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WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN:

IS THE GLASS HALF EMPTY OR HALF FULL?

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1983, a preliminary review was conducted of the extent to which women had been taken into account in the projects and programs of the Agency for International Development's Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). That review was based on assessing the "paper trail" of project documents for a sample of 45 LAC projects. The research revealed a varied but generally low degree of attention to females in project documents - and a near-absence of sex-disaggregated information comparing males and females. A number of preliminary "lessons learned" were extracted during that analysis. Additionally, a sub-sample of projects for possible field follow-up was identified. At the time, however, the data base on LAC efforts vis-a-vis women in development (WID) did not yet permit the formulation of either (1) well-grounded "lessons learned," or (2) recommendations concerning future LAC efforts to incorporate females into its activities.

The present paper attempts both of these objectives. It builds on the 1983 analysis and the substantial increase in knowledge concerning WID that has occurred since then. Thus, the paper begins with a review of many of the best documented findings concerning WID. These "lessons learned" encompass (1) substantive findings focusing on what we have learned about women in development in the Third World, and (2) "institutional" findings concerning the attempts of AID to integrate females into its economic development efforts. In addition, both positive and negative "lessons learned" are presented about the generally all-female efforts known as "WID projects" - which are typically characterized by very small budgets and a grass roots, participatory approach. These findings and "lessons learned" provide a foundation for five types of recommendations (adapted from the Scope of Work):

1. Recommendations on possible future WID activities the LAC Bureau might consider, including possible field evaluations and WID projects.
2. Recommendations on how the LAC Bureau can gather gender-related project data on a systematic basis.
3. Recommendations on how the LAC Bureau can better integrate gender considerations into project planning, design, implementation, and evaluation processes.
4. Recommendations concerning the possible issuance of a new manual or set of guidelines concerning the Bureau's WID efforts.
5. Recommendations concerning how to incorporate the lessons learned of unusually successful/methodologically innovative WID projects into the mainstream activities of the Bureau.

The methodology employed to generate this paper involved the following: First, the files on women in development that have been built up in the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean over the last decade were read. Second, existing documentation on new and/or particularly promising addressing WID concerns were scrutinized. Third, a review of the recent WID

literature was undertaken. (The consultant is generally familiar with the WID literature; here, recent studies focusing on the LAC region or presenting new knowledge were emphasized.) Among the recent studies reviewed were the reports on the documents analysis phase of a research project sponsored by AID's Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination. The research is aimed at assessing the Agency's progress in integrating women in development over the last decade. Its preliminary reports are based on a 98-project random sample. Fourth, in order to ascertain the approach of the various LAC Missions to WID, a series of cables from the Missions to AID's Office of Women in Development were reviewed. (The cables were in response to a request for information to be included in the 1984 WID Office Report to Congress.) Finally, the findings and recommendations presented in this paper were formulated.

The substantive "lessons learned" document such points as:

- Third World women are much more involved in economic activities than official statistics indicate, and the poorer the woman the greater tends to be her economic participation/productivity.
- The proportion of female-headed families is also larger than official statistics show, and growing. Given women's lower earnings, these families tend to be the very poorest and likely to participate in sharing networks that promote group survival at the expense of individual families getting ahead.
- Households are not monolithic "basic units of analysis," but have internal dynamics and economies. Male and female, younger and older, may or may not pool income. They may have different income streams and different expenditure responsibilities and patterns - but women tend to disproportionately spend their earnings on subsistence/"basic human needs" and children's education.
- Within the household, independently controlled income empowers, and leads to increased leverage in household decision-making, greater control over personal life options, and greater self-confidence.
- Nevertheless, the less favorable to women the prevailing economic, political, legal, religious and ideological systems in the larger society, (a) the less leverage they get within the household from independently controlled income, and (b) the less likely it is that they will be able to keep control of newly acquired economic resources that go beyond trivial amounts.
- When women are pushed to labor in productive activities without any (or adequate) returns for their labor, output suffers.
- Research comparing micro-level studies with official statistics indicates that underestimation of female economic involvement may be most severe in Latin America - where the micro-level studies indicate that females provide 40 percent of agricultural labor.

The institutional "lessons learned" include such points as:

- If sex-disaggregated economic data are not available "up front" to project planners, females are extremely likely to be overlooked in project design.
- Females are most likely to be actually reached in project implementation where (a) project decision-makers come to recognize that, due to females' high involvement in activities promoted by the project, they are critical to its success or failure, or (b) they are a very high proportion of the target population and there are no significant constraints to their participation.

Recommendations

Before presenting nearly 30 recommendations divided into the five categories listed above, the paper outlines the recommendations made over a period of years by the Bureau's previous "women in development person," Roma Knee. The main thrust of these is not to isolate WID, or make it "women only," but rather to bring it into the mainstream by adopting an approach that considers both male and female and emphasizes the economic activities of each. Her recommendations are endorsed, and many of them are incorporated into the current recommendations.

A summary of the main recommendations is as follows:

1. LAC should collaborate with the on-going PPC study on WID's "progress of a decade;" a joint effort would produce field data on three mainstream and one "WID only" LAC projects.*
2. Develop a module of sex-disaggregated, primarily economic data that can be generated by low-cost Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques and used in WID-sensitive project design, implementation and evaluation. Then field test it for cost-effectiveness as well as content prior to urging its widespread adoption as the prerequisite to incorporating females into mainstream projects.
3. In addition to dissemination by training workshops (discussed below), the module (or a summary version of its contents and methodology) should be given to all LAC project design and evaluation teams, and expectations concerning its full or partial use included in their Scopes of Work.
4. Institutionalize the recently revived LAC Task Force for Women in Development and have them oversee (a) the delineation of "special studies" relevant to WID objectives (such as what incentives might be effective in institutionalizing WID in mainstream LAC projects), (b) the periodic codification of emerging patterns of WID-relevant data (e.g., by sector, sub-region, topic, etc.), and (c) occasional analyses of the Bureau's "paper trail" - various types of documents such as Project Papers, Country Development Strategy Statements, Annual Budget Submissions, etc. - to measure progress in incorporating WID lessons into mainstream activities.
5. Given the Assistant Administrator's clear support of WID, it is suggested that it be discussed at the Mission Directors' Conference. A desirable suggestion, if endorsed by the Mission Directors, would be to broaden the base for WID in the Missions: one such mechanism would be to form WID Committees, rather than leave it to a single full- or part-time "WID Officer." Another suggestion is that the Mission Directors formulate and adopt rewards and incentives for their staffs to consider both genders in their activities.
6. Rather than sending Missions cables requesting separate, extra work on WID, promote its incorporation in the already-required documents and work flow, e.g., the Annual Budget Submission and Congressional Presentation.
7. It is suggested that the members of the LAC Women in Development Task Force themselves receive incentives and rewards for undertaking the following activities aimed at institutionalizing WID in LAC: (a) set up an over-

sight system to read and share the results of WID-relevant research, special studies and activities - some of which they themselves should suggest/initiate; (b) develop Scopes of Work (i.e., generic models) that explicitly incorporate gender considerations into the tasks of design and evaluation team members; and (c) provide general oversight to WID-related data collection.

8. The WID Guidebook proposed by the LAC Women in Development Task Force should be developed, but it should take a gender-disaggregated approach rather than focus on women only. The Guidebook should encompass the full AID activity and project cycle, and incorporate the proposed RRA-type module for obtaining gender-disaggregated data.

9. Dissemination of new WID developments - such as the Guidebook - is crucial. Therefore, provide workshops at both the Bureau and Mission level to introduce the Guidebook and use of the RRA-type module. When undertaken in a Mission, use the opportunity to provide training in gender-disaggregated implementation and monitoring to those involved in on-going projects. Also, use the opportunity to provide some sort of "WID sensitization" training to those in decision/policy-making positions (such as the workshops developed by the Harvard Institute for International Development). A final goal would be the gradual phasing in of the requirement that (at least) one member of all LAC teams sent to the field for project design, evaluation or similar purposes have attended a workshop on either the Guidebook and/or the Harvard-type WID sensitization.

10. Further work should be done to replicate and, if successful, institutionalize innovative approaches being developed in some of the small "WID projects." These include process approaches to monitoring and evaluation, "sheltered" training for disadvantaged groups (such as landless/near-landless peasants, poor women, handicapped, etc.) who might be edged out if trained alongside members of the advantaged group, and sector-specific "constraint analysis" of the obstacles to participation on the part of the more vulnerable members of the target population (e.g., women, day laborers for large landowners, etc.).

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I. INTRODUCTION

According to the old saying, "To the pessimist the glass is half empty; to the optimist it's half full." Although even optimists must agree that the "glass" of women in development (WID) accomplishments by the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) of the Agency for International Development is, at best, half full, even the pessimists would have to admit that ten years ago, the glass was empty.

It thus seems fitting to begin this paper, written in the last year of the United Nation's Decade for Women (1976-1985), with a review of many of the best documented findings ("lessons learned") concerning WID. This will be done from two perspectives: (a) substantive findings focusing on what we have learned about women in development in the Third World, and (b) "institutional findings concerning the attempts of AID to integrate females into its economic development efforts. These findings and lessons learned will then provide a foundation for the five types of recommendations proposed in the paper. The five topics are as follows (adapted from the Scope of Work):

1. Recommendations on possible future WID activities the LAC Bureau might consider, including possible field evaluations and WID projects.
2. Recommendations on how the LAC Bureau can gather gender-related project data on a systematic basis.
3. Recommendations on how the LAC Bureau can better integrate gender considerations into project planning, design, implementation, and evaluation processes.
4. Recommendations concerning the possible issuance of a new manual or set of guidelines concerning the Bureau's WID efforts.
5. Recommendations concerning how to incorporate the lessons learned of unusually successful/methodologically innovative WID projects into the mainstream activities of the Bureau.

The fact that most of the findings and recommendations are not new - indeed, many of them have been repeatedly set forth over the last decade - can be used to bolster both the optimists' and the pessimists' point of view concerning the progress of WID efforts.

From the standpoint of the optimists, what we have is an example of the social science phenomenon of "convergent validity": if many studies and analysts have come to similar conclusions, despite variations in time, location and methodology, the accuracy or validity of these results is greatly strengthened.

From the standpoint of the pessimists, what we have is the (continuous) reinvention of the wheel. Even more pessimistically, this convergence of results may be likened to a reenactment of the "myth of Sisyphus": WID analysts keep rolling the same rocks (findings and recommendations) up the same hill, but due to institutional indifference or hostility (especially at the upper levels), almost all of the rocks roll back down again rather than being incorporated into the "mainstream" policies and programs at the top.

Admittedly, the pessimists can find many instances to back up their argument. Louise Fortmann (1984) takes the argument one step farther:

compelling evidence of the importance of women to projects and the sometimes negative effects of projects on women has been around for a long time. It is necessary to find out why project design teams, implementation teams, evaluation teams, Mission directors and so on have steadfastly refused to address this issue (p. 24, emphasis added).

She then recommends that attitudes and rewards in AID be analyzed to determine existing points of leverage vs. those which must be changed to enhance WID efforts.

On the optimistic side, Alice Carloni (1983) found some evidence of a "learning curve" in the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). In a comparative study of 16 FAO projects aimed at areas (e.g., post-harvest stor-

age, small livestock). where women played major economic roles, Carloni found that the crucial importance of female involvement had to be recognized before vigorous attempts to integrate them in the project occurred. In the projects Carloni studied, the timing of this recognition varied and was affected by the data base:

None of the projects which made explicit reference to rural women in the project document overlooked them entirely during implementation. All of the projects which made no reference to women in the project document overlooked them - one for three years, one for seven years and two for approximately ten years (p. 78, emphasis added).

Moreover, once this recognition occurred in one project, there was some carry-over to other projects of the same type (in her analysis, poultry projects). In other words; there was some cumulative learning - when data documenting females' economic importance to a project reached those with a vested interest in the project's success.

This paper will emphasize the economic side of women in development and tend to cautious optimism - with occasional pessimistic caveats. The economic emphasis is in keeping with the original "Percy Amendment" and current Women in Development Policy Paper.

The "Percy Amendment" (Section 113 of the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act) required that U.S. bilateral assistance programs:

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 (emphasis added).

As interpreted in the 1982 WID Policy Paper, this mandate involves two basic points: (1) the increase in female status, which concerns equity issues and an emphasis that females not be harmed by projects; and (2) the assisting of the total development effort, which concerns the economic/efficiency issues of enhancing females contributions as agents of development via an enhancement of their economic participation, productivity and resources.

The WID policy document concludes that the economic issue is paramount:

The experience of the past ten years tells us that the key issue underlying the women in development concept is ultimately an economic one: misunderstanding of gender differences, leading to inadequate planning and design of projects, results in diminished returns on investment (emphasis in original, p. 3).

One of the reasons this paper tends to side with the optimists is that we have numerous lessons learned that the two main emphases of the WID Policy Paper are related - and in the most felicitous way: improving females' economic participation, productivity and resources (i.e., their economic position) also tends to increase their status and male/female equity. At the same time, the improvement in women's economic tools and rewards generally helps projects achieve their objectives (where their activities intersect with women's economic roles) while helping the women improve their own and their family's well-being. And since women are proving to be more economically productive than anyone had realized prior to the emergence of WID, what is good for female status seems to be good for economic development.

The pessimistic caveats emerge from the following: (1) Women may be productive, but because they control few major resources, they tend to be powerless - and the valuable, scarce resources of development projects have a tendency to "trickle up" and be allocated on the basis of power; (2) Concomitantly, donor agency professionals (including/AID) tend to be rewarded for their success in moving money, not the success of the projects they have mounted* (Tendler, 1974; Fortmann, 1984). Thus, the news that development is better served when women are given resources that enhance their productivity may fall on indifferent or hostile ears. Why rock the boat? Nevertheless, there are "lessons learned" that indicate how even these constraints to WID efforts can be overcome. Let us now turn to the lessons of a decade.

* Such "institutional" factors may help account for the relatively slow "learning curve" and low levels of WID efforts found in the LAC mission cables submitting information for the 1984 WID Report to Congress.

II. RECENT FINDINGS WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK EFFORTS

It is beyond the scope of this paper to summarize all the findings about both Third World beneficiary groups and the institutions (especially AID) that direct development assistance projects at them. Rather, a selection of what I term "substantive" findings, focusing on the economic aspects of the individual and the household, will be presented. Following this, I review the lessons learned at the "institutional" level, about what seems to facilitate vs. hinder the achievement of WID objectives.

A. Substantive Lessons Learned: the Economics of WID

1. Poor rural Third World women overwhelmingly call economic/income need: their first priority in "felt needs" surveys.

2. The poorer the woman, the greater tends to be her economic participation/productivity.

3. The poorer the household, the higher the woman's economic contribution tends to be as a proportion of total subsistence.

4. The poorer the household, the more likely it is to be female-headed: the most recent estimates (1985) indicate that world-wide, one-fourth to one-third of households are headed by women, who tend to be more economically active than females in male-headed households.

5. Third World women tend to be disproportionately concentrated in the informal/service and unpaid agricultural sectors of the economy; these are also the lowest paying sectors, providing one reason for women's greater poverty relative to men.

6. Third World women earn less cash income for the same type of work than their male counterparts; one study in Bolivia found that the gap was much narrower when workers were paid in kind, rather than in cash, however.*

7. Among the very poor, and especially among female-headed households,

* See Blumberg, 1983 for a description.

there tends to be a sharing network that spreads income, goods and services around among the kin/close friends who are members. This tends to insure members' survival at the expense of individual families getting ahead.

8. Pooling of household income, assumed by the neo-classical "new home economics model," is not uniform or universal in male-headed households. Pooling seems rarest in Africa and quite low in the Caribbean; studies in Latin America show variable degrees of pooling. In one Mexican study (Roldan, 1983), men generally held out a significant percentage of earnings for personal expenditures, while women who pooled claimed to put 100% of earnings in the pot.

9. Males and females have been found to have different responsibilities for types of expenditures, with women tending to spend more of their income on "basic human needs" subsistence and children's education.

10. Independently controlled income empowers within the household, but control of income beyond subsistence needs provides more leverage (since withholding basic sustenance is not an option in most families).*

11. Within the household, increased income overwhelmingly tends to increase household decision-making power, with respect to (a) economic decisions, (b) domestic decisions, and (c) fertility decisions.

12. Other consequences of increased income that have been documented in studies of Third World men and women include:

a. greater control over personal life options, such as freedom of movement, access to education/training, remaining in/leaving a union, etc.

b. greater self-esteem, self-confidence and willingness to speak out in public situations (it appears that the increased sense of self has been found in every study of increased income among poor Third World women/).
where it was investigated

13. In several studies, the opposition of husbands/fathers to female participation in development projects faded when the women brought home income.

* Perhaps women's greater proportionate spending on basic human needs reflects their lower likelihood of earning more than subsistence incomes.

14. The prevailing economic, political, legal, religious and ideological systems in the larger society may (a) reduce the leverage women are able to get at the household and local levels from independently controlled income, and (b) make it difficult for women to keep control of newly acquired economic resources that go beyond trivial amounts.

15. As with anyone else, when women are pushed to labor on projects benefitting others, without sufficient incentives/returns to their labor, they tend to reduce or withdraw their labor. What constitutes "sufficient incentives"?

a. An African study (Jones, 1983) found that women's incentives had to be more than their opportunity costs; still greater incentives were needed for women to take on extra labor on their husbands' behalf where marital unions were unstable.

b. Studies in Latin America (Pathfinder/Crandon with Shepard, 1985) and South Asia indicate that strong incentives are needed to make women work in status-demeaning labor when they are not forced to by sheer and desperate need.

* * *

The above points are based on the findings of micro-level studies. They provide strong contrast with the official statistical portraits of females' economic and household position as revealed in national statistics. Recent work has begun to document the extent of official underestimation of female economic and household responsibility. Let us summarize the situation.

16. UN estimates built up from micro-level studies indicate that females grow half the world's food; in Africa and Asia, women are estimated to provide 60 to 80 percent of agricultural labor, whereas, in Latin America, the percentage, according to the Economic Commission for Latin America, is 40 percent (UN A/33/238, 1978:5).

17. In Latin America, there are sharp discrepancies between the census statistics and the estimates built up from micro studies. The official census data indicate, for example, that females play a minor role in agriculture - and one which has declined steeply relative to men in recent years. The UN estimates, which provide the statistic noted above, that women supply 40 percent of Latin American agricultural labor, indicate actual rates of female agricultural participation above 50 to 60 percent "in such places as Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and north and north-east Brazil" (UN A/33/238, 1978:28). Moreover, these estimates indicate that female involvement in minifundia agriculture is increasing, not decreasing, relative to males. But the data also indicate that it is precisely because much of female agricultural involvement is in unpaid subsistence- (or sub-subsistence-) level farming, it falls between the cracks of official census recording procedures.

18. The excellent Population Council-funded study by Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman (1982) compared census data with one other source (typically, the national household survey) in a number of Latin American countries. The authors found large and consistent undercounts of female economic participation, which were especially striking in rural areas. Differences in question wording and definitions of economic activity produced such discrepancies as this: in Bolivia, the rates of female economic participation of rural women, age 20-39, measured by a demographic survey were twice as large as those from the census.

19. Parallel discrepancies are found between the proportions of female-headed households recorded in the census and those found in other surveys and micro-studies, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean.

20. Finally, even though micro studies indicate that control of income/ economic resources outweigh work, per se, in male/female household and development outcomes, census statistics/are almost nil and micro studies sparse.

on these topics

B. Institutional Lessons Learned: Helping vs. Hurting WID in AID Projects

Once again, we are faced with too much information for a single paper. Nonetheless, an attempt will be made to deal with findings concerning (a) mainstream projects, and (b) special WID projects, which tend to be small, all-female efforts. With respect to the mainstream projects, we will present findings on the factors that seem to facilitate females: (1) being incorporated in project design; (2) being belatedly discovered and brought in during implementation (a special case), and (3) actually being reached during implementation, after being considered in project design (given the increasing probability of females being mentioned in design documents, this is becoming the general - but still problematic - case). Furthermore, attention will be devoted to distinguishing three levels of involving females in economically-oriented mainstream projects: (1) participation in project activities, (2) gaining access to benefits; and (3) gaining and maintaining control of benefits. These three levels form an intensity scale of WID integration. At each of the three levels, different constraints may apply - so that the factors facilitating/hindering female participation may be different from those affecting whether women are able to get and keep control of desirable project benefits.

With respect to WID projects, we shall consider both positive and negative lessons learned - i.e., the circumstances under which such projects are justified and beneficial building blocks toward females' ultimate incorporation in mainstream projects, vs. the conditions under which such projects prove ineffective or even diversionary.

1. The factors influencing females being taken into account - in an economically relevant and enhancing sense - in project design include:

a. Sex-disaggregated economic data are available "up front"

by the time the Project Paper is written. This information may come from a study done during the project identification phase, an outside effort not directly related to the project, or even the recent experience of members of the project design team. What is important is that information is available not just on females and not just on females' traditional domestic (indirectly productive) roles, since a short mention of females is increasingly included as an isolated paragraph of "boilerplate" in design documents. To date, this factor seems the single strongest predictor of females being integrated economically in project design.

(b) The data in (a) are linked to the project.

(c) Analyses of (a) and (b) indicate that females will be a significant factor in project success/failure.

(d) Project planners include those who, by gender and/or knowledge, are supportive of WID - and who, by rank, are able to assure the inclusion of WID efforts in the design. This factor seems to rank second in importance.

(e) The language in the design documents does not designate all productive actors as "he."

Where, in addition to the above, the following two factors appear in design documents, there is a considerable increase in the likelihood that words will be translated into action, i.e., that WID activities in the design actually will be implemented:

(f) Possible constraints (involving delivery channels and/or incentives) to females' participation in the project are considered. Although constraints to participation may exist for both sexes (especially among the poor), females' more limited resources and more circumscribed "social space" act to multiply the obstacles to their involvement. These constraints include:

- location: a distant or inappropriate physical site for project services, goods and benefits may preclude female participation.
- facilities available: provision for childcare (for at least one child under six) and dormitories/sanitary facilities may be needed if women are to take part.
- mobility/appropriate transport: females' ability to travel at different phases of the life cycle varies greatly in the Third World, but (suitable) mobility tends to be more economically and socially costly to women - and ignored in project designs for both female beneficiaries and staff.
- prerequisites that reduce the pool of eligibles: these include arbitrary and high educational levels that freeze women out (although less of a problem in Latin America and the Caribbean, female educational shortfall and illiteracy is rising relative to men in much of the Third World). Other obstacles involve legal and economic requirements that women cannot meet (e.g., title to land for credit; costs of needed supplies or dues to join a producers' co-op).
- provision of less than a "full package": e.g., providing seeds, but not technical assistance/extension for a new crop; providing training for a skill with low marketability; and providing credit but no information concerning its availability to communications networks serving females - with more limited resources, women are less able to benefit unless offered an integrated package.
- culturally inappropriate cross-sex contact: if extension assistance is designed to be given one-on-one and all extension agents are male, female participation may be constrained (whereas, group visits with women farmers, or a suitable chaperon for the agent may solve the problem).

Whereas the above constraints involve delivery channels that inhibit or exclude female participation, other constraints may stem from the circumstances of the women's lives in relationship to the level of incentives offered:

- financial expense: cash outlays before benefits, or income foregone may prove impossible burdens that freeze out the poorest.
- time: if potentially beneficial project activities are time-consuming but no provision is made to ameliorate women's greater time burden,* women may be unable to participate.
- timing: if potentially beneficial project activities involve regular or even intermittent conflicts with women's peak time burdens, they may be forced to drop out - or perhaps prejudice their daughters' education if they turn to them for help.

* As shown by numerous time studies, women frequently shoulder a "double day."

- Cultural/class appropriateness of activities: this constraint is a double-edged sword. Women may be reluctant to participate in non-traditional activities, especially if they are associated with a lower class and thus would involve loss of status. But on the other hand, developers' own stereotypes of appropriate activities may limit what they offer to females (typically, to the same old home economics efforts). Field evidence indicates that developers' reluctance to include women in non-traditional activities may be more endemic than women's reluctance to try them - especially if provided good incentives.
- Local level male resistance to enhanced female economic autonomy: Unlike the preceding point, which involves notions of propriety, here the issue seems to be power - or property. If local males are dependent on females for labor, they may resist activities which offer women an independent source of livelihood while prejudicing their own. (One solution, if developers were aware of the situation, would be to avoid setting up a zero-sum game such as the one described.)

(g) Where there is a discussion of constraints such as those described above, and some attempt to design mechanisms for overcoming these constraints, the prognosis for women actually being included in project implementation is greatly enhanced.

The second case to be discussed seems relatively rare empirically: the belated discovery of women's role in the activities covered by the project, and their incorporation during the implementation phase - with no prior mention in the design documents. The reason this case was not widely encountered in extant analyses of samples of AID projects chosen for WID implications (e.g., Dixon, 1980; Blumberg, 1982, 1983; Anderson, 1984; Fortmann, 1984; International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), 1984; Davenport, 1985) seems to hinge on the manner in which the Percy Amendment is being implemented. Thus far, the emphasis has been to get consideration of women built into the design - and few resources have been devoted to field follow-up to see if words were being translated into action during implementation. Nevertheless, enough instances of this scenario have emerged (see also Carloni, 1983) to provide some lessons.

2. It appears that females may be addressed during implementation, without prior planning, when:

a. Project decision-makers learn (belatedly) that women's roles/activities are central to at least some of the project's components, and thus success or failure may ride on whether or not females are brought in (e.g., in an Asian project analyzed by Carloni, 1983, it was realized at the last minute that if women poultry keepers were not given extension/^{training}and their birds vaccinated, the new breeds that were about to be introduced to the men could be wiped out). Alternatively,

b. Females turn out to make up an unsuspectedly large percentage of the target group, and hence, some of them are dealt with in implementation (e.g., this has occurred in Latin American micro-enterprise projects, various post-harvest processing/storage projects, and projects aimed at certain educational/occupational fields in specific countries; often, however, females are dealt with in numbers below their representation in the target group). Alternatively,

c. The project is opened to females when benefits prove unattractive to the original target group (Anderson, 1984, provides an example in a Liberian education project that opened a not-highly-valued training program to the largely female nursing and clerical staffs, thereby increasing female beneficiaries). Additionally to a., b., or c., we may encounter:

d. A person at a decision-making level vis-a-vis project implementation (who may be a new arrival or a sudden convert) chooses to make WID a high priority and thus instigates women's inclusion in implementation.

We come now to the third case for discussion - translation of WID from design to implementation. While some unknown proportion of the cases where women

were mentioned in design documents and then never again in subsequent documentation may involve deficiencies in the "paper trail" (e.g., the scopes of work for midterm and final evaluations may not have specified collection of gender-disaggregated data, and the hard-pressed evaluators may have ignored issues not covered by the work statement), it is clear that there is a real problem of "slippage." Naturally, without field follow-up, it is impossible to say what proportion of the cases involve women vanishing from the documents vs. women vanishing from project implementation. But we have sufficient cases where a final evaluation criticizes a project for never implementing design plans involving females to know there is no necessary correspondence between high hopes in design documents and actual performance during implementation.

3. Under what circumstances, then, are WID plans actually carried out? The findings seem to indicate that the following factors are germane:

(a.) Targeting of specific components and funds or proportions of benefits on a gender-specific basis is called for in the design. While not a panacea - nor even a necessary condition for WID-sensitive implementation existence of targets may provide a yardstick against which WID achievements may be assessed by project overseers and evaluators. At any rate, there is some empirical correlation between targeting and WID implementation.

(b.) Attractiveness of benefits offered by the project seem involved with WID implementation in several ways:

- The greater the value/attractiveness of the project benefits, the less likely that they will be specifically targeted to females;
- The lower the value/attractiveness of the project benefits, the more likely that no opposition will arise to their delivery to females;
- The greater the value/attractiveness of the resources/benefits involved, the lower the probability that females will be able to keep control of those that are actually delivered.

There is a caveat to the above, however: (1) the greater the extent of women's pre-project economic resources, and/or (2) the greater the extent of women's pre-project organization, the more likely that they can maintain control of any attractive/high value resources/benefits that they may acquire through the project.

(c) The greater the congruence of activities or benefits addressed to females with the traditional female role, the more likely that they will be implemented. This seems especially so with respect to relatively low-value domestic (indirectly productive) activities.

In addition, a number of characteristics of the organizations involved, and their personnel, seem to affect the probability of translation of design to implementation. For example:

(d) Staffing patterns seem to affect outcomes. Specifically, to what extent are there people at the following three levels: (1) project grass roots, (2) project management, and (3) U.S. oversight level (AID, and, where relevant, U.S. contractor) who are committed to WID objectives? Evidence indicates that there is a correlation - although far from a perfect one - between gender and WID-sensitivity/commitment. Therefore, to the extent that there are females in relevant positions at each of these levels, there should be a greater probability of WID implementation. However, especially at the two higher organizational levels, WID commitment and appropriate technical qualifications should be more important than gender, per se in promoting WID implementation. (At the grass roots level, in societies with many constraints on male-female contact, gender of project personnel may assume more importance in affecting WID outcomes.)

(e) Organizational structure may interact with the staffing variable discussed above. Specifically, the more centralized the organization(s) involved, the more important that there be a person in a high position with a

WID commitment (what I have termed elsewhere a "WID angel"). Conversely, the more decentralized the organization(s), the more important that there be persons with WID commitment at the project's day-to-day decision-making level. Thus, in a decentralized project, a WID-committed professional on the implementation team might have more impact on actual achievement of WID objectives than a person at a much higher hierarchical level.

(f) In any event, a flexible and fast monitoring system that provides sex-disaggregated information seems to be crucial - as is the provision of those data to a WID-sensitive person on the project staff who has sufficient decision-making power to take corrective actions in a timely manner. Note that this is not a lesson that there be a separate monitoring system for data on women. Successful monitoring systems are management-oriented, and it seems much more relevant to provide data on both sexes to project decision-makers than to institute a separate tracking system for women that may well "sit on the shelf."

(g) Such a monitoring system should enhance the flexibility of project implementation, another characteristic that seems related to successful WID implementation. If the project is too rigidly scheduled, budgeted, or otherwise locked in, its WID activities can be dropped if they fall out of synch. Since they are unlikely to have top priority, and may involve locating and hiring people with scarce qualifications (e.g., a rural sociologist who knows about both WID and animal husbandry), WID activities tend to be prejudiced in a rigidly implemented project. (ICRW posits the following characteristics for an "adaptable design": (a) loose scheduling that allows for (b) feedback loops, with (c) the existence of contingency plans, and (d) the existence of a reserve fund - with some flexibility in budget categories and timing. All enhance suc-

cessful WID implementation, according to ICRW, 1982.)

(h) Additionally, the more the project components/activities necessitate female participation for success - and the more this is recognized as the result of the provision of sex-disaggregated baseline and monitoring data - the more likely the implementation, whether or not these activities fall into the traditionally female side of the division of labor. For example, if the project requires that a community complete certain construction labors before the rainy season - and this falls during the period when most males are away on seasonal migration - the more the project will have to provide incentives for, and rely on, the females.

(i) Further, the sex-disaggregated monitoring system must keep track of constraints to female (1) participation, (2) access to benefits, and (3) control of benefits that may stem from delivery systems and/or incentives that have counterproductive results. In short, it is not enough to design mechanisms aimed at overcoming constraints to female enjoyment of project activities and benefits; they must be monitored and adapted, as well.

(j) Finally, WID implementation^{may} be enhanced if AID-funded on-going evaluation teams include (1) a WID-committed person who is culturally suited to make contact with female beneficiaries (in some cases, this must be a woman), and (2) the proviso in their scopes of work that they must gather sex-disaggregated data. If/there is no provision for feeding their recommendations back to the project and acting upon them - another organizational problem - their impact on WID (or any other kind of) implementation is, at best, problematic.

In short, successful WID implementation is associated with both a set of organizational procedures and a minimum of one committed person, willing and organizationally situated, to undertake the accountability function of follow-up.

C. Women in Development Projects: Positive & Negative Lessons Learned

Turning now to WID projects (as opposed to integrating WID objectives into mainstream projects), we are confronted with activities that are typically minuscule in budget, small in scale, and controversial even among strong WID proponents. Under what circumstances do they overcome their limitations to provide unique and important benefits to women who would not otherwise be helped by planned development aid? Under what circumstances are they as diversionary, trivial and "misbehaving" as their critics have alleged? Let us examine positive and negative findings about such projects, in turn.

4. Findings on the positive aspects of WID projects. According to the Women in Development Policy Paper, WID projects are justified in circumstances where:

- a. access to females in an integrated setting is constrained by cultural conditions;
- b. where segregated institutions or facilities are the norm;
- c. where experimental or model activities are being introduced and a controlled sex-specific environment offers the best hope of success (1982:10).

All of the above assertions seem borne out by the data. Concerning the last assertion, for example, the CIM Appropriate Technologies project developed a new approach and methodology for providing poor rural women with income-generating appropriate technologies. Thus far, the project has had considerable success in Bolivia and Ecuador, and may soon be implemented in eight other Latin American countries. It has published manuals on both its methodology and its "micro-projects in appropriate technology." Part of the uniqueness of its approach is that although women are the key actors, community involvement is encouraged. For a small amount of funding, a limited number of beneficiaries in two countries have been helped - but a model has been established of potentially broad replicability.

To give a second example, one of the microprojects supported by a Path-

finder WID project involved teaching metal-working to a group of young women. At different phases of the project, the young women trained alone or in proximity to males. There was no question that the sex-segregated training provided them with a safe environment where they could practice non-traditional skills free of sexual harassment and male patronizing. Such a finding also seems generalizable, and provides another justification for WID women-only training projects involving non-traditional skills.

Ruth Dixon (1980) has emphasized the importance of channeling benefits through women (i.e., via women's bureaus or units in larger entities, or female organizations) and to/women - especially in situations where female status is low and/or female seclusion prevails. In the latter case, she found (based on a sample of 32 WID projects :

The social impact of projects is magnified when women are organized for group action, particularly when they were previously confined to their households or were unused to collective activity (1980:44-45).

Nevertheless, although the mere process of getting together may (initially) stimulate "feelings of pride, self-confidence and skill" (p. 45), follow-up may soon be needed - namely, the provision of clear and immediate benefits (p. 45). What type of benefits? As already noted under the substantive findings, above:

When rural or urban women from the target group of low-income families play an active role in group discussions to set project priorities, they are most likely to identify economic need as their most pressing problem (1980:25).

And here we come to one of the major contradictions of WID projects: the women's organizations that typically run them may be first rate at getting the target group women together, forming them into enthusiastic groups, and gearing them up to undertake the WID activity of their choice - overwhelmingly, an income-generating activity. But the women's organizations have as their forte

group-building, the enhancement of women's skills in traditional domestic roles, and welfare activities. None of this prepares them to successfully implement income-generating projects that show sustainability and a positive "bottom line." What happens under these circumstances of the mismatch between the expertise of the implementers and the needs and wants of the poor women of the target group provides us with a transition to:

5. Findings on the negative aspects of WID projects. First, to continue the very common scenario begun above, the attempts by the typically urban-based, middle/upper-middle-class women's organization to implement income-generating projects for poor, often rural, women tend to fail economically. The lack of feasibility and marketing studies often result in an unsalable product that can be produced only as long as the project funds hold out. Thus, all the time and effort invested by the women "beneficiaries" comes to naught. At this point, the implementers tend to fall back on what they know best: welfare/domestic-oriented activities and group-building (see Buvinic, 1984, for an excellent discussion of why WID projects so frequently "misbehave" in this fashion).

A second drawback of WID projects involves their small size and budget. Although "small is beautiful" in a number of contexts (e.g., there is no denying that successful WID projects can generate great enthusiasm, high levels of beneficiary involvement in decision-making and other desirable outcomes), it is a pain in the neck to donor agencies for whom a small project involves almost as much paperwork as a large one - and doesn't get much money moved. The net result is low priority for such projects by most donors, and attempts by recipients to make up for budget shortfalls with the contributions of volunteers.
But asking poor, overburdened/women to volunteer their time and resources is a travesty of WID, and volunteer implementers tend to be welfare-oriented "ladies.

The irony of such underfunded small WID projects, with their reliance on volunteers and ingenuity, is that they may have ultimately negative repercussions for WID objectives regardless of whether they succeed or fail. If, by dedication, hard work, successful scrounging of resources not covered by the budget, etc., the WID project achieves positive results, it may well be viewed as a model by host country and international "developers" - a model that justifies continued reliance on tiny WID-only projects as the main vehicle for integrating women into economic development. If, on the other hand, the WID project falters and/or fails, there is a strong risk that the developers will take WID even less seriously than before. To the extent that the failed project involved any non-traditional activities, the stage also is set for the developers to conclude that "the women here aren't ready for this," and abandon support for any efforts to reach females in other than their domestic roles.

Another irony is that the more successful the WID projects are in generating economic benefits that are actually controlled and retained by females, the greater the likelihood that pressure will develop to open managerial and other attractive positions to males - and to cut men in on both the benefits and their control. A recent example is discussed in the Pathfinder report (1984) about the popsicle factory in Costa Rica; the literature refers to numerous instances. It remains to be seen whether the CIM project, which deliberately attempts to involve community males while retaining control of the enterprises in female hands, will provide a model for a solution to the problem - or another instance of its occurrence. In sum, it appears that so long as the benefits generated by an economically-oriented WID project remain relatively trivial, females are more likely to achieve and retain control of the resources/ Success on a larger scale, however, results in danger of females losing part or all of what they have worked for.

If small, WID-only projects have achieved a record charitably best described as "mixed," what then of "women's component" sub-projects in larger, mainstream endeavors? Here, too, the record is mixed. There have been some outstanding successes (the women's component of the Jamaica Integrated Rural Development project is generally considered the best-performing aspect of all, for example; women farmers achieved excellent results with the horticultural crops promoted by the WID sub-project). But there also has been a tendency for these women's component efforts to emphasize female domestic roles rather than economic/directly productive ones. The charge is sometimes made that these projects are diversionary: if project planners and implementers can claim that females "are being taken care of" by the generally minute women's components, they may not feel constrained to include women in the higher-benefit major activities of the project. Ironically, it has been shown in many instances that the women targeted for only home economics activities in the "women's component" actually are deeply involved in the productive activities that the project is designed to help. But this participation will be overlooked, in many instances, to the detriment of the project and the women themselves.

In short, the preceding discussion has dealt more on the negative than the positive aspects of "WID-only" and "women's component" efforts. There is evidence, however, that the "lessons learned" discussed above have had an impact on several of the organizations that have built up WID expertise in the last decade. Population Council, Equity Policy Center (EPOC), and the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) have been developing both models and methodologies for WID projects that avoid/welfarism/volunteerism and cooptation while providing benefits aimed at increasing productivity, income and well-being. Their results should be monitored for new lessons learned.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS RE ENHANCING LAC ACHIEVEMENT OF WID OBJECTIVES

Before launching into the five sets of recommendations proposed below, I wish to repeat that many of them are not new; in fact, some of these suggestions have a long history within AID. As part of my efforts for this paper, I read all the WID-related files maintained within LAC since the Bureau's first attempts to implement the Percy Amendment. (The Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean was the second within AID to respond; on July 25, 1974, the Assistant Administrator sent an airgram directing that:

All new and updated sector analyses and assessments and new loan and grant projects submitted for AID/W approval after August 1, 1974 will be expected to address the policy expressed in Section 113.)

During most of this period, LAC's WID efforts were admirably nurtured and monitored by Roma Knee. Reading through her files and recommendations over the years, I found repeated suggestions, including:

- don't isolate WID; don't make it "women only;"
- get data, especially sex-disaggregated data, to inform project planning;
- focus on females' economic activities, but don't forget other types of projects that benefit women, such as health/nutrition projects that provide jobs, role models for local women and their daughters, and self-esteem and some income for participants;
- don't "ghettoize" WID within the missions via a marginalized "WID officer" - rather, make it a responsibility for everyone;
- integrate WID efforts throughout the project cycle and the on-going activities of missions (e.g., Annual Budget Submissions), etc., etc.

Since I will be making most of these same points again, and there is little evidence to indicate that prior versions of these recommendations led to appreciable changes in AID practice, one can ask, "what's the use?"

Two of the problems that seem to have held back the institutionalization of prior LAC WID recommendations were: (1) insufficiency of actual field data that provided findings from LAC projects in support of the WID recommendations; and (2) no indication of a "push from the top" - i.e., the Assistant Administrator - making WID a Bureau priority. Now, however, fieldwork is about to be-

gin (see recommendations below), and the Assistant Administrator, Victor Rivera, has shown a strong commitment to WID. Moreover, a "Women in Development Task Force" has recently been created within the LAC Bureau (November, 1984). In short, the climate seems favorable. Let us consider various WID recommendations.

A. Recommendations on Possible Future LAC WID Activities

WID

RECOMMENDATION 1: Cooperate with the PPC/CDIE on-going/study, which will provide field data on three mainstream and one "WID only" LAC projects.

Discussion: The PPC/CDIE "Experience of a Decade" WID study will explore (a) institutional/organizational issues, (b) beneficiary issues concerning access to/control over project resources and benefits by sex, (c) intra-household income and dynamics issues, (d) labor issues, and (e) issues of the constraining vs. facilitating WID effects of project delivery channels and incentives. The choice of research sites by both PPC and LAC springs in part from earlier recommendations on LAC projects meriting field follow-up (see Blumberg, 1983) and in part from the promising performance of newer projects. Given LAC-PPC cooperation, field data will be available on:

1. Caribbean Agricultural Extension I and II. This project originally was designed on the basis of rich, sex-disaggregated data on male and female roles in the Caribbean farming system. These data showed heavy agricultural involvement by women (many of them poor, and up to 40% of them heads of household), and reaching them was one of the project's original three objectives. This objective was dropped in the design of Caribbean Agricultural Extension II. Thus, since the project fulfilled the oft-repeated recommendation of having sex-disaggregated baseline information "up front," and fully incorporated women in all phases of the original design, it becomes extremely important to explore the institutional factors involved in women apparently vanishing from later implementation plans. Were women actually reached during implementation? How was the project - and the women - affected? Because high proportions of the

target area population are very poor and female heads of household, issues of economic productivity by class and sex of household head also can be explored. (Also, questions of whether project-generated income is handled differently in male vs. female-headed households might be investigated, given the knowledge that many of the female-headed households are involved in sharing networks.)

2. Guatemala LADD Agribusiness Loans/ALCOSA. Here we have a unique opportunity to both build on the superb data already collected and reported on by Ken Kusterer in his 1981 Special Study for the Office of Evaluation (PPC), and follow up on an apparent "natural experiment." The three villages of contract vegetable growers Kusterer studied varied in the involvement of female labor: In one village, women did not do fieldwork and poorer farmers were abandoning contract growing for lack of a sufficient and suitable labor force. In the second village, women added 2-3 days of fieldwork to their overburdened schedules and abandoned marketing trips to Guatemala City which had earned them independent income, but because income was paid in a check made out to their husbands, they received no direct return to their labor and became more dependent (as well as more overworked). In the third village, women also worked in the fields, but apparently shared (to an unknown extent) in the returns, which were channeled through a cooperative which paid in cash to both men and women. How this labor/return to labor situation intersects with project productivity and success is a prime topic for investigation.* Many of the "WID horror stories" center around women and projects that were greatly hurt when women's workload was increased, but not their returns to labor. This "natural experiment" would be the first of its kind in the LAC region. Moreover, there is a fourth group for follow-up: the female processing plant workers whose "blue collar male"-level wages transformed their households

*The third village apparently was the most successful.

and lives. Studying them should illuminate the key WID question of what happens when a project provides significant income benefits directly to women.

3. Dominican Republic Microenterprise Credit (ADEMI). This unusually successful project to provide credit to the smallest-scale entrepreneurs was not originally designed to reach out to women. But because it turned out that women constituted a very high proportion of the microentrepreneurs, and that the project's rather innovative methodology drew in a significant number of females, there are important WID questions to be investigated here. In addition to exploring what proportion of credit recipients are female (vs. their representation in the target group of microentrepreneurs), it should be possible to explore the relative credit performance of male vs. female beneficiaries. Scattered data from around the Third World (including the Bolivian Small Farmer Organization project described in Blumberg, 1983) indicate that female credit recipients (in areas where women traditionally are economically active, often on their own account) often have better payback records and lower delinquency rates than their male counterparts. In short, this is a mainstream project where women (somewhat unexpectedly, it seems) turned up during implementation - a situation well worth studying if WID emphasis is increasingly devoted to "mainstreaming."

4. CIM Appropriate Technologies Projects in Bolivia and Ecuador. This is the only "WID project," per se, included in the list for fieldwork, but it is far from a classic "WID-only" effort. Its focus is on income-producing appropriate technologies, and as part of its innovative methodology, it reaches out to the community (i.e., the men) while keeping control of its major resources in female hands. Does it constitute a replicable new model for WID projects? How successful are its income-generating activities - and how sustainable? How secure is women's control of resources and an appropriate share of the bene-

fits? What effects has this had on the women, their households and their communities? To what extent is project success due to the exceptional performance of its director and country coordinators? Many important WID questions can be addressed in a study of this project.

As presently planned, LAC would fund two of these studies (Guatemala and Dominican Republic) and PPC/CDIE would fund the other two. Although the field research periods will be too short to provide definitive answers to the major questions of the studies, a comparative analysis of their preliminary and partial answers should provide firm grounding for future LAC WID-related research. The next 3 recommendations also deal with tasks for future field research.

RECOMMENDATION 2: Develop a module of sex-disaggregated, primarily economic data that can be generated by low-cost Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques and used in WID-sensitive project design, implementation and evaluation.

Discussion: Despite occasional contradictory evidence (such as the Caribbean Agricultural Extension project discussed above), the strongest predictor of women being dealt with in implementation plans is the existence of data - especially sex-disaggregated data - encompassing women's economic involvements and constraints that are available "up front" to project planners. If they (a) know what women do and what resources they control, (b) how these relate to the project's planned components, and (c) what factors might serve to constrain women's participation in project activities which might thereby suffer, project planners are less likely to "overlook" women. Since the full extent of female economic productivity remains unknown to most - in both donor agencies and recipient countries - who plan, implement, and evaluate development assistance projects, they need data showing them that not taking women into account could be counterproductive for their particular project.

Such a module must not focus on only women, because ample evidence exists to show that most such studies never enter the mainstream. Conversely, a sex-disaggregated module could be used to provide desirable baseline information that project planners would welcome. The problem lies in what they would pay for. Hence the recommendation for relatively cheap RRA, which can delineate the main social and economic characteristics of a target group in weeks, rather than months.

RECOMMENDATION 2a: A cost-sharing formula for the RRA sex-disaggregated module should be developed, splitting the expense among the Bureau, the mission, and the Office of Women in Development.

Discussion: Even if the minimum cost were to be incurred - one person for two weeks, although two people for three weeks seems preferable - those not involved in WID might be unwilling to pay it and those focused on WID might be unable to pay it. The first few applications of the module might have to be subsidized from LAC and PPC WID-related funds. But if the sex-disaggregated data prove to be as useful as WID proponents have been claiming, objections to charging much of it to project development and/or monitoring and evaluation expense should diminish. The important point is that the module should prove useful for illuminating more than "just" the role of women.

RECOMMENDATION 2b: A conscious effort should be made to "piggy-back" the development of the sex-disaggregated RRA module to the upcoming field research recommended in #1, above.

Discussion: The research visits will be too short to permit full-scale development and testing of the RRA module; they will focus on many of the same topics and many of the same techniques that will be needed in the proposed module, however. Accordingly, the WID researcher(s) should attempt a preliminary list of the issues and questions essential to the proposed module and ask as many as possible. In this way, development costs of the mo-

dule will be reduced. Furthermore, the information so obtained should add to the richness of the analysis of the projects discussed above.

RECOMMENDATION 2c: A workshop to refine the proposed module, including LAC WID Task Force members, WID researchers, and appropriate LAC project designers, should be held in Washington. Then input should be solicited from the missions.

Discussion: Assuming the results of Recommendation 2b appear promising, the next step would be a workshop. Since one of the principal goals of the LAC Guidelines initiative (recommended below) will be to provide easy-to-use techniques for "taking women into account" at various stages of the project cycle, the development of the module could be undertaken in conjunction with the development of the LAC Guidelines. In order for both efforts to be maximally effective, however, provision must be made to get reactions from the missions.

RECOMMENDATION 2d: Rather than aiming for a "generic" sex-disaggregated module, special sections should be developed by sector (e.g., rural development, health, credit), tested in the field, and presented to the missions in the test countries.

Discussion: One of the topics that should be included in the module is constraining/facilitating factors that might affect participation in the project or enjoyment of its benefits - disaggregated by sex, of course. ICRW already has proposed a set of constraining factors that affect female participation in (a) credit, (b) training, and (c) shelter projects. Extending ICRW's approach to other aspects of the module that may vary by sector makes sense. Nevertheless, much of the module is conceived of as applicable to any project involving direct contact with the target group (e.g., the sexual division of labor, resources and time loads). Field testing and an accompanying presentation to the missions involved should be the last stage before the module is ready to be disseminated as part of the Guidelines initiative discussed below.

RECOMMENDATION 3: To counteract the incomplete and underestimated picture of women's economic activities in LAC census statistics, more research such as the Population Council-funded study¹ be undertaken, and results disseminated, among mission, census bureau and development professionals.

Discussion: The study by Catalina H. Wainerman and Zulma Recchini de Lattes, El Trabajo Femenino en el Banquillo de los Acusados: La Medicion Censal en America Latina (Women's Work on Trial: Censal Measurement in Latin America) provided groundbreaking empirical documentation of the endemic undercounting of women's labor force participation in LAC countries - especially in rural and informal sector activities. One of the major stumbling blocks to WID integration is that project planners who are used to the picture of women provided by national statistics genuinely do not "see" women's activities in the components of their project. Census undercounting also, of course, has repercussions that extend throughout development policy and programming: if one is invisible, one is ignored. With the ultimate goal of influencing the 1990 round of censuses, and the more immediate goal of continuing the research beyond the five LAC countries already covered, more work of the Wainerman-Recchini de Lattes sort should be undertaken. The Population Council funded that effort, which resulted in a book, published in Spanish, a Population Council Working Paper (#12, 1982) translated into English, a brief English summary, and workshops presented in the countries where the research was done. Given their success in underwriting and promoting the present study, The Population Council would seem to be the logical choice for further funding. Short summaries of the undercounts revealed could be included in "WID Briefing Packets" that will be recommended below, in the discussion of Guidelines.

RECOMMENDATION 4: As another research recommendation, it is suggested that the findings of the brief WID studies advocated in Recommendation 1, above, be investigated more thoroughly, in at least one Andean, Central American and Caribbean country, in order to provide a firm empirical basis for future WID effort.

Discussion: As a first field effort to explore key WID questions, the essentially RRA-type field studies recommended in #1, above, can provide useful guidance for LAC WID activities. But they cannot provide the clear-cut answers of a more detailed and careful field study. Isolated research projects of any sort tend to sit on the shelf at AID; WID studies seem to be no exception. Most missions have funded at least one research project that provides a portrait of the "status of women" in the country. Some of these are truly first rate. For example, Mila Brooks' study, The Status and Needs of Guatemalan Women: 1980, integrates (1) an insightful overview of women's position as shown in extant socio-economic data with (2) an exhaustive inventory of organizations dealing with women in Guatemala, and (3) an analysis of USAID/G policy and practice with recommendations for incorporating WID into mission strategy and programs. Subsequent Guatemalan project and mission documents cast doubt on how widely the report has been used. The difference between isolated WID studies and the recommended effort is that the proposed research would build upon two previous stages which have revealed the key issues and variables involved (the analysis of/a 45-project sample and the current four field follow-up studies being undertaken). More-over, it is envisioned that the results of the studies suggested in Recommendation #4 be incorporated into a program of LAC WID efforts that includes the Guidelines discussed below as well as mechanisms for collecting, synthesizing and disseminating findings and "lessons learned." While it is premature to suggest the content for the recommended studies (we must first await the results of the current field studies), they should include both beneficiary-related issues (e.g., the sexual division of labor, resources and time load; the intrahousehold patterns of income contribution, responsibilities for expenditure, and consequences for household power and family well-being) and

institutional issues (e.g., organizational structure, staffing patterns; project delivery channels, level of funding, etc.). Once these data are available for at least one country in each sub-region within LAC, the extent to which major WID findings apply across the board vs. under specific country circumstances should become clearer. Depending on the results, policy and programming recommendations that were firmly grounded empirically could begin to be formulated - for the region, the sector, or the country, as the case may be.

RECOMMENDATION 5: In order to share the findings of the LAC-funded WID field studies (see Recommendation 1); and exchange "lessons learned," it is suggested that a WID researcher/expert be sent to the World Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women in Nairobi, to participate in the WID panels scheduled for the NGO Forum.

Discussion: For the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, UNITAR and UNDP organized a Pre-Conference Seminar on Women in Development - a world "first." Now, for the Nairobi conference that ends the U.N. Decade for Women, the Institute of Social Studies Trust is organizing a set of panels and workshops on WID (scheduled for the NGO Forum of the World Conference). ISST also is handling preparation of an overview paper. It is hoped that the rich experiences of WID ^{will} efforts undertaken during the Decade for Women/be used to develop new approaches. Since the WID field studies in Guatemala and Dominican Republic, especially, investigate fundamental questions concerning WID, and these results will be available in a timely fashion for presentation at the NGO Forum WID panels, LAC efforts could be disseminated to the broadest possible WID audience. This should provide ample opportunities for feedback from, and contacts with, LAC region WID specialists. It should be noted that WAND - the Women and Development Unit of the University of the West Indies - is a principal sponsor of this WID wrap-up effort. The key organizers of the undertaking (18 are listed) in-

clude five from the LAC region. Participation in the WID workshops and panels also would be useful for exchanging ideas on (a) an overarching conceptual framework linking beneficiary-level and institutional variables in WID outcomes, (b) the contents of an RRA-type module for collecting sex-disaggregated data useful for both "mainstream" and WID purposes, and (c) new approaches to building WID into development assistance projects.

RECOMMENDATION 6: It is suggested that an overarching conceptual framework linking beneficiary-level and institutional variables in WID outcomes be finalized, in order to provide a cohesive foundation for an integrated array of WID efforts, ranging from field studies to a proposed LAC Guidelines effort.

Discussion: Such a framework is called for in the "Women in Development Task Force's" proposed contents for an LAC WID Guidebook, where it is listed as one of the "tools for incorporation of gender into Project Cycle." I am suggesting that the framework be broader than that, in order to provide a general rubric for WID questions and findings at both the institutional and beneficiary levels. Ideally, a preliminary version of the framework should be ready by the time the LAC-funded WID field studies begin. A final version could incorporate the findings of those studies, and any suggestions made by international WID experts and researchers at the Nairobi conference - assuming that the previous recommendation is adopted.

Various versions of conceptual frameworks for project analysis already exist, and a number of them have been compared in "Finding the Formula: Guidelines and Handbooks for Bringing 'Women in Development' into Foreign Aid Programming and Projects" (Blumberg, 1985a). More recently, conceptual frameworks have been developed by Carloni (1985) and Blumberg (1985b, 1985c). The latest version (Blumberg, 1985c) incorporates elements from both Carloni and the earlier approaches (e.g., Harvard/Overholt, et al., n.d.; ICRW, 1982; Dixon, 1980). However, it covers only project analysis. Hence, a somewhat more general version is needed to incorporate factors that affect how poor Third World women

fare in development, above and beyond specific project interventions. For example, a shift in AID policy, a country's pricing policy, or regional rainfall patterns may affect not only the sorts of development projects for a particular country, but also may far transcend the impact of a single project on people's lives. While it is not possible for the proposed conceptual framework to specify all variables and all outcomes vis-à-vis WID, a framework that went beyond the phases of the project cycle would seem a useful device for identifying aspects of WID that are or are not (a) amenable to policy intervention, (b) candidates for further study, and/or (c) new foci for project-related WID efforts.*

Before moving on to the next set of recommendations, concerning the systematic collection of gender-related data, one point should be noted. Most of the recommendations made in this report are interrelated. Hence, whether they appear in this section on "future WID activities," the section on gender-related data, that on the Guidebook, or that on innovative WID projects is somewhat arbitrary. Taken together, the total set of recommendations should promote a broad-based approach to LAC WID efforts, for both the immediate and more distant future.

*Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to include the conceptual framework I have been developing, let me summarize its coverage. First, it divides the project cycle into three phases (planning, which includes identification and design; implementation, and evaluation/results). At the planning stage, two sets of variables are considered: (1) institutional/project-level factors, and (2) beneficiary-level factors, based on the extant local situation at the time the project is planned. With respect to institutional variables at the planning stage, we have to take account of, e.g., (a) the structural centralization, (b) WID-related staffing patterns and sensitivity, and (c) policy, goals and strategy of both the AID entity and host country institution to be involved in the project. We further have to consider the project goals, strategy and funding levels being planned. Concerning the beneficiaries, we have to consider their situation, in a sex-disaggregated manner, with respect to: sexual division of resources, labor, and time burden, both within households, and, beyond households, at the level of class, ethnicity, and/or total community. If, in fact, these beneficiary-level data are available, then it is more likely that

*, cont.

they will be analyzed in the project design documents. At this stage, we also have to see if (a) an analysis of the possible constraints that might affect (sex-disaggregated) participation in project activities and benefits had been undertaken, (b) attempts were made to link the T_0 economic data with the project's components and goals, (c) mechanisms and/or modifications in proposed delivery channels and incentives to overcome these constraints were proposed, (d) women were specifically mentioned in the logframe and not implicitly excluded from view by language that referred to all productive actors as "he," and (e) women were explicitly included in targeting, either explicitly integrated with men in certain components or the objects of sex-specific targeting. The prediction is that the more of the preceding factors were found in the design documents, the more likely that women will, in fact, be dealt with during implementation. During implementation, the institutional-level variables that should be examined include: (a) the organizational structure (centralization/decentralization) of the institutions involved with implementation (U.S., host country and actual project level), (b) their staffing patterns and WID sensitivity, (c) the flexibility of implementation timing, funding categories and provision for beneficiary input and feedback, (d) the existence/effectiveness of a sex-disaggregated monitoring system, and (e) the amount, proportion and nature of the actual resources delivered to females, on a sex-disaggregated but integrated, or sex-specific, basis. Also during implementation, one should examine constraints (sex-disaggregated) affecting female (a) participation in project activities, (b) access to project benefits, (c) control - and retention of control - of project benefits. To the extent that females' resource base, access to technology, etc. is growing or shrinking in relative and/or absolute terms, it is proposed that there will be (1) feedback loops to the T_0 economic control system, and (2) consequences involving project results. Concerning the results, these can be evaluated on a sex-disaggregated basis to assess (a) participation (e.g., women = X% of credit recipients, trainees, extension clients, etc.), (b) effects on control of resources (e.g., enhanced/eroded; direct returns increased vs. contribute labor with few returns). The prediction is that the more favorable the configuration of implementation variables, the greater the likelihood of female participation and enhancement of female control of assets - and vice versa. If the results evaluation shows that there was an effect on females' relative/absolute control of assets, then further sets of consequences are predicted (to be explored during evaluation): an increase should mean an increase in (a) household decision-making power with respect to economic, domestic and fertility decisions, (b) self-confidence and self-esteem, (c) expenditures for family "basic human needs," especially food, clothing and children's education, (d) life options, and (e) public/community assertiveness and position. The converse is also predicted to occur with an eroding resource base - or the net result may be mixed, if some aspects of the project helped, while others hindered, WID objectives. Finally, it is proposed that the women's fate generally affects that of the project - i.e., its degree of success in achievement of development goals (e.g., increased production; reduced poverty and malnutrition; enhanced well-being, quality of life and environmental situation). It is also proposed that these final sets of changes (in male/female resource base, individual/household consequences, and achievement of development goals) will have feedback to the T_0 male/female economic situation.

B. Recommendations on Systematic Collection of Gender-Related Project Data

Let us start with general considerations and then go on to specific recommendations for this sub-topic:

1. The general recommendation (and goal) is not to collect data on females only, but rather to collect sex-disaggregated data - so that they will be more generally useful for project purposes. At the same time, sex-disaggregated data provide information on the relative as well as absolute position of males and females (e.g., not only that marketing is an important occupation for local women, but that at least 40% of all food crop marketing is done by women).

2. Moreover, women won't be purposely integrated into projects until their relative importance for its activities is recognized - and considered important by project planners/implementers. This recognition is thus a function of having (a) the appropriate sex-disaggregated data, and (b) appropriate incentives to take those data into account (incentives will be discussed in the next section, on the project cycle).

3. These ^{sex-disaggregated} data must be categorized and collected so as to eliminate extant widespread confusions: (a) work must be distinguished from the productive resources utilized and the rewards obtained; (b) access to resources must be distinguished from control over resources; and (c) obtaining control of resources must be distinguished from retaining control of resources.

4. Sex-disaggregated data must be obtained within the household as well as beyond it.

5. These data must be shown to be relatively cheap and cost-effective as well as useful. Accordingly:

sex-disaggregated

RECOMMENDATION 7: Field test the proposed/Rapid Rural Assessment-type module for cost and cost-effectiveness as well as content prior to calling for its widespread adoption as the pre-requisite to "WID-sensitive" mainstream projects.

Discussion: This recommendation carries Recommendation #2 one step fur-

ther. There, it was indicated that field testing the proposed module would be the last step required before attempting to utilize and disseminate its contents. Here, what is called for is a test of not just contents, but also cost. With respect to contents, the ideal would be to test the module (a) in several different development sectors, so that portions of it would be sector-specific where needed, and (b) in one country of each sub-region (Andean, Central American, Caribbean). As noted, the contents themselves would emerge cumulatively from the current field research, proposed follow-up studies, and proposed conceptual framework and Guidebook activities - although these contents already can be described in preliminary form (see below).

RECOMMENDATION 8: Once finalized, a summary of the module's main topics and methodology should be prepared for widespread dissemination and recommended use.

Discussion: As a minimum, the following should be included:

- (a) Work - the major activities of the target population, disaggregated by sex, and, where relevant, by age, class and/or ethnicity.
- (b) Wealth/income - how the resources involved in production are controlled among the target population, disaggregated as above.
- (c) Intrahousehold income patterns - who contributes what and how much; patterns of pooled vs. segregated income streams; responsibilities for different categories of expenditure; consequences of patterns for household dynamics and decisions - all disaggregated by sex, and other relevant dimensions (e.g., age, type of union, sex of household head).
- (d) Workload - the relative daily/seasonal time burden by sex and age (and, where relevant, by class and/or ethnicity).
- (e) Project components/strategies - how do the project activities, interventions and strategies to achieve its objectives intersect with the work, workload and resource patterns described above?
- (f) Constraints - are there any constraints to male/female (i) participation in project activities, (ii) access to benefits, and (iii) control over benefits from project - and locus of these constraints (project delivery channels, incentives, local community resistance, all disaggregated by sex)

Additionally, for projects where implementation has begun - or ended;

(g) Monitoring - indications that sex-disaggregated monitoring data were generated and used during implementation.

(h) Delivered activities/benefits - document the actual place of males/females in the project (vs. original plans).

(i) Gender-linked flaws in project strategy - problems arising from mistaken assumptions concerning (or not taking into account) activities, resources, constraints, etc., of one sex or the other.

(j) Gender-linked effects - how did the project affect females relative to males - and how did females (relative to males) affect the project?

RECOMMENDATION 9: In addition to dissemination by training workshops (discussed below), the summary of the module and methodology should be given to all LAC project design and evaluation teams, and expectations concerning its full or partial use included in their Scopes of Work.

Discussion: If the members of design teams and those conducting regular, special, final and impact evaluations were provided with at least a summary form of the proposed RRA-type module, the collection of gender-related data would become possible on a widespread basis. If the Scopes of Work covering these project activities specified that information be presented in sex-disaggregated form, and delineated the particular sex-disaggregated information that was to be gathered, then the data base for WID-sensitive policy and practice could be very rapidly generated in the LAC Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION 10: In addition to the research proposed in Recommendation #1, and the project-based gender-disaggregated data module discussed above, it is suggested that the LAC "Women in Development Task Force" arrange for periodic "special studies" of WID-relevant topics.

Discussion: Based on the availability of funds, there are a number of "special studies" of WID issues that bear doing. Assuming that the LAC WID Task Force will be on the distribution list for copies of the various WID-related data collecting efforts described to this point, and assuming that they will refine and implement a system (proposed below) where the labor of keeping up with these

reports were divided and results shared among Task Force members, then it is reasonable to assume that gaps in the data base or problems meriting urgent investigation will surface from time to time. It is suggested that a Task Force responsibility be the suggestion and promotion of such special studies to the appropriate LAC personnel.

There already is a "backlog" of potential special studies - issues that have emerged ^{as} WID-related LAC problems. Some examples are:

(a) Female vs. male-headed households' dynamics and income patterns. Especially in the Caribbean countries, female-headed households make up a large proportion (sometimes a majority) of the households of the poor. Although some information is available concerning these households (including the fact that they tend to be much poorer than their male-headed counterparts), our picture is incomplete. It is known, for example, that such households are often involved in sharing networks of kin and close friends. In this way, a form of risk insurance operates: by redistributing surplus, when available, these poor and vulnerable households can expect aid during episodes of scarcity (given the informal/rural sector occupations of most female household heads, they frequently experience fluctuations and scarcity in income). This implies that there may be a greater "spread effect" of project resources obtained by female-headed households - or a counterproductive dissipation of benefits that precludes achieving the intended project effects. At this point, however, it can be stated that the problem of female-headed households may be most intense in the LAC region, but little or nothing is known about the likelihood of projects reaching these units and how project effects might differ in female vs. male-headed households.

(b) Male/female income gap on income paid in cash vs. in kind. In one Bolivian project, it was learned that when paid in cash, women received a much lower wage than men. But when paid in kind, women's return was much closer to

that received by men. Since project benefits can be dispensed in a wide variety of forms, it would be useful to know if this finding was an isolated fluke - or a previously unsuspected prevailing pattern. It should be noted that both this and the previous "special study" need not be carried out as expensive, independent investigations designed to test only that particular issue. If, for example, an investigation were going to be carried out among the poor in a given Caribbean country, or a study was to be done in a group where both men and women were known to be active in agriculture, the respective "special study" topic could be added - i.e., piggybacked. What is needed in order to make such a system work is systematic oversight of WID-related data collection, a topic further discussed below.

(c) Incentives for institutionalizing WID concerns in LAC "mainstream" projects. One LAC person with part-time responsibility for WID cannot possibly monitor all the activities needed to get - and keep - WID concerns treated as a priority issue in the Bureau's numerous projects. Even the newly-revived LAC WID Task Force (a parallel group operated for a number of years under Roma Knee's stewardship of LAC WID efforts) would be overwhelmed by such a burden. Clearly, what is needed is some sort of incentive system that would reward people for undertaking WID stewardship in a particular project or other Bureau effort. A special study might be very useful in this regard. It has been *argued* that, like other donor agency professionals, AID people are rewarded for "moving money" (Tendler, 1974; Fortmann, 1984), rather than the success of the projects they mount. So even if it could be shown that their projects would be more successful if women were taken into account, that might not function as an incentive to hard-pressed people who view WID as a "special interest" which is not part of their job. So what would work? An attempt to explore and test various possibilities recommended by the WID Task Force might provide great payoff.

(d) Clarifying the relative weight of various factors alleged to produce favorable project outcomes in a "fast overview"-type final evaluation. A good example involves the recent report (by Crandon with Shepard, 1984) on Pathfinder's five recent LAC WID projects. Their Table 3 (p. 29 - included here as Appendix A) lists 10 independent variables found to be important causes of 5 first-order dependent variables, which, in turn, are held to have led to 5 second-order (i.e., subsequent) dependent variables. No attempt is made to assess the relative contributions of the various factors. For follow-up programming, however, such information might be extremely valuable. Hence, a special study might be justified in cases such as these.

(e) Cutting up the larger field studies proposed in Recommendation #1 into smaller pieces. Among the issues that seem to merit a more thorough investigation than can be accomplished in the very short field visits scheduled for spring, 1985 are the following: (i) patterns of intrahousehold income and dynamics (ranging from sex-specific sources and streams of income to the consequences in terms of household decision-making and leverage), (ii) relative time burden in directly productive vs. indirectly productive (i.e., what are rather misleadingly labeled "domestic") activities and the role of "appropriate technology;" (iii) conditions under which women are or are not able to retain control of project-provided benefits (e.g., types of delivery channels used; benefits provided to individuals or to organized female-controlled groups; women's relative economic position and history of group organization prior to the project); and (iv) labor, relative return to labor, and consequences for women's position and productivity vis-à-vis males. Rather than undertaking the relatively large field study that would be needed to encompass such an array of topics in a single shot, some of the components might be spun off into special studies. These would be undertaken on a priority basis (among special studies).

as resources were made available. A final example is a special study that focuses on institutional-level variables and explores the problem of "slippage" - circumstances under which lofty plans for incorporating women in a project vanished between the design documents and actual implementation. The PPC/CDIE-funded research on Caribbean Agricultural Extension I and II was supposed to address this issue - but the fieldwork period will probably be too short to provide clear-cut answers to a not uncommon problem. Hence, a somewhat more ambitious special study might be a potentially high payoff investment.

RECOMMENDATION 11: As the WID-relevant data base grows, undertake periodic analyses to codify emerging patterns: by topic, sub-region, sector, or country, as the case might be.

Discussion: As a review of the "lessons learned" section of this paper indicates, there are already numerous findings concerning WID, many of them found in more than one study, and some well-confirmed patterns concerning the sexual division of labor in the LAC region. But there is, as yet, only a rudimentary ordering of the rich but disconnected findings into a more coherent whole. One of the principal functions of the proposed conceptual framework is to provide a schema for ordering variables and data. The periodic "pattern-searching" analyses proposed here represent another way of codifying the growing body of WID data. Not only will such an effort wring higher yields out of the proposed field research activities detailed above, it could provide a model for the periodic codification of both (a) interrelationships of variables, and (b) what works and what doesn't work with respect to achieving WID objectives.

RECOMMENDATION 12: Additionally, it is suggested that occasional analyses be undertaken of different types of AID documents drawn from LAC files in order to provide a "scorecard" on the extent to which WID lessons are institutionalized and incorporated into mainstream activities.

Discussion: As part of the work undertaken for this report, I read and analyzed the mission cables sent in response to the Office of Women in Development's request for information for the 1984 Report to Congress. Results were

mixed. A few cables demonstrated appreciable levels of truly WID-relevant activities and/or understanding of the WID objectives described in the 1982 Policy Paper. A few others demonstrated the reverse. Overall, however, has there been a "learning curve"? Analysis of the cables sent in preparation for the 1978, 1980 and 1982 WID Reports to Congress might make for an instructive contrast to the 1984 results. Similarly, I have read scattered Country Development Strategy Statements, Sector Assessments, and Annual Budget Submissions from various LAC countries over the years - with no subjective impression that females are being more systematically considered today than, say, half a dozen years ago. Since my "sample" was haphazard and my "analysis" was cursory and non-systematic, I cannot substantiate my impression. But apparently, it is shared among others who have had occasion to read these LAC documents with WID objectives in mind. At the same time, there is evidence to indicate that mention of females in the Project Paper is becoming more common. In fact, it seems to be a safe hypothesis that the Project Paper is the AID document most likely to make at least passing overture to the female half of the population. If these impressions were investigated via occasional document reviews, the ^{high} costs would be low, but the potential/for establishing a data-based "progress report" (it should be couched in terms too general to raise hackles - i.e., specific projects and missions need not be identified).

As a concluding point for this section, let us consider for whom and for what purposes are these data to be collected. If the findings stay within the narrow confines of "WID circles," their value and impact will not be great. Somehow, WID concerns must be injected throughout the project cycle - i.e., the data must be used to guide and inform mainstream practice. It is to the project cycle that we now turn.

C. Recommendations on Integrating Gender Considerations into the Project Cycle

How can the LAC Bureau better integrate gender considerations into project planning, design, implementation, and evaluation processes? This time, let us start the recommendations from the top.

RECOMMENDATION 13: Given the Assistant Administrator's clear support of WID, it is suggested that it be discussed at the Mission Directors' Conference.

Discussion: It is not unreasonable to argue that important reasons for the less than spectacular LAC record with respect to WID include (1) a previous absence of clear direction (i.e., pressure) from top administrators and (2) a general lack of incentives/rewards for WID efforts on the part of those involved in the mainstream project cycle. In order to address both issues, it is suggested that WID be included on the agenda of the next Mission Directors' Conference. Ideally, it would be extremely helpful if the following were aired: (1) the 1982 WID policy, (2) LAC recent efforts, (3) planned LAC efforts, (4) constraining factors jeopardizing realization of WID objectives - and suggestions to overcome them. An important constraint in this regard is the lack of built-in incentives. It is to be hoped that if the Directors propose suggestions concerning ways of incorporating - and rewarding - WID efforts, some of them will themselves provide incentives to their staffs. Paralling the principle of gravity, momentum in WID should be more easily achieved starting from the top than moving up from below.

RECOMMENDATION 14: A desirable suggestion, if endorsed by the Mission Directors, would be to broaden the base for WID in the missions: one such mechanism would be to form WID Committees, rather than leave it to a single full- or part-time "WID officer."

Discussion: Given the extent of decentralization to the mission level in AID in recent times, attempts to better integrate WID into the project cycle must include more emphasis on mission-level organizational variables. If a WID over-

sight committee were formed in each mission, and were sufficiently backed by the Director to include a broad range of personnel, including fairly senior ones, then one of the main complaints about WID integration would be eliminated. This complaint refers to the "ghettoization" of WID in the form of a low-ranked host country national woman/ or its "marginalization" in the form of a part-time assignment to an AID professional who already "has too many hats to wear." A committee could mean enough in potential division of labor to track WID efforts in the various relevant mission projects. If there were sufficient incentive and reward, perhaps committee members would undertake the role of "WID angel" for a particular project and husband it through the mission-linked stages of the project cycle. It should be noted that the presence of such a "WID angel" - someone with commitment to WID objectives, and of a sufficient rank to be able to get them addressed in the project at hand - proved perhaps the second most important WID-enhancing factor that emerged in my previous study of the extent to which women were taken into account in a sample of 45 LAC projects. Meanwhile, back in Washington:

RECOMMENDATION 15: Rather than sending missions cables requesting separate, extra work on WID, promote its incorporation in the already-required documents and work flow, e.g., the Annual Budget Submission and Congressional Presentation documents.

Discussion: This suggestion was strongly argued by Roma Knee, on the basis of her years of LAC WID experience. On the one hand, such an approach should encourage thoughts and data on a sex-disaggregated basis - a major WID goal. On the other hand, such an approach should mute resistance based on resentment of extra work. Requirements that set WID apart as a "special consideration" seem to work to keep it out of the mainstream.

RECOMMENDATION 16: The recently formed LAC Women in Development Task Force, if reasonably balanced by professional positions, ranks and gender, should (a) itself receive incentives for its members' participation and (b) attempt to "brainstorm" a system of incentives to integrate WID considerations into the project cycle.

Discussion: The Task Force has tackled an ambitious and important agenda, which could considerably add to the time burdens of its members. As a motivating factor and as an example, the Task Force should be rewarded for its efforts. Since their document of December 10, 1984 mentions an upcoming discussion with AA/LAC to determine what options are available to develop a "reward/performance/incentive system," if they have not already done so, it is suggested that they "brainstorm" such a system from the possible options. They should include what they think is fair for them to get out of it. As noted above in the discussion of "special studies," they may also have to consider ways in which AID people were more rewarded for the success of the projects they are involved in - over and above WID considerations. Nevertheless, reward for WID efforts should remain the focus of the proposed system. Assuming that Task Force members will receive sufficient recognition and other advantages, then they should consider adding to their workload via the following suggestions.

RECOMMENDATION 17: In an effort to promote the institutionalization of WID in LAC, it is proposed that the Task Force be encouraged to (a) set up an oversight system to read and share the contents of new WID materials generated by the proposed research, special studies, and activities proposed in their 12/10/84 AA/LAC memo; (b) suggest/initiate special studies from time to time, as needs for data clarification and budget considerations permit; (c) develop Scopes of Work that explicitly incorporate gender considerations into the tasks of design and evaluation team members; and (d) provide general oversight to WID-related data collection (see above recommendations re data).

Discussion: Each of these suggestions will be considered in turn.

17a: Set up an oversight system to read and share the contents of new WID materials generated by the proposed research and special studies, as well as the activities proposed in their 12/10/84 AA/LAC memo.

Discussion: Philosophers may debate about whether, "if a tree falls in the forest," there would be sound in the absence of a listener. But there is no ques-

tion that if new data are collected there will be no action in the absence of readers. That's the first prerequisite! A system whereby work is divided among individuals and their summaries and reactions are shared with the group would seem to be needed. If periodic peaks of "data gluts" threaten to swamp the system, then it is suggested that a contractor be hired to help with the task. Such a person could provide digests and analyses of individual items, and syntheses of sub-groups of them, on an as-needed basis.

17b: Suggest/initiate special studies from time to time, as needed for data clarification, and as budget considerations permit.

Discussion: Since the Task Force members would have the overall picture of emerging problems - and opportunities - concerning LAC WID efforts, they would seem to be in the best position to perform a selection and gatekeeper function with respect to adding to the data base. Since overseeing the preparation and contracting of all but the smallest (i.e., Purchase Order-limited) studies is tremendously labor-intensive, one of the built-in constraints against the building of a veritable mountain of data is the strain this would put on the Task Force's time. One of the chronic problems with WID efforts throughout AID has been precisely the lack of sufficient people to simultaneously oversee the creation of new knowledge in the subject and the tracking needed to integrate gender considerations throughout the project and policy cycle. (Suggested studies are discussed in the preceding section about systematic gender-related data collection.)

17c: Develop Scopes of Work that explicitly incorporate gender considerations into the tasks of design and evaluation team members.

Discussion: It is an oft-repeated AID complaint that teams are rarely allotted enough time in the field to do other than work under pressure - and stick to the tasks called for in the Scope of Work. Analysis of a scattered sampling of Scopes of Work for regular and special evaluations, special studies, and other project-related field tasks has shown me very few instances where females and/or gender-

disaggregation were mentioned in any way. One exception is that the Scopes of Work for "impact evaluations" are supposed to include some consideration of the role of women vis-à-vis the project and its impact. Typically, however, the instruction is brief and broad enough to constitute a possible invitation to deal with it via a "standard boilerplate paragraph." This brief section usually discusses women only in very general terms. Its inclusion, nevertheless, often seems to be interpreted by the field team as "payment in full" of any charge relating to females and gender issues.

Since it would be outrageously unrealistic to expect the Task Force to write Scopes of Work for the various and sundry teams that leave for the field on project-related missions, what is meant by this recommendation is that the Task Force develop models, or "generic Scopes of Work" for design and evaluation teams. These gender-sensitive Scopes would be disseminated and, hopefully, adopted and institutionalized via the procedures and suggestions discussed below in section D, re a possible new LAC WID Guidebook.

17d: Provide general oversight to WID-related data collection.

Discussion: Who will monitor the whole package of suggested data collection measures if not the WID Task Force? Once again, we are caught in a contradiction. As the people who were key in shaping the information program, Task Force members have the requisite broad angle of vision coupled with in-depth knowledge of the issues and findings involved in a particular data collection effort. But do they have the time to provide more than general oversight? Budget permitting, this seems to be another area where periodic stints by a contractor or contractors seem to be needed to avoid swamping the Task Force. As a general principle, the main oversight criterion should be to avoid data collection procedures and projects that isolate the information on females. To reiterate, sex-disaggregated data would seem more inherently useful to potential data users.

RECOMMENDATION 18: Dissemination of results is crucial: periodic workshops, seminars and summaries of "WID news and findings" are needed to make known the data collection efforts, lessons learned, and progress in incorporating WID into AID operations and the project cycle.

Discussion: To quote the Task Force memo of 12/10/84: "In this section we have in mind a series of educational activities at the Bureau and Mission levels that could include "brown bag lunches," half-day sessions, audiovisuals, presentation of data, etc. Shape and frequency of these activities will of course depend on availability of resources. (p. 2)." I would add that periodic bulletins which can be pouched for the Missions also would seem useful, and perhaps could be generated as a not-too-labor-intensive aspect of the work of the Task Force. The other activities called for would require the services of a contractor. Provision should be made, however, for feedback to the Bureau (perhaps channeled through the Task Force) concerning the participants' reactions to these educational efforts, and any suggestions they might have to improve them.

RECOMMENDATION 19: Additionally, some sort of "WID sensitization" workshops, such as those currently being given by the Harvard Institute for International Development, would also be needed. Ideally, these should be slanted to participants at fairly high levels and LAC involvement should be encouraged.

Discussion: Although conversations with participants in these workshops make it clear that not everyone who has gone has had a "conversion experience" and emerged as eager advocates of WID objectives, the intensive experience fostered by the workshops has generally been received as positive and useful. (It might be useful to see if a follow-up evaluation of participants is being done, to see what actions - if any - they have undertaken on behalf of WID in the period since taking the workshop. They might have a different perspective on suggested changes in such programs.) If a list of LAC "graduates" is available, soliciting their post-workshop experiences and suggestions might be a valuable source of ideas for ways to integrate WID into the project cycle. Other dissemination activities are discussed in the next two sections.

D. Recommendations on a Proposed LAC WID Manual and/or Guidelines

Discussion: The LAC WID Task Force has proposed a new Guidebook and included a preliminary table of contents in its 12/10/84 memo. Accordingly, one of the principal tasks involved in my Scope of Work involved identifying and assessing any available manuals, indicators and guideline materials relevant to the Bureau's WID efforts. The results of my analysis are included in the "Finding the Formula" paper (Blumberg, 1985a). My recommendations, however, are included in the present paper. The principal one is as follows:

RECOMMENDATION 20: To the extent that the proposed Guidebook does not treat WID as an isolated phenomenon and does not focus on women only (vs. a gender-disaggregated approach), it could serve many valuable purposes and should be developed.

Discussion: The general goal is for WID emphases to be integrated into the mainstream of Bureau activities rather than treated as a special consideration dealt with primarily by "WID experts." Accordingly, it was the main caveat of Roma Knee (who otherwise was very supportive of the proposed Guidebook and other WID Task Force suggestions) that the Guidebook must be cross-referenced to the "normal, on-going AID guidance documents." To reiterate a previously cited suggestion, she urged that the Guidebook not be used to burden Missions with still another round of requested WID activities and reports undertaken in addition to, and in isolation from, the existing work flow. Thus, it should provide guidance on integrating gender concerns and a gender-disaggregated approach to such on-going activities as preparing the Annual Budget Submissions and the Congressional Presentations.

This, is, in fact, precisely the approach advocated by the Task Force:

In addition to policy issues, this Guidebook will also contain all the guidance on project design for PIDs, PPs and OPGs, as well as guidance to the Missions on integration of gender issues into the CDSS and ABS processes (p. 3).

Additional recommendations concerning the proposed Guidebook project are as follows:

RECOMMENDATION 21: The Guidebook, and any shorter Guidelines-type documents, should be presented in loose-leaf form so that update material can be added and superseded material deleted - and customized Guidebooks prepared for specific sectors, sub-regions, countries, etc.

Discussion: It is intended that the Guidebook provide easy-to-use techniques and information, and reflect the evolving body of WID knowledge and practice in the Bureau. Therefore, it stands to reason that a flexible format should be adopted. The loose-leaf approach is used in two of the Manuals analyzed in conjunction with the Guidelines task of my Scope of Work. If a ring-binder is used here, it would be a good idea to use the kind with a closeable pouch on the inside of the front cover, and include a tiny ring-binder punch (in the pouch or dangling from a mini-key chain attached to the binder ring or other provided aperture).

RECOMMENDATION 22: The Guidebook should encompass the full AID activity and project cycle, as well as sections on policy, the proposed RRA-type module for obtaining gender-disaggregated data, the latest "lessons learned"/pattern analysis on both beneficiary-level and institutional-level findings, and "indicators for self-assessment."

Discussion: I propose that the Guidebook content combine the Task Force's Preliminary Table of Contents with the various recommendations I have made in other sections of this paper. For example, I would suggest going beyond their "Concepts and Background" section in three ways: (1) Add the topic of "gender division of resources" to theirs of "gender division of labor" - I suggest that it is at least of equal importance; (2) Both these topics should be linked to their next one, "constraints to women's participation/access/control," and the focus broadened to compare female/male constraints; (3) Explore them empirically. This last point brings me to my proposal to:

22a: Incorporate the proposed RRA-type module for obtaining gender-disaggregated data into the Guidebook.

Discussion: Assuming that the module will be developed and tested, and both complete and summary versions available by the Guidebook completion date, it is

urged that this material be included. It would help to make the Guidebook into a "user's manual" for obtaining information that is both WID-relevant and more generally useful at any point along the project cycle. As information accumulates by sector, sub-region, country, etc., the module could be customized for different types of users operating at different points in the project cycle.

22b: Incorporate periodically updated "lessons learned" and "pattern analyses" about both substantive issues and AID/institutional/project issues involved in WID.

Discussion: Since the Guidebook is intended as the "textbook" for various kinds of training workshops (see below) as well as the reference book/"bible" on WID knowledge and practice, it should be kept current and should reflect the experiences and suggestions of users as well as the latest findings. This should make it possible to construct special "Briefing Packets" for teams going into the field for a particular type of project in a given location that would give them a small and compact selection of materials from the larger loose-leaf compilation. The labor of compiling such a "Briefing Packet" would not seem excessive, and could be undertaken in the course of the normal preparation for such a field mission, providing that the person(s) overseeing the preparations had suitable incentives for building WID - and gender-disaggregation - into the task at hand.

22c: If the LAC WID Task Force provides further explication, their suggestion for including "indicators for self-assessment" in the Guidebook should be adopted.

Discussion: Providing some sort of "report card" mechanism in the Guidebook seems like a useful idea. At this point, however, more detail is needed as to what indicators should be included in such a section. It might be useful if evaluation forms were included so that people could rate their attempts at using the "tools" included in the Guidebook - and forwarded these to the Task Force.

RECOMMENDATION 23: Provide workshops at both the Bureau and Mission level to introduce the Guidebook and use of the RRA-type module. When undertaken in a Mission, use the opportunity to provide training in gender-disaggregated implementation and monitoring to those involved in on-going projects.

Discussion: In order to keep the Guidebook from languishing on the shelf, it is necessary to stress dissemination and training. This should take place not only in Washington, but also in selected Missions (based on interest and availability of resources). During Mission training visits, effort should be made to take advantage of the opportunity to reach those involved in implementing on-going projects - i.e., host country nationals and any U.S. contractors as well as AID direct hire professional staff. Such training exercises also can provide an opportunity to generate additional data for the Guidebook - in particular, "constraint analysis" (see above) for sectors where there has not yet been an attempt to codify gender-linked constraints. ICRW (1982) has, as noted, made a start in this direction by identifying some constraints involved in (a) credit, (b) shelter, and (c) training projects. (Their summary of these are included in my "Finding the Formula" paper as Appendix D.) Two sectors that merit early attention are rural development/agriculture and micro/small enterprises. It is to be hoped that since both types of projects are included in the current field research, the analyses of the resultant data will help delineate the special, sector-specific, constraints affecting male/female participation, access to benefits, and control over benefits. Regardless, one of the criteria for choosing a country for a Guidebooks workshop should be the array of on-going projects in that country, and how these can be tapped into for both training and data collection purposes.

RECOMMENDATION 24: Reproduce the Guidebook in sufficient quantities so that a full copy (preferably including customized "Briefing Packets") can be provided to each team going on an LAC project design or evaluation field mission, and important summary sections, to each member of these teams.

Discussion: As a quick controlled experiment to see whether the expense of this recommendation is justified, contrast the final product that emerges from a

small sample of (a) teams that received the materials vs. (b) those that did not. If, as hypothesized, those that received the materials - along with the concomitantly proposed stipulation that their Scope of Work specify gender-disaggregation and attention to WID issues - did, in fact, do more to "take women in to account," this recommendation should be adopted. It would seem quite important that training be provided to at least one member of the team receiving the materials. This suggestion also could be tested: by providing such training to half of the teams receiving the Guidebook and withholding special training from the other half (both, however, should have gender considerations built into their Scopes of Work). If the results of providing both (1) the Guidebook, and (2) the training in its use, proved positive in these suggested experiments, then strong consideration should be given to:

RECOMMENDATION 25: As soon as time and resources permit, specify that (at least) one member of all LAC teams sent to the field for project design, evaluation, and similar purposes have attended a training workshop in either or both (a) the Guidebook, and/or (b) the Harvard-type WID sensitization. Ideally, this person would then bear responsibility for WID and the Guidebook for the fieldwork.

Discussion: Obviously, the time frame for the introduction of this recommendation cannot be as immediate as those for most of the other suggestions in this paper. Nevertheless, it is proposed that this recommendation be tested on a pilot basis. What sort of results would emerge in teams where there was at least one person trained in gender-disaggregated RRA data collection and WID issues, who would be given the complete guidebook and the role of "WID angel" in seeing that this aspect of the Scope of Work was actually addressed? So as to prevent the isolation of WID efforts, each member of the team should receive the RRA-type module summary and any country/sector/sub-region specific "Briefing Packet" materials that might be available. It would be made clear that all were expected to view their assignment in gender-disaggregated terms, rather than having this

be the sole responsibility (or, worse yet, sole duty) of the trained individual. If, indeed, teams meeting these conditions were more successful not only in considering women, but also in providing more comprehensive, viable results that better fulfilled their assignments, then a case could be made for the gradual phasing in of this recommendation.

To conclude this section, let me bring up some considerations that should be included in the Guidebook. It is not necessary, however, to list these as formal recommendations:

- Given the dearth of data on how WID fares in actual implementation, i.e., prior to end-of-project evaluation, and the growing popularity of flexible implementation, or process, designs, the Guidebook should give stress to the importance of a sex-disaggregated monitoring system, preferably involving a formative or process methodology, so that mid-course corrections could be made. Such flexibility would benefit not only WID, but also the project itself. Related to this is the next point:

- The Guidebook should clearly distinguish between (a) project success, and (b) WID success - and discuss criteria for each. It is conceivable that they could vary independently (i.e., women are hurt but the project achieves its logframe objectives, or the converse). Nevertheless, it is important to make this distinction and follow it up in the field, since a growing list of examples have been found of a direct relationship between both types of success: where women were left out and/or hurt, the project suffered; where they benefited, so did the project. It is clearly desirable to find out just how prevalent this pattern is.

- In attempting to promote the incorporation of gender/WID considerations, the importance of staffing factors must be underlined: (1) WID-sensitivity, (2) gender, and (3) appropriate technical qualifications are three dimensions

of the staffing variable that I have elsewhere discussed (e.g., Blumberg, 1985b) as salient. Moreover, these three different aspects may be differently weighted at different levels of the pyramids of the organizations involved in a given mainstream project where WID integration is problematic. There are at least three of these organizational locations where the above staffing dimensions may be differentially associated with successful WID incorporation:

(1) The project grass roots level. Here, in certain cultural contexts, the actual gender of the project personnel who would be the ones having beneficiary contact might override all other considerations. If it is just not culturally permissible for, say, a male extension agent to visit a woman farmer in her husband's absence, the easiest "solution" is to ignore women farmers. (Naturally, other ways around this dilemma exist, but given the scarcity of resources and personnel, and the excess of demand for same, in most projects, there is a strong likelihood that this "course of least resistance" will be taken and women will not be helped.)

(2) The project management level. Here, the degree of WID sensitivity/commitment on the part of those overseeing the project should outweigh ^{gender}/- although there does tend to be a correlation between gender and WID commitment. The degree of organizational centralization of control also is involved here, since the key ^{favorable} person whose/"WID quotient" is crucial is likely to be situated at a higher management level in a more centralized, hierarchical organization than in a more decentralized organization. The question involves the WID commitment of the person(s) at the effective level of control of the project.

(3) The U.S. oversight level - AID and any U.S. contractor. Despite the present lack of incentives, the LAC project files provide examples of AID people who voluntarily assumed the role of "WID angel," and who, by virtue of their efforts and their sufficiently elevated rank, were able to "make it happen."

E. Recommendations on Bringing Innovative WID Projects' Lessons Learned into the Mainstream Activities of the LAC Bureau

The problem here is twofold: First, we must identify "lessons learned" that are relevant for the mainstream activities of the LAC Bureau. And, second, we must consider how these lessons must be institutionalized. Using these criteria, let us examine (a) methodologically innovative WID projects, and then (b) some substantive findings with relevance and applicability that go beyond WID. Reversing the usual order of presentation of the preceding four sections of recommendations, the discussion of the "lesson learned" will precede the recommendation for bringing it into the mainstream.

1. Process methodologies for monitoring and evaluation. Given the strong emphasis on grass roots participation that characterizes many of the successful small WID projects, it is not surprising that they have extended their flexible, feedback-providing formats into the sphere of monitoring and evaluation.

Two examples will be presented:

(a) The team evaluation approach of the Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the University of the West Indies. Here, the evaluation is oriented toward planners rather than "social science research" and the approach is multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary. In each of the three Caribbean countries where the approach was tried, a research team was formed for evaluation:

consisting of at least an analysis/researcher, a representative of the Planning Agency, a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture, a representative of the country-level unit concerned with women's roles in development, and administrative staff from the development project itself (p. i).

One of the advantages found in this approach is that the costs of undertaking the evaluation could be spread among the participating institutions. Given the perennial problem of funding evaluations, this should be kept in mind. On

the other hand, with so many "paying the piper," the evaluation could sing a mixed and muddled tune. Since the approach was successful in using RRA-type methods to collect data that were used to correct problems that emerged in implementation, it is worth watching. At this point, however, it is premature to attempt to bring it over to the mainstream. Meanwhile, another replication of this promising methodology seems worth supporting. The Population Council funded the projects involved, and has promoted the methodology. Further funding might make a good investment with ramifications extending beyond WID.

(b) The process documentation approach employed by The Pathfinder Fund in monitoring and evaluating five small income-generating projects in Latin America and the Caribbean. Process documentation refers to the procedure whereby a part-time consultant^{researcher} gathers data on the progress of the project, using a qualitative research approach and employing a pre-developed set of research questions, and comes to fill a position falling somewhere between facilitator and outside evaluator. Problems could be brought to the attention of the funding agency and, where relevant, project management, in a timely manner. Corrective action was thus facilitated and enhanced. Meanwhile, back in the United States, during the latter stages of the income-generating projects, a "senior research analyst" coordinated the data and reports being sent in by the on-scene researchers in each of the projects. Thus, common issues and problems could be identified, and findings and insights from one project used to illuminate and correct problems experienced in another. The total cost of this very "hands on" approach was by no means high, and the results seem to have been well worth the costs: data for comparative research, as well as a very close-contact approach to monitoring and evaluation that seems to have helped each and every one of the projects in achieving their objectives. Once again, it would seem premature to bring this lesson over to the mainstream. For one reason, the research techniques were

sufficient to identify the variables that seem to have produced relevant effects, but too fuzzy (as far as can be ascertained from their recent report) to sort out the various factors with respect to relative importance. Above, I have suggested that such a task - untangling the effects of the major variables - might make a justifiable special study. Pathfinder might be encouraged to undertake follow-up research in this regard.

RECOMMENDATION 26: Although it is not yet possible to suggest that the preliminary methodological findings be transferred to LAC Bureau mainstream activities, it is possible to suggest that the organizations involved - Population Council and The Pathfinder Fund - submit proposals for further funding, part of which would be used to refine the methodologies used and investigate how they best could be incorporated into the mainstream.

2. Innovations in training methods. In an Overseas Educational Fund project in Costa Rica and in the previously mentioned Pathfinder WID project, interesting findings emerged concerning training. In the former, low income women from San Jose, Costa Rica were provided not just with training, but with an integrated effort that combined: (a) training oriented toward income-producing activities, (b) immediate utilization of the training to gain income, and (c) "human development" training in assertiveness and other confidence-building techniques that gave the women the motivation to "go for it." A fourth component also can be discerned from the project documentation: efforts aimed at mollifying the women's menfolk - some of whom were initially opposed to the women's activities. Whether the reduction in male opposition came from project attempts to enlist their support, or their positive feelings about the income the women were bringing home before the project ended, cannot be ascertained from the available data.

In the Pathfinder project, the significant finding is that women who were subject to harassment and patronizing contempt when they trained in lucrative but non-traditional metal-working skills side by side with men eventually made amazing progress when the training was done in an all-female environment with a less condescending instructor.

The significance of the findings for the mainstream concern their potential application wherever the group being trained is at the bottom of the local totem pole: poor, landless men in an area of peasant family farmers might need the same combination of an "integrated package" training and a sheltered environment away from the competition and potential hostility of the local dominant group. Thus, these approaches might have broad applicability with the very poor, ethnic minorities, women, the handicapped, and other disadvantaged populations. Nonetheless, neither finding can be considered well enough confirmed to be recommended for mainstream adoption on a wholesale basis as yet. Rather:

RECOMMENDATION 27: Pilot-test the two training concepts found to be so successful in the WID projects to see if they promote successful outcomes with other disadvantaged groups such as the very poor, ethnic minorities, other groups of women, etc.

3. Identification of sector-specific constraints to participation in development projects. ICRW, in its 1982 report for the World Bank, outlined constraints to female participation in (a) credit, (b) shelter, and (c) training projects. While they did not explore these in a sex-disaggregated manner, and the list is not complete, it is extremely suggestive and useful. In fact, since they also explored how these constraints could be overcome via better arrangements of project delivery channels, and other ways of adjusting the project to eliminate the bars to female participation, their lessons only need replication and further explication to be immediately useful. In fact, I have suggested above that a parallel constraint analysis, done in a sex-disaggregated manner, be done for two additional development sectors: (a) rural development/agriculture, and (b) small and microenterprises. Therefore,

RECOMMENDATION 28: In order to begin quick translation of the extremely useful sectoral constraints to participation, the ICRW analysis should be replicated, on a sex-disaggregated rather than women-only basis, and extended to other major development sectors as well.

As a final point in this section, I would like to mention the findings of numerous health and nutrition projects. While the major emphasis of this report has been on ways to enhance women's economic integration, it would be counterproductive to concentrate exclusively on economically-oriented projects. One of the little known, and WID-relevant, surprise findings from many grass roots-oriented health, and nutrition/ga.3ening projects, is that they provide very positive effects for local women and girls. First, they provide jobs - often in the thousands (e.g., all the "barefoot doctor"-level health promotoras who typically implement the village-level components of the projects) Second, they provide village parents with a concrete example of what their daughters can achieve if they stay in school long enough to achieve literacy (the best of these projects do not impose artificially high educational requirements that freeze out most poor, especially rural, women). A number of evaluations or individuals associated with such assessments mentioned that there seems to be a positive effect on the school retention rates of village girls where these projects provide realistic options for local women. And, third, they provide the female promotoras themselves a good measure of community respect and increased self-esteem. These are significant and substantial benefits, and remind us that we must not adopt too narrow a definition of "women's integration into economic development."

Variables Involved in Successful Pathfinder WID Projects

- * participatory and analytic training
 - * professional skills training
 - * access to technical assistance
 - * use of modern equipment
- * participation in the formal economic sector³
 - * location of production site outside home
 - * generation of income
 - * group ownership by the participants
 - * self-management
- * financial self-sufficiency as a project goal

generated increased:

- * responsibility
- * competence
- * commitment
- * decision-making skills
- * sense of self-worth

which in turn led to:

- * more authority in the home and a change in gender relations and in the division of labor
 - * increased family welfare
- * increased activity by the women outside the home, e.g., literacy and other further education in the school system, civic activity
 - * generation of resources by women to provide child care
 - * a reduction of the "double day"

Increased responsibility and competence fed back into the project itself by facilitating self-sufficiency. The group enterprises themselves then affected the community by providing otherwise unavailable resources, including credit, jobs, increased income to retail sellers, and state and national attention. In this way, investment in the women proved to be an investment in community development.

³The term formal economic sector here means economic activity that is recognized as a business by the government, with all appropriate licenses for operation, that provides participants with social security and other benefits customary to the locale, and that pays taxes where appropriate. The informal sector is peripheral to the formal sector and outside the domain of governmental protection and legislated benefits such as minimum wage, social security, and insurance. Throughout most of Latin America and the Caribbean, it is understood that one who works in the informal sector is a second-class citizen. The projects in Jamaica, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Sorata, Honduras, are in the formal sector. The bakery in Charguita, Honduras, has applied for but has not yet received an operating license, is not taxed, and is not yet legally regulated in any way.