of distributing the product? What costs are associated with rent, labor, fuel,

taxes, import duties, loan payments? Does the entrepreneur have to pay her mother-in-law for babysitting, pay a co-wife for taking her turn with weeding or fetching water? What production of food is given up as a result of her industrial activity?

(2) Identification of current and potential income— The sales of the item may be the only current income. But a study of Ghanaian garri makers (garri is an indigenous instant cereal) found that sales of garri could be significantly augmented by the sale of the starch which is a by-product of the processing.

(3) An understanding of the manufacturing process may be helpful later in suggesting alternative raw materials that save money or new markets that bring in more income. For example, the researcher should find out what raw materials are used in each step of the process, and where the materials come from in a spatial and sectoral sense. This type of information gives clues about where, spatially, other employment is being generated and in what sector of the economy new employment is being created. This information relates directly to the next topic.

(4) Assess whether the project encourages direct and indirect employment. Many nations envision, ideally, that rural industries will create employment in a specific locale. Identifying where employment is being created by particular rural industries may be a critical feature in convincing government officials that a program is beneficial. Demonstrating that raw materials come from local sources and thus encourage local employment may be very important in establishing the contribution of a small-scale entrepreneur. As to how much employment is created, it is necessary to discover whether the woman currently employs anyone to help with the manufacture of the item. (According to the ILO, African rural industries tend to employ only 2-3 persons on the average, 1970.) An estimate of indirect employment generated in the agricultural sector that supplies raw materials can be made, as can estimates of employment generated in other sectors of the economy—transportation, other industries that use the product, retail sales and services.

(5) Identification of bottlenecks in the manufacturing process— For example, are raw material supplies steady? Are distribution channels reliable? Is the price of the item distorted because of wholesaling practices or transportation costs? Is it difficult to store inventories? Does the proprietress have difficulties with cash flow when it comes to paying for raw materials or for her labor costs? Does she or her employees need particular skills which might upgrade, in simple fashion, the production process or the quality of the product?

(6) Finally, it is a good idea to examine the potential for increased production and to look at the effects of production increases on the product's price, distribution costs, marketing systems, and employment.

In the process of gathering all this detailed information, it may seem that we have forgotten the woman entrepreneur. In a sense, perhaps we have. It is important to recognize that though societies may designate what is male or female work, the small-scale rural industry itself is essentially neutral with respect to the sex that is running it. However, in becoming familiar with the industrial process, the researcher will undoubtedly discover the problems and potentials that are "sex-linked." Clearly, these characteristics must be brought out in the course of the findings.

Linking Research to Program Design

A program consists of all the actions required to achieve the specified objectives and all the consequences that result from the program. To my mind, the most successful program design contains a rather specific statement of its objectives, a full discussion of the problem, and suggested methods for achieving objectives. A good program design also incorporates ways to measure whether the program has been effective and whether there have been any negative impacts.

Research that is useful in the design of programs to aid particular types of small-scale rural industries can communicate from its store of detail rather specific objectives, a knowledgeable discussion of the problems of production, and can suggest methods for achieving objectives. For example, the researcher who is acquainted with the production process is in a good position to recommend the kind of training needed for the entrepreneur or for her employees. Understanding the bottlenecks in supply and distribution make possible recommendations for organizations (like producer coops) that might be effective in materials purchase or product marketing. The provision of details on costs and revenues are helpful in designing the evaluation of the program. Did the program reduce costs to the producer, the consumer? Was the entrepreneur able to overcome the cash flow problem by obtaining credit at the right time in the production process? Did an increase in production have a negative impact on the environment or on the product price?

The point is that this type of research is action-oriented; it supplies the kind of detail needed to design programs that meet real, specific needs.

Conclusions

I have attempted in this brief discussion to point out some gaps in the research on rural African women. While it is one thing to acknowledge the fact that there are women entrepreneurs engaged in small-scale rural industries, it is quite another to undertake the particular type of research that is needed to provide the basis for programs that will be successful in helping them. Not everyone will be interested in this kind of research, but each person who is has the opportunity to make it count for women.

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