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A MATTER OF FOCUS:
THE INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN USAID AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS 1976 - 1984

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This evaluation is based on a review of 21 agricultural projects designed and implemented in 20 countries in Latin America and eastern and southern Africa between 1976 and 1984. In all countries women play a substantial if not the predominant role in agricultural production. In all countries those women who head their own households make and implement all agricultural production decisions. Eleven projects could be said to have benefited women in some way. Six of these projects (four of them WID projects) budgeted money for women's activities.

The available documentation (which proved to be a very unsatisfactory source of information on what actually occurred in projects) demonstrated that most USAID documents (particularly design documents) contain at least superficial mention of women, but that far fewer deal concretely with women's concerns either through disaggregating beneficiaries by gender or by specifying mechanisms by which women are to be reached.

Because of the paucity of information on project operations in the project documentation, no specific recommendations on project content could be made from the documentation. Instead, recommendations on content of agricultural projects have been made based on the author's ten years of field experience. The recommendations from the documentation mostly concern processes and mechanisms which will help to focus attention in the design and implementation phases on women's needs and women's contributions to the projects and on the means by which institutional support for the WID Office and WID concerns may be strengthened within USAID.

Many designs suffered from the lack of adequate and accurate information on women's role in agriculture. In a great number, discussions of women included in compliance with the Percy amendment were rarely more than boiler plate. In others, hopes that women would be included in and benefit from the project were substituted for detailed discussions of mechanisms for achieving this. To correct this, in every section of the Project Paper design teams should be required to answer specific questions about women's participation in agriculture (including the role of domestic maintenance) and about the mechanisms for reaching women. (This pattern should also apply to evaluations.) USAID should collect, index and make the necessary information available for this. The design process

should include enough time for thorough field assessment.

Projects which targeted funds to women were substantially more likely to benefit them. Targeting funds to women with mechanisms for ensuring that the funds are spent on time and only for women should become standard operating procedure. Small projects (or projects which can be broken into smaller components) which include women on the implementation team have a better chance of benefiting women. Longer implementation periods would be helpful. Title XII institutions involved in agricultural projects have tended to exclude or ignore their own WID experts and the information they provide. This must be corrected.

Attention to women in agricultural projects could be increased by greater institutional support for WID and the WID office. This could take the form of increased numbers of female Food and Agriculture officers, specific qualifications for WID officers, and the provision of adequate resources (adequate numbers of qualified staff and an adequate budget) and authority to the WID officer to provide information and monitor and backstop projects. Requiring WID Office sign-off for project approval would help reduce the number of projects which harm women.

The most manipulable component of most projects is training. Unlike many other project components, training can easily be monitored to ensure that women are involved. Women should be trained for skills and for professional advancement at all levels- on the farm, in national and sub-national training programs and in international degree programs. Special efforts should be made to ensure that women are trained in the fields that will have a maximum effect on national policy rather than concentrating women's training in fields perceived to be marginal or traditionally women's domain. Thus women should be receiving degrees in every technical and "hard science" field as well as economics. A fixed percentage of training slots at all levels and in all fields should be reserved for women.

Project designers must consider women's access to land, labor, credit, draft power, and extension services. They must also recognize that women's resources vary according to their socio-economic status, avoiding the error of designing projects for some undifferentiated mass of women. The integral part of domestic maintenance activities in agricultural production should be reflected in project design.

Summary Review

Over the past decade the female farmer who was once quite invisible in USAID projects has become a faint blurred image ever so slowly but surely coming into focus. This report analyzes 21 USAID agricultural projects (ten in Africa, eleven in Latin America) designed and implemented between 1976 and 1984. Four were WID projects, the remaining 17 were WID-integrated projects of which two (Ghana MIDAS and Bolivia Colonization) targeted funds directly to women. Details about the length, funding, staffing and activities can be found in the project profiles in Appendix A. These profiles also include "crucial questions" about the role of women in the project and the effect of the project on women.

It should be noted that the sample does not consist solely of village-level agricultural projects. The Botswana and Guyana Agricultural Planning Projects were both located in capital cities. Projects such as the Ecuador, Panama and Peru Integrated Rural Development Projects, the Africa Regional Improved Rural Technology Project, the Africa Regional WID Project, the Tanzania WID project, the Tanzania Arusha Regional and Village Development Project,the Bolivia Colonization Project and the Latin American Regional Technology Project all contained significant (sometimes only) non-agricultural components. Only six projects- the Ghana MIDAS Project, the Malawi WID Project, the Zaire 4-H project, the Bolivia Small Farmer Organization Project, the Haiti Small Farmer Project, and the Panama Fish Project can unambiguously be classified as village-level agricultural projects. The remaining 15 are connected in some way to the rural sector, sometimes to agriculture, but their locus and focus may be elsewhere.

A list of projects and summary information is provided in Table 1.

Table 1 Summary Project Descriptions[a]

Project	WID Success?[b]	Focus
Africa Reg. IRT	Isolated projects	Village
Africa Reg. WID	Some	Village
Botswana Ag. College	Some-female enrollement up	Institutional
Botswana Ag. Planning	Some- some women trained	Institutional
Ghana MIDAS	Some- ag. services delivered	Village, Inst.
Malawi WID	Yes-BEST PROJECT	Inst., Village
Tanzania ARVDP	Some village women trained	Inst., Village
Tanzania WID	Yes- women trained, method dev.	Village

Table 1 continued

Project	WID Success?[b]	Focus
Zaire INERA	No	Institutional
Zaire 4-H	Some- women members	Village
Bolivia Colonization	Some- extension to women	Village
Bolivia FSR	No	Institutional
Bolivia Small Farmer Org	No	Village
Caribbean Ag. Ext. II	No- women dropped from project	Inst. Village
Ecuador IRD	Can't tell	Village
Guyana Ag. Planning	No	Institutional
Haiti Small Farmer	No	Village, Inst
L.A. Regional Tech.	Potential	Village
Panama IRD	No	Village
Panama Fish	Potential	Village
Peru IRD	No-women hurt	Village, Inst.

Project	WID?	LOP Funds[c]	Implementing Agencies
Africa Reg. IRT	Integrated	6,100,000	USAID,TitleXII
Africa Reg. WID	WID	7,16,000	USAID, contractor, host country agency
Botswana Ag. College	Integrated	9,157,000	USAID, Title XII, Peace Corps, Host country institution Other donors
Botswana Ag. Planning	Integrated	4,779,000	USAID, USDA, Other US Agency ,host country institution
Ghana MIDAS	Integrated	38,070,000	USAID, contractor, host country institution
Malawi WID	WID	139,777	USAID, Title XII, PVO, host country institution
Tanzania ARVDP	Integrated	21,164,000	USAID, Contractor, host country institutions including village level institutions
Tanzania WID	WID	400,000	Cont., Host Count. Inst

Table I continued

Project	WID?	LOP Funds[c]	Implementing Agencies
Zaire INERA	Integrated	3,850,000	Contractor
Zaire 4-H	Integrated	18,000	PVO, Host Country Institution
Bolivia Colonization	Integrated	1,482,000	USAID, contractor, host country PVO, host country university
Bolivia FSR	Integrated	459,000	USAID, contractor Host country institutions, CIAT, IBTA, IICA
Bolivia Small Farmer Org	Integrated	11,647,000	USAID, contractor, host country inst.
Caribbean Ag. Ext. II	Integrated	5,930,000	USAID, Title XII, host country institution, host country university
Ecuador IRD	Integrated	5,754,000	USAID, Host country institutions, Other donors
Guyana Ag. Planning	Integrated	2,698,000	Host country institution
Haiti Small Farmer	Integrated	1,200,000	Host country institution
L.A. Regional Tech.	WID	687,000	Design doc. only
Panama IRD	Integrated	9,700,000	USAID, host country institution
Panama Fish	Integrated	1,142,000	USAID, contractor, host country institution
Peru IRD	Integrated	16,600,000	Title XII, host country institution

a. For a more complete description of each project, see Appendix A
b. "WID Success" was defined as some indication from either the project documents reviewed or personal knowledge that women had benefited in at least some minimal way from the project.
c. Source: USAID print-out for projects reviewed

Table 2. Activities Targeted to Women by Project

Project	Activities Targeted to Women
Africa Reg. IRT	
Africa Reg. WID	Research on women, production assistance
Botswana Ag. College	
Botswana Ag. Planning	
Ghana MIDAS	Short term in-country training, agricultural production assistance; proposed credit
Malawi WID	Research on women; on-farm trial sites; handbook on incorporating women into extension
Tanzania ARVDP	
Tanzania WID	Demonstration and testing of techniques
Zaire INERA	
Zaire 4-H	
Bolivia Colonization	Short term in-country training (home extension)
Bolivia FSR	
Bolivia Small Farmer Org	
Caribbean Ag. Ext. II	Course segment on women; research on women
Ecuador IRD	Research on women and girls, short term in-country training, credit (design document only)
Guyana Ag. Planning	
Haiti Small Farmer	
L.A. Regional Tech.	Research on women; data collection; establish demonstration sites
Panama IRD	

Project	Activities Targeted to Women
Panama Fish	
Peru IRD	

Table 3. Treatment of Gender in Projects Reviewed[a]

	Design (N=18)	Implementation (N=11)	Results (N=6)
Document mentions women	16	8	3
Mentions with detail	9	6	3
Mentions women's directly productive roles	14	3	2
Detail on production	7	-	-
Information on women is related to the project	9	-	-
Mentions women's indirectly productive roles	3	4	2
Mentions with detail	2	-	-
Anticipates effects on women's directly productive roles	2	-	-
Women's project role noted	5	7	1
Mostly non-sexist language	10	6	3
Beneficiaries by gender	3	3	2
Women on USAID team	7	5	1
Women on implementation team	-	4	-
Evaluates WID success	-	-	1

- Not Applicable

a. Source: USAID project documents

A summary of the attention paid to women in project documentation is presented in Table 3. Unfortunately complete documentation was not available for every project. As can be seen from the documents available, most USAID design and implementation documentation contains at least a superficial mention of women but few disaggregate beneficiaries by gender. One of the six evaluation (hereafter, results) documents was for a WID project. Four of the five non-WID results documents paid no attention to women at all. Just under half the projects had a woman on

the implementation team and a third or more of the USAID teams had at least one woman member. (It should be noted, however, that the same woman appeared repeatedly on Africa teams).

II. ANALYSIS

Because of the very poor quality of the documentation available, it was almost impossible to tell what had been done in most projects, let alone what had worked. (On the subject of the quality of USAID documentation, see U.S. Congress, 1984: 61-63.) Documentation available contained very few clues about mechanisms (that is, specific actions undertaken in implementating the project) and project content which elicit the participation of women necessary for project success and would ensure that women benefit from projects. Thus, this analysis has been broken into two overlapping parts.

The first part, based primarily on my field experience and research (nearly ten years working primarily at the village level in Tanzania, Botswana and Kenya and a very brief period in Mexico), suggests mechanisms to ensure that women are included in and benefit from agricultural projects.

The second part which has three sections, is based both on my field experience and on the project documents. It consists of prescriptions for project design and implementation and for institutional structures and processes which will help focus attention on women's roles and which might result in the systematic incorporation of women into agricultural projects. A deliberate effort has been made to suggest multiple and overlapping channels for action which will have a cumulative effect.

Some readers may wish to consult the bibliography which, although by no means exhaustive, covers all topics mentioned here.

1. Suggested Mechanisms for Incorporating Women in Agricultural Projects

Agricultural projects commonly encounter three kinds of problems in relation to women. They may hurt women by adding to their labor burden or by reducing or destroying their access to or control of resources. They may fail to reach or exclude women from participation in the project. Women may reject technologies and practices proposed because they conflict with their needs or require resources that they do not have. In all

three cases, the result is a reduction in the effectiveness of the project. Sometimes, these problems will lead to the failure of the project.

If women are to be incorporated into agricultural projects, five general rules seem important.

Not always necessary why?

1) Every project should target certain funds and activities directly to women. (See Section 2.9).

2) Every project should have at least one woman on the implementation team. (See Section 3.4).

3) Projects should have multiple mechanisms for reaching women in different socio-economic strata. All women are not alike and not all female-headed households are alike. What works for one kind of household will not be feasible for other kinds of households (Cf. Fortmann, 1984).

4) Projects should not lose sight of the fact that women's agricultural roles include animal husbandry, agroforestry, and forestry activities.

5) Projects which deal with women's production may require supporting research in such fields as agroforestry, small stock management, compound gardening, crop wastes and so on.

In addition, the following mechanisms for incorporating women into agricultural projects could be considered.

1.1 Avoid adverse effects on women's roles and women's control of and access to productive resources

Agricultural development projects sometimes have the effect of shifting control of resources and productive roles to men. The first step both for avoiding these adverse effects and for augmenting positive effects is to have a very clear understanding of the production system and women's role in it and in activities related to it. A second step is the use of a consultative techniques- talking with women (from all relevant socio-economic strata), finding out their priorities, getting their reactions to project proposals. While this requires a fair amount of field time, it is time well-spent (See Recommendation 17).

1.2 Training for Skills and Advancement

Training is the most readily manipulable variable available to project designers. Unlike many other forms of assistance to women, training can be effectively monitored. Training can serve three purposes:

(1) increasing the number of women who are competent in a given field or task (2) providing women who will serve as role models for other women (3) placing women in decision- and policy-making roles who can look out for the needs of women. (See the Tanzania ARVDP Profile on this.)

— Agricultural projects can include training for women at many levels.

1) On the farm: on-farm trials should be located on women's fields and extension workers should visit women farmers

2) Sub-national: women should be included in farmer training classes and field days

3) National: women should be trained as agricultural extension workers including veterinary and poultry specialists

4) National and International Degree Training: women should be candidates for advanced degrees in all agricultural fields. why?

If training is to reach women, child care and separate eating and sleeping facilities should be provided as needed. In some cases courses should be held separately for women or women should have an opportunity for discussion away from the men (Cf. Fortmann and Rocheleau, 1985). Similarly, women should be protected from sexual harrassment in training situations. It is also important, particularly in the case of degree level training to select subject areas which will have the maximum effect. Not only is it important to ensure that women are represented in all fields of technical training (instead of just social science and home economics), but it is also crucial that women be trained in those fields which have particular influence on policy making. Presently, in many countries one of these fields is economics. Thus, it should be a priority to give as many women from those countries as possible the best possible training in economics.

Because of both the importance and the verifiable nature of training, tight control should be maintained over training slots. In the past 7 years only 16 to 18 percent of trainees from Africa were women (U.S. Congress, 1984:11). A certain percentage of training slots should be reserved for women and those slots should be left unfilled if women are "not available." (See Recommendation 19; see also, U.S. Congress, 1984:11).

1.3 Addressing the Problem of Access to Resources

In nearly every region of the world women have been shown to be disadvantaged in their access to the resources necessary for production. It should be noted that societal structures and trends

(fragmentation of land holdings, population pressure, mechanization, outmigration) may be responsible for or may aggravate women's unequal access to resources. Thus the following mechanisms can not be implemented without a thorough understanding both of women's role in the production system and of the social forces which effect both the production system and women's role in it. In this regard, it is particularly important to note that women are not all alike and that it is therefore necessary to differentiate the status and participation of women in different economic strata.

a) Land: The processes by which land moves within a kin group or a community are not readily manipulable by outside donors. Further, it should be recognized that the problems of the landless may often be best addressed by projects outside of the agricultural sector. Still the problem might be approached in three ways (Recommendation 4):

1) To encourage women's organizations to obtain land to be used as collectively.

2) To encourage small gardens in home compounds where labour intensive (and in the presence of a market, high value) crops could be grown.

3) Should land reform take place, ensure that women's customary rights to land are institutionalized in the reform.

b) Extension advice and services: Most evidence suggests that women are less likely to be contacted than men by extension workers (Staudt, 1975/76; Barres et al., 1976;Fortmann, 1981; Ghana MIDAS Profile herein. Although there is some evidence that richer female-headed households are more likely to have extension contact than poorer male-headed household (Fortmann, 1984). Women in Niger interviewed by Barres et al. (1976:34) noted that agricultural inputs which are brought to a village by a male extension worker are invariably given only to men. Women's contact with extension and access to the goods and services extension workers provide might be increased in four ways (Recommendation 5):

1) Train more women as extension workers. (See also, U.S. Congress, 184:12)

2) Utilize alternative channels to reach women. These might include women's organizations and home extension services which traditionally have taught Western homemaking skills. This approach was tried in the Ghana Midas Project and appeared to have had at least some

success at the time of the mid project evaluation. Unfortunately there was no mention of women in final project documents, so the outcome cannot be determined (See also Jiggins, 1983:45-50).

3) Train and encourage all extension workers to assist women. This approach was tried in the Malawi WID project and seemed to be having a positive effect. Ultimately this should include incorporation of the question of women and agriculture into the extension curriculum. (See also, U.S. Congress, 1984:12).

4) Base extension programs on recommendation domains (as used in the Collinson school of farming systems research) or segmented targets based on access to a variety of resources (See Jiggins, 1983:70-73). If the recommendation domains or targets are carefully identified, women will fall into a number of different groups (not one group labeled "women"!!) with special constraints which need to be addressed. In some cases women and men who lack certain resources may be in the same domain or target. In other cases, a domain or target might consist primarily or exclusively of women. Research as well as extension should be directed towards these domains.

c) Credit: Even when they are not jural minors, women have a difficult time obtaining credit (Dietel). Two means might be tried to get credit to women (Recommendation 6):

1) Undertake a special credit programme targeted to women or designate a certain percentage of funds for women

2) Focus credit on women's groups particularly women's savings groups. A project of this sort is currently being undertaken in Nepal and bears investigation.

d) Draft Power: Women have also been shown to have reduced access to draft power. Three ways of solving this might be tried (Recommendation 7):

1) Special loans to buy cattle (or tractors).

2) Special loans to hire draft power, similar to the loans suggested in Ghana MIDAS for hiring labor. Such loans might be made to groups of women as well as to individuals.

3) Developing alternative cropping systems which are intensive rather than extensive, thereby reducing the amount of land to be plowed.

e) Labor. Female household heads have been shown to have smaller

families (and therefore less labor) than male household heads. This labor gap might be filled in three ways (Recommendation 8):

1) Special loans for hiring labor as suggested in the Ghana MIDAS project

2) Cooperative women's labor groups based on traditional labor exchange groups

3) Developing labour-saving technologies which can be used and afforded by small-scale farmers

1.4 Addressing Problems Peculiar to Women Farmers

Unlike their male counterparts, women farmers must undertake all their own domestic maintenance work- gathering fuelwood, fetching water, childcare, cooking, cleaning, etc. This reduces the amount of time they have for directly productive activities. Further, certain kinds of new technology- pesticides which have to be dissolved in water and exotic breeds of cattle and poultry- are water-consuming, increasing the amount of time women must spend carrying water. Three means of addressing this problem should be pursued:

1) Projects such as water, child care, and fuelwood, which have been classified as "welfare" projects must be redefined as directly productive projects and included as components in agricultural projects (See Recommendation 9).

2) More attention should be given to developing labor saving domestic technology. (Recommendation 8)

3) The division of labor required for the implementation of any crop or technology should be determined before it is introduced. Technologies and crops which greatly increase women's workload should be avoided or revised or means of compensating women for their additional labor should be found. For example, pest control methods which do not require large amounts of water should be used instead of those which do. Similarly "cut and carry" fodder hedges will be of little benefit to women who have to do all the cutting and carrying. (Recommendation 10)

1.5 Addressing the problems of storing, marketing and processing agricultural goods

In many cultures, women undertake one or more of these roles.

Processing foodstuffs can be a cottage industry for women (Rocheleau) which provides them with an important source of cash. Marketing can serve the same function. These roles can be adversely affected by the general belief that it is only men who deal in the cash sector. Some approaches to augmenting women's post-harvest roles might include:

1) Aiding individual market women or women's marketing groups with bookkeeping training, small loans, transportation and so on.

2) Improving processing technology and developing markets for these products.

2 The Process of Project Design

Although we can expect women to fare reasonably well in certain kinds of projects such as health and nutrition, agricultural projects are less likely to include women for the following reasons:

a. Agricultural scientists both in USAID and in the host country ministries of agriculture put their emphasis on plant and animal species, machinery and related technologies rather than focusing on people.

b. When they do think about people, they think about male farmers and male extension agents.

c. There are still relatively few women professionals in the technical

agricultural fields to force men to think about women.

d. Women professionals in agriculture receive the same training and have the same cultural backgrounds as male professionals and therefore are equally likely to ignore people.

2.1 The General Need for Social Information in Agricultural Projects

The major problem in a number of project designs examined in this evaluation was the lack of knowledge of how agriculture worked in the country in question. Perhaps the most outstanding was the Haiti Small Farmer Improvement Project which was based on the quite erroneous assumption that peasant farmers engaged in commercial coffee production.[1] Similarly the Zaire INERA project design team failed to recognize that bananas and cassava were major crops in the area.

Associated with this is the failure to consult project beneficiaries although this is perhaps more honest than the type of "consultation" which involves a quick leap out of a speeding landrover. The result of the prevalent method of project design is that problems are solved that are not perceived as problems by the would-be beneficiaries. Failure to consult beneficiaries literally led to rioting in the streets in the case of the Panama Integrated Rural Development Project. Similarly, the Lara Skills Development Project (a subproject of the Africa Regional Women in Development Project) was based on handicrafts production when the women wanted assistance with gardens and palm oil extraction in order to earn cash and the Tivaouane Project (a sub-project of the Africa Regional Women in Development Project) failed to consult women about trees suitable for cultivation in the area. In contrast the Tanzania Arusha Women's Participation in Development Project, the Tanzania Arusha Regional and Village Development Project, and the Latin America Regional Appropriate Technologies for Rural Women in Latin America Project were all based on a process of consultation with would-be beneficiaries to

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1. For additional information on this and other projects mentioned in the text, consult the Project Profiles in Appendix A. These Profiles list crucial questions which might have effected project success and/or the effect on women. Unfortunately the quality of the information in project documents was so poor that it was impossible to determine in most case the extent to which the inclusion or exclusion of women affected project success.

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Further associated with this is the failure to perceive that the would-be beneficiaries are not a homogeneous mass of "them" but rather are differentiated by gender, class, production system and so on. In no project document was this issue addressed. (Recommendation 12)

2.2 The Specific Need for Information and Action with Regard to Women

One reason why women's concerns have not been addressed in many USAID projects is that, with the exception of the limited requirements of the Percy Amendment, design and implementation teams have not had to

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address these issues nor do many of them have the wherewithall to do so.

The agency must require that these issues be systematically addressed and provide the means for doing so.

Presently most designs of agricultural projects are done without adequate (or sometimes any) information on women and women's roles in agriculture. USAID has not established any means by which this information can be systematically and reliably provided. To remedy this situation the following steps must be taken.

2.3 Collect and index available information disaggregated by gender

The need to include women as active participants and beneficiaries in USAID programs has already been documented for many countries and sectors. Thus, the major remaining task is assembling and indexing the existing information. The literature needs to be carefully and systematically indexed by country, by production system, by type of project, by processes and channels used to reach women, by characteristics of women (age, class, sex of household head, ethnic group), and by dominant cultural institutions. Mechanisms for reaching women described in projects evaluated here- the addition of agricultural extension to traditional women's extension (Ghana MIDAS Project); on-farm trials on women's fields (Malawi WID); and consultation with groups of women to determine what action should be taken (Tanzania Women's Participation in Development Project and Latin American Regional Appropriate Technologies for Rural Women in Latin America Project) - are but three of such mechanisms which bear dissemination for further trial. Again, at least some of this has been done. The WID office should identify the holes in its collection. The field studies for this evaluation might be used to fill some of these holes. This process of collecting and indexing information might be done by the WID Office, the USAID documentation system, or by universities under contract. (See Henderson, *et al.*, 1982; Coleman, 1983.) One underutilized source of information is the Women and Food Network collection located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Country-specific information might best be kept in the individual missions with back-up copies kept in a USAID documentation center. Information on mechanisms and strategies might be kept by the WID office or by the USAID documentation center (Recommendation 13)

2.4 Require Specific Information on Women

Women's concerns would have a better chance of being addressed if

design teams were required to answer specific questions. Under the current requirements, the quantity and quality of the consideration given to women's issues is at the discretion of the design team as long as something is there. The WID office should draft such a check list for various kinds of projects in different areas of the world. A working example of such a check list can be found in Kathleen Cloud's "Women's Productivity in Agricultural Systems: Considerations for Project Design." (Recommendation 15).

2.5 Require Information on Women and the Identification of Mechanisms for Reaching Them in Each Sector Analysis

In most project designs any mention of women is in the Social Soundness Analysis where it is seldom,if ever, read. Even if women are considered, most projects suffer from a very serious design flaw which might be termed the Fallacy of the Pious Hope- the failure to specify the processes or mechanisms by which the project components are going to be brought about. Examples of this occurred in the Tanzania Arusha Regional and Village Development Project, the Haiti Small Farmer Improvement and Small Farmer Marketing Projects, the Panama Integrated Rural Development Project, the Upper Volta Silkworm and Vegetal Tannin Study Project, and the Bolivia Small Farmer Organization Project. Frequently this means that these things simply do not happen, particularly if those things involve anything at all controversial or new, i.e., anything involving women. In contrast the Ghana Midas Project specified multiple mechanisms for including women in project activities and benefits although it too failed to specify mechanisms for the inclusion of market women.

Designs which are intended to include women frequently forget to include the infrastructure which would allow them to participate- sleeping and eating place, child care and so on (Botswana Agricultural College Extension Project, for example). Designs also often require women to possess resources or attributes which they don't have in order to participate: literacy, ability to get credit, ownership (or right to) land in their own right, draft power, labor, free time. And most, if not all, agricultural designs assume that all households are headed by males and that all women belong to a male-headed household. Frequently designers fail to perceive that poor women control and use resources differently from richer women and that female household heads may behave differently from women in male-headed households.

To prevent this, a women's checklist should be compiled for every

sector including the logframe not just the social soundness analysis. In an agricultural project, for example, the economic analysis should include a consideration of the cost of women's labor, of the economic contribution of women's maintenance activities to agricultural projects, and the economic status of female-headed households and how these are relevant to the project. The technical analysis should include what crops women grow, what tasks they perform, and what resources and technologies they use and how this is relevant to the project. The institutional analysis should consider the role of women in the relevant ministries, the role of any women's bureau, and village level women's institutions and how they are relevant to the project. These checklists should include the infrastructure necessary to allow women to participate (sleeping and eating quarters, child care and so on). The Questions in the Project Profiles in Appendix A to this report provide one model of what a checklist might contain. Another can be found in Kathleen Cloud's " Women's Productivity in Agricultural Systems: Considerations for Project Design" which is already in use as an USAID training document (Recommendations 12 and 15).

2.6 The Importance of Domestic Maintenance to Agricultural Production

Most design teams fail to recognize that domestic maintenance (housework) activities contribute to agricultural production. (The only exceptions among these projects were the Tanzania Arusha Regional and Village Develoment Project and the Latin American Regional Women in Development Project.) A corollary of this is that most agricultural design teams fail to recognize the need to spend time on domestic maintenance as a constraint on the time spent on agriculture. Indeed, the assumption of many project designers seems to be that rural people, particularly women, have a boundless supply of surplus labor available to work on the project. Further, many teams fail to see that women's role as water carriers may well be made more arduous by water-using technologies such as water-soluble insecticides and herbicides, high grade cattle which require women to carry more water. (Shapiro (1978) describes a Tanzanian cotton project which failed when women refused to carry the additional water necessary for spraying at a time which conflicted with their own maize farming.) There is a clear need for agricultural project designers to address the interaction between directly productive agricultural work and indirectly productive domestic maintenance tasks, something which design teams should be explicitly required to do (Recommendation 16).

2.7 Provide Information

One way of facilitating careful consideration of women's issues is to give design teams the information they need. The WID office should provide a briefing packet for every design team. One option would be to provide a country-specific looseleaf handbook on women for every mission. Design teams could then be given information on the inclusion of women in projects similar to what they are designing elsewhere. A model for this can be found in the briefing books being produced on a project by project basis by CID (See Henderson, et al., 1982; Coleman, 1983) (Recommendation 14).

2.8 Insist on good designers with plenty of field time

A woman on the design team is no guarantee that women will be considered. A woman was one of two authors of the Bolivia Farming Systems Research Project (a project which by rights should have focused at the household level) and women are not mentioned once in the Project Paper. Similarly a woman was on the Peru IRD design team, but women's issues are not addressed. Thus, while insisting that women be on every team has its merits, it is not necesarily a solution to the problem at hand and women on the implementation team may have a greater effect.

Ideally, there should be team members in all project phases who have been trained to go into the field and see what is actually going on. Such people are generally social scientists or people who have been trained to work as part of a multi-disciplinary team. The existing schedules for all phases of USAID projects do not allow serious and sensitive field work to be done. In part women are invisible or inadequately treated because design teams do not spend time in the field (Recommendation 17).

2.9 Target Funds to Women

Trageting funds to women means that specific amounts of money have been allocated to women's components in the project. The following projects targeted funds to women: Africa Regional Women in Development, Tanzania Arusha Women's Participation in Development, Bolivia Colonization Consolidation in the Bolivian Sub-tropics, Malawi Women in Agricultural Development, Ghana MIDAS, and Latin America Regional Appropriate Technologies for Rural Women. Only two of the six are not WID projects. Five other projects appear to have benefited women to one degree or another. They are the Arusha Regional and Village Development

Project, Botswana Agricultural College Expansion, Botswana Agricultural Planning, Africa Regional Appropriate Technology, and the Zaire 4-H projects. Their success can be explained by 1) the presence of women on the implementation team, 2) the presence of women on the evaluation team, 3) the presence of a host country government department head with a large number of women and a host country government department head sympathetic to women, 4) the consultative style of appropriate technology projects, and 5) the small scale of the Zaire project.

Thus over half of the projects which benefited women targeted funds directly to them. The benefits to women in other projects were explained by factors which are atypical in USAID projects. Thus, in the context of the average USAID project it would appear that an effective way to ensure that women are involved and receive benefits would be to target non-transferable funds directly to them. Thus a farming systems project would be required to do a set number of on-farm experiments on the fields of female-headed households. A set percentage of loans in credit programs would be reserved for women. Construction programs would be required to hire a quota of women. A certain number of training slots (preferably half) would be reserved for women. Funds not spent on women would not be authorized for expenditure on other purposes (Recommendations 18 and 19).

2.10 WID Office or WID Officer Approval for Implementation

The most effective way of ensuring that women are seriously considered in all projects is to require the WID office or WID officers in the agency to sign off on all projects before they are approved. In this way at least those projects which are clearly going to harm women could be stopped. (Implications for the levels of funding and staffing for WID positions are dealt with later in this report.)

3. The Process of Project Implementation and Evaluation

The best design in the world is no guarantee that the project will be a success. Indeed, project implementors may (as in the case of the Ecuador IRD project and the Zaire INERA Support Project) ignore part or all of the design. If women are to be included in project implementation, deliberate efforts to focus attention on them must be made. Project implementation will have a better chance of succeeding if the following factors are considered.

3.1 Adequate Implementation Period

Many designs lock projects into inappropriate time frames (See U.S. Congress, 1984:59). While extensions may occur, as in the Botswana Agricultural College Expansion project, it is more likely that they do not or not for long enough. The time frame is important because neither host country bureaucracies nor the processes of village level decision making operate at the pace necessary for short project implementation periods.

Host country bureaucracies are often characterized by a system of transfers which sends bureaucrats whizzing through the landscape without time to master local problems. Each time a new official is assigned to a postion which affects the project there will be a period of learning which slows everything down. Further, few host country officials will have the time to respond quickly and effectively to the requests of a project if it is programmed into an unrealistic schedule. Most must deal with donor demands for time and information and because donor coordination is virtually non-existent and institutional memories roughly equal to two to four year tours of duty, the same information is requested time and again. Most host country bureaucrats are overextended and under-supported. A strong donor temptation is to overcome this by setting up parallel institutions, but these usually collapse with the withdrawal of donor funding. (One of the admirable points of both the Malawi Women in Agricultural Development Project and the Latin America Regional Appropriate Technologies for Rural Women Project is that they both relied on the existing bureaucracy.) A better solution is to allow more time for project implementation. This may prove especially necessary for village women. Projects which are not in a hurry can allow them to participate in their own way and in their own time (Recommendation 20).

3.2 Level of Funding

Megaprojects are not sensitive to local issues and local diversity and therefore are often inappropriate along a number of dimensions, only one of which is the role of women. Three of the four best projects reviewed were funded for less than a million dollars-one of them for about $140,000 and one of them for $18,000. Six of the eleven projects which could be said to have benefited women were either small projects or large projects broken into a number of smaller projects.

All of the remaining large projects included attention to women: targeted funds (Ghana MIDAS and Bolivia Colonization); female implementation staff (Tanzania ARVDP); a female evaluator who addressed

the women's issue (Botswana Agricultural College Expansion); a section with many women employees and a sympathetic section head (Botswana Agricultural Planning). Some of these focusing mechanisms are discussed elsewhere in this report. Small scale can thus be achieved by designing a small project or designing a small, relatively autonomous component within a megeproject (Recommendation 21).

3.3 Personnel: Some General Considerations

Personnel can make or break a project. The quality of project personnel including language ability proved to be a major plus in the Tanzania Arusha Regional and Village Development Project and the Malawi Women in Agricultural Development Project. In contrast, the quality of project personnel proved to be a serious problem in the Zaire INERA project. The lack of language ability was mentioned in the Zaire INERA Project and the Bolivia Small Farmer Organization Project. Language ability is often especially crucial with women who are often less likely than men to speak a second or third language. Lack of experience and technical incompetance are serious problems and seemed especially to affect the design and implementation of the Africa Regional Women in Development Project and the design of the Haiti Small Farmer Improvement and Small Farmer Marketing Project.

Title XII contractors have suffered from a special set of problems in regards to personnel. First, field experience counts for little,in the reward system of most universities. Thus there is little incentive for most university staff to be involved with an USAID project. Second, for the most part, those who do go are often limited to two years which is about the time needed to figure out what is going on. Thus, it is rare that university staff will reach their maximum effectiveness on a project. Third, because of the first two factors, universities, which do participate in Title XII, may send their less productive rather than their more experienced faculty. Further, the politics of Title XII can lead to the selection of inappropriate project personnel based on institutional affiliation rather than competence or experience. The issue is important to women's projects because although American academic institutions include women with expertise and experience in women and development, Title XII projects have often excluded them and/or ignored their advice. There is some evidence that steps are being taken to remedy these problems; USAID should strongly support and encourage further progress in this regard.

3.4 Female Personnel

Women on the project implementation team have been a key factor focusing attention on women's needs and issues although it is not a guarantee that women's issues will be addressed. The presence of women on the Tanzania Arusha Regional and Village Development Project implementation team made the critical difference in the degree to which women were considered. On the whole women are more sensitive to women's issues than men. Further, women are better able to talk with women, particularly where there are cultural restrictions on the interaction between men and women. Women personnel are also less likely to believe the local myths about women. Despite the realities of agricultural production, many local cultures perpetrate the myth that only men are farmers and women are not to be taken seriously as farmers or decision makers. What a male informant says about women is often -untrue- often because of erroneous perceptions and cultural myths rather than outright lies. Thus when the male agronomist speaks to his male colleague in the Ministry of Agriculture, his beliefs are reinforced. Women are more likely to have female informants and to question the local myths. Finally, women on the implementation team provide an important role model for host country women participating in the project as implementors or beneficiaries. For all these reasons, efforts should be made to include more women on implementation teams particularly in technical positions (Recommendation 22). Women on evaluation teams can also help focus attention on women.

3.5 Timetables for Women's Components

Another means of ensuring attention to women during implementation is to establish timetables for the implementation of women's components. The expenditure of other funds should be made contingent upon this timetable. For example, if half the training slots in a four year project are reserved for women and half the women trainees should have been sent by the end of year two, it could be agreed that no additional male trainees may be sent until the women's quota is filled. Such tied timetables would encourage project implementors to consider project components directed at women with due seriousness.

3.6 Require Specific Information on Women

Evaluation teams focus their attention on trouble spots, areas of

outstanding success and areas they are directed to look at. If they are directed to look at women, they will. In order to focus attention on women in evaluations, the WID office should draw up a checklist for various kinds of projects in various countries (Recommendation 15)

4. Institutional Factors

Possibly the most important factor affecting the success of USAID projects is the structure of USAID itself.

4.1 Rewards for moving money rather than for project success

The comment in the evaluation of the Africa Regional IRT project that USAID officers hate small projects has been noted repeatedly in the development literature along with the explanation that small projects require as much paperwork as large projects and the system rewards those who move large amounts of money. When personnel are rewarded for designing and implementing successful projects, more effort may be put into making projects -large and small- work. Too often costly projects are implemented because they are technologically or ideologically fashionable despite repeated examples which caution against them on the bases of both efficiency and effectiveness. (Recommendation 21)

4.2 The System of Transfers

A second institutional problem is the policy of transferring people after a short period of time in a country. This is aggravated by the factors which bind many USAID employees to their desks, meaning that the only local women many USAID employees are likely to meet (depending the local culture) are their servants and/or their secretaries. They only rarely meet women who farm, fish, or raise cattle. This leaves many male USAID employees singularly vulnerable to myths about women and unlikely to pick up inaccuracies or inadequacies regarding women in project documents.

4.3 The Gender of Food and Agricultural Officers

Isolation and lack of information is aggravated by the fact that so few of the USAID staff involved with agriculture are women.To the best of my knowledge, although there are a small number of junior female agricultural personnel, there is only one female Food and Agricultural

Officer in the entire USAID system. Recruitment of more women for Food and Agriculture positions would increase the likelihood of women's issues being addressed in agricultural projects (Recommendation 23; see also, U.S. Congress, 1984:11).

4.4 Institutional Support for Women in Development

Probably the major factor explaining why there are so few projects which include and benefit women is the lack of support in the Agency for the Women in Development Office or the women in development effort. There appear to be few rewards in the agency for initiating projects that benefit women or penalties for initiating projects that harm them.

For example, in the Haiti project, the project identification document led to a cable from Washington expressing concern about the effect on women. The only response was to put a few soothing words about women into the Project Paper. The designers obviously had not taken the initial query seriously because not only did they get the information about women wrong, they got the information about the whole farming system wrong. Nonetheless, the project was duly approved and implemented.

A second indication is the MUCIA Caribbean agricultural extension project in which women were deliberately excluded from the Phase II design team and improving the status of women in agriculture was dropped as a project goal. No one, including the WID office, queried this remarkable event.

A third indication is the fact that most USAID staff including a WID officer interviewed for this evaluation could not provide any information on women in the projects reviewed.

Unfortunately to date the WID office has not succeeded in putting WID on the Agency agenda. Moreover, it has had to function with an inadequate budget and staff, and without the support of colleagues in the Agency. While supportive colleagues can be found, institutional support has continued to be inadequate and even counterproductive. The following paragraphs address the issue of the institutional support necessary to ensure the success of WID efforts.

4.4.1 Establish Qualifications for WID Officers

An erroneous notion in the Agency is that gender qualifies one as a WID officer. It does not. Criteria should be established for the position of WID officer. The following criteria, among others, might be considered:

a) Has worked in the field on a women's project or with women's groups
b) Has worked in the field in a women's bureau
c) Has a degree in women's studies, sociology or anthropology
d) Has undertaken Masters or Doctoral research on women's issues (Recommendation 24).

4.4.2 Provide Adequate Resources to the WID Office

Seriousness about WID must be reflected in the budget and the size of the WID staff. The performance of the WID office in a number of the projects evaluated here has been less than satisfactory: failure to defend WID projects in the bureaucracy, to ensure that WID projects were properly designed or implemented, and to transfer the lessons from one project to another. However, given existing levels of support, managing to do all these things would have been nothing less than miraculous. The WID office requires a staff and budget large enough to allow it to establish a complete and retrievable collection of documents, influence design processes, monitor and provide support services to WID projects and the WID components of other projects, and follow up projects in the field (Recommendations 25 and 26; see also, U.S. Congress, 1984:11).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Because of their poor quality, it was not possible to make recommendations about project mechanisms in the agricultural sector from the available documents. However, problems with the USAID design and implementation process became abundantly clear in the documentation. For this reason, the recommendations have been divided into two sections. The first section on agricultural projects is drawn from my own experience. The second section on the process of project design and implementation is drawn from project documents as well as my experience. It should be noted that succesful implemenation of the recommendations in the first part depend on implementation of recommendations in the second part.

Recommendations for the Agricultural Sector

1. Research in such fields as agroforestry, small stock management,

compound gardens, and food storage and processing should be undertaken. (p 43, 62, 69)

2. Training should be provided to women at four levels:

a) On the farm: on-farm trials should be located on women's fields and extension workers should visit women farmers

b) Sub-national: women should be included in farmer training classes and field days

c) National: women should be trained as agricultural extension workers including veterinary and poultry specialists

d) National and International Degree Training: women should be candidates for advanced degrees in all agricultural fields. (p 7-8,38,41,44)

3. All training programs including women should provide child care, seperate eating and sleeping facilities, and protection from sexual harassment as needed. In some cases separate courses should be held for women or women should have an opportunity for discussion away from the men. (p 8, 37-38, 50)

4. Women should be guaranteed access to and ownership of land in their own right. Existing tradition rights to land should be maintained. (p 9, 56, 70)

5. Women's access to extension services should be improved by

a) Training more women as extension workers.

b) Utilizing alternative channels to reach women

c) Training and encouraging all extension workers to assist women

d) Basing extension recommendations on carefully drawn recommendation domains (p 9-10, 42, 72)

6. Mechanisms for providing women with credit should be established. (p 10,29, 42, 59, 62, 66, 70-71)

7. Either women should be provided with access to draft power or farming technologies which have reduced requirements for draft power should be introduced. (p 10)

8. Means of providing women, particularly female household heads with labor, should be established and research in labor-saving technologies (including domestic technology) undertaken. (p 10-11,42, 67)

18. When women are included in beneficiary populations, project designers should target non-transferable funds to them. (p 17-18, 50)

19. In projects involving training for activities to which women have or deserve access (both in-country and overseas), half the slots should be reserved for women even though they do not currently represent half of the candidate pool. (p 8, 18, 37, 49)

20. The life of the project should be adapted to the pace of villagers and host country officials. (p 19)

21. More money should be disbursed to implementing agencies which are more sensitive to local issues and to institutions including women. Less emphasis should be placed on large projects. A reward system should be established within the Agency which recognizes project success for beneficiaries rather than dollar amounts. (p 19-20, 22, 52)

22. A greater effort should be made to include women on implementation teams, particularly in technical positions. (p 21, 49)

23. More women should be recruited into Food and Agriculture positions. (p 22-23)

24. WID officers and staff of the WID office should be nominated for their demonstrated effectiveness in WID policy implementation. (p 23-24, 45)

25. The WID office and WID officers throughout the agency should be provided with the personnel and budget to do an adequate job. (p 24)

26. A careful analysis of attitudes and rewards in USAID would help identify the points of leverage that exist and those which must be changed in order to bring about greater attention to women's issues. (p 24, 45, 60)

APPENDIX A: PROJECT PROFILES

INTRODUCTORY NOTES TO PROJECT PROFILES

1. The information on female-headed households is from Mayra Buvinic, Nadia Youssef and Barbara von Elm. 1978. "Women-headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning". Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women. While these data are imperfect, they do indicate an order of magnitude and hence have been included.

2. The choice of the four best projects was based on their "WID Success"- the actual transfer of resources to women, the involvement of women in project processes, and training of women. Of the four, only the Malawi WID project is unambiguously successful.

3. The choice of the three worst projects was based on a number of criteria. The Zaire INERA project was very badly implemented for male and female alike. The Haiti project was incompetently designed and was based on a misunderstanding of the agricultural production system. The Panama project was designed in a country with roughly 40 percent female-headed households with practically no consideration of women.

4. The Arusha women's project is included as a model of an appropriate process for project design and implementation although it is not, strictly speaking, an agricultural project.

ARUSHA PROJECT PROFILES

PROJECT: Improved Rural Technology
PROJECT NUMBER: 698-0407
COUNTRY: Africa Regional
FUNDING: $1,000,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1978 -1982
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: Project activities will promote innovations in local technology systems in such areas as agriculture, food processing, village water supplies, energy construction, health and information exchange. The project will assist in the promotion, design, and exchange of information

concerning improved rural technology.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: Botswana: Approximately 40 percent; Liberia approximately 17 percent; Togo: approximately 20 percent
FEMALE PERSONNEL: One woman on evaluation team.

A telling note from project evaluators:

> Because of the Agency's overriding concern with obligating large amounts of money, there is an antipathy to small projects. This antipathy was most apparent in the budget office of the Bureau for African (AFR/DP) and among REDSO..

Little attention was paid to women in the evaluation because the evaluators focused on other issues. The evaluation was undertaken in conjunction with a WID evaluation and evaluators were sensitive to and sensible about women's issues. Thus this provides us with a good indication of why women may not appear in the documentation. Women are said to be involved in the Botswana Sorghum milling production project and to spend the time they save using the sorghum mill in income earning activities. I am afraid that my own experience with that project leads me to question the accuracy of that claim. The sorghum dehuller was a excellent idea but each dehuller had to be individually debugged. It really was not such a successful bit of machinery. In Togo the difficulties village women had in headloading sand and gravel from a dry river bed to the project site led to the construction of a bridge by the village.

QUESTIONS:

1) What projects were undertaken?
2) How was women's labour involved?
3) Were technologies designed with the specific purpose of easing women's labour?
4) Was the effect of the technology on employment considered?
5) Were women consulted on their need for technology?
6) What arrangements including availability of credit were made to enable the women to have access to new technology?

PROJECT TITLE: Africa Women in Development
PROJECT NUMBER: 698-0368
COUNTRY: Africa Regional
FUNDING: $1,265,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1976- 1980 extended to 1985
TYPE OF PROJECT: WID
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN : WID Project
PURPOSE: Assist African women to initiate small experimental activities in such areas as food production, small enterprise development, health and nutrition and skills training.
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Chad: approximately 24 percent; Togo: approximately 20 percent; Kenya: approximately 19 percent; Liberia: approximately 17 percent; figures not available for Senegal, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Bourkina Faso, Guinea.
WOMEN PERSONNEL: No personnel listed, presumably predominantly women

At the time of the 1982 evaluation (six years after the project had been initiated), 12 projects had been undertaken in seven countries, ten in West Africa and two in Kenya. Evaluators found that "only two activities [were] designed primarily to provide services to women." The others provided for training and education and field studies. This project appears to have received little publicity. There does not appear to have been any concerted attempt to make the availability of project funds widely known nor to facilitate the process of applying for them. Funding delays also seem to have plagued the project.

In general the project does not seem to have been competently managed by the Africa Bureau[1], by the PVO, and by field personnel as indicated by the following quotes from the evaluation document:

> The project coordinator of the WID activity, Lakara Skills Development Training, believes that too many WID activities in Africa have beeen designed without benefit of participation by anyone who has worked with African women and that AID lacks understanding of local problems. The major problem with WID activities, however, is that they are undertaken in response to Congressional pressure and that they are assigned a low priority in implementation.

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1. It is important to note that this project was run by the Africa Bureau <u>not</u> the WID Office.

In this case the project planned for handicrafts when the women wanted assistance with gardens and oil palm extraction in order to earn cash.

The final report on phase one of this project noted that in both the Kassack Nord project in Senegal and in Upper Volta. feasibilitiy studies were undertaken but were either ignored or not fully utilized due to lack of interest or because they had not been translated. In any event, studies lacked data on the following: nutritional status of the population, levels and patterns of migration, approximate level of income, current workload and division of labor, and marketing studies. Neither were would-be beneficiaries involved in decisions about the nature or scheduling of project inputs:

> "The Tivaouane project, for example, would have profited from advice from the female beneficiaries regarding the type of trees best suited for cultivation in the area."

Project success was mediocre:

> There is no consistent pattern of achievement of outputs throughout the projects. Income earning capability for the women was an objective in each of the projects, but it had only modest achievment.

The one area of success (although not for women) was literacy instruction.

Evaluators concluded:

> These projects appear to establish a strong correlation between the extent of involvement in the project by its beneficiaires or target populations and the success of the project (p13).
>
> There is no conclusive evidence that WID projects have caused a significant change in the traditional attitudes of males (p14).
>
> In the Kassack Nord Project, men interviewed stated that they approved of the project because benefits to their women were benefits to them. However, there is some evidence, as stated by women, that the men were reducing the amounts of money they normally give to their womenfolk in proportion to the women's increased earnings from the sale of vegetables. Many of the projects had men in management and production positions (p14-15).
>
> The repeated low level funding of these projects, lack of

useful feasibility studies, and the absence of sound project design does suggest that WID projects do not enjoy high priority in AID's scheme of assistance programming (p20).

COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC PROJECTS

1. CASAMANCE VEGETABLE GROWERS: SENEGAL(1980)
Funding: $170,000
Years: 2

This project was designed to set up women's cooperatives in thirteen villages to produce and market vegetables. Two hectares of land were to be set aside for the use of 36 - 40 cooperative members. Social centers were to be constructed in each village where literacy and health instruction would take place.

The project was implemented in seven villages. At the time of the evaluation only two gardens were producing and most literacy training centers had not been built. Funds earned from vegetable gardening were used to build some literacy centers which also served as child care and community meetings.

> Most of the literacy instruction provided has been utilized by the men of the villages. Women indicated that they did not have time to attend classes or were not interested.

The discussion of the project reveals that it because it was poorly designed. Problems were familiar: American equipment which could not be repaired locally, inappropriate technology, failure to consult the would-be beneficiaries, poor analysis of the situation, lack of coordination among host-country agencies, failure to deliver inputs on time, lack of a market for crops. The evaluation team concluded:

> With the exception of one of the villages visited, there was little evidence that the project was requested by the project beneficiaries; rather it was imposed on them. (Appendix 1:x).

There was some evidence of an increase in income and improved nutrition but since no quantitative data were available, this finding is impressionistic only. There was no evidence that the migration of girls and young women to the cities were reduced as a result of the implementation of the project.

2. KASSACK NORD: SENEGAL(1980)

Funding: $25,000
Years: 22 months

In 1977 the women of the relocation village of Kassack Nord in the Delta River Region of Senegal requested assistance in organizing a broader range of economic activities. SAED (la Societe d'Amenagement et d'Exploitation du Delta) and village elders, men and women identified several concerns: women's heavy workload in wood gathering, millet pounding, child rearing and farming, the need for improved health care and sanitary conditions, literacy training and income generation. Project activities included construction of a women's activity center; vegetable, rice and poultry production; literacy training, health training; fabric dying; animal traction; and grain milling.

At the time of the evaluation the eight building activity center had been built, but most project activities had not been implemented. Rice and vegetable production could not be undertaken because the location of the village rice fields far from the village necessitated the absence of men and women from the village.

A grain mill was in place but unused. According to the project director, the entire complex was to be opened simultaneously at which time the mill would be utilized. A maternity clinic had been built but no plumbing had not yet been connected. The village midwife had been teaching hygiene which the women said they liked. They were also looking forward to the opening of the clinic. A cement poultry hut had been constructed but lack of funds due to underbudgeting resulted in the inability to provide the poultry or feed. A cement hut for fabric dying was unutilized although women had learned to sew and knit which had resulted in better clothing for their children and sales to other villagers. Literacy classes appeared to be well accepted and appreciated although the women's workload did not always allow them to attend.

The limited results of this project were received with enthusiasm. Many of the problems with the project seemed to stem from the poor budgeting done by the design team and by serious problems with the management of the relocation project (of which this was a sub-project) as a whole.

3. TIVAOUANE: SENEGAL (1980)

Funding: $210,000
Years 2 plus a one year extension requested

Six projects (sheep raising, manioc and niebe fields, village pharmacies, wells and village woodlots) were planned for twelve villages.

The evaluators found that

> [The eucalyptus planted for firewood have] suffered from insufficient watering, due to low rainfall and improperly located and/or non-functioning wells. Barbed wire fence is inadequate protection against graising [sic] animals. Use of eucalyptus plants being reconsidered, alternate trees (cashew or mango) which yield marketable fruit, are being considered." (Appendix 3:vii)
>
> The fact that women recommended cashew and fruit trees as alternatives demonstrates that they give higher priority to the production of cash crops than to production of firewood and points up a lack of thorough investigation during the project design phase. (Appendix 3: xii).

Medicines are not available for the village pharmacy because the project design called for U.S. drugs which were too expensive. Manioc and niebe production suffered from drought. Mill use was delayed when its installation was hampered by lack of training in installation. The sheep project was based on inappropriate technology. Well construction was delayed.

On the whole this project appears to have elicited considerable participation by both men and women.

> Women participated to a moderate degree in the development and design of the project and were interviewed regarding their needs prior to the project design. Women are participating in the project both as mangers and as beneficiaries (Appendix 3:ix).

GHANA DAY CARE(1980)

Funding: $25,000 (including an $8,000 car)
Years: 18 months

The project was intended to fund three daycare centers but the inclusion of a car in the funding reduced working capital to $17,000. As a result, funds were concentrated on one model daycare center.

Two centers serve 85-90 and 69 children respectively. Staffing was a problem as younger workers tended to get married, have children and quit work. The solution to this may be hiring slightly older (25 -30) women. The day care centers also serve as a means of providing systematic health care and maternal education.

Men, including the Chief in one case, have been supportive of the project. The active financial support of the YWCA should be noted.

5. THE GARA CLOTH INDUSTRY:(SIERRA LEONE) (1980)

Funding: $320,165
Years: Five (The evaluation is based on a final two year project.)

The project was intended to pay for the service of a marketing consultant to analyze and help organize the Gara Cloth Industry, train members of the women's industry in marketing and design, and provide logistical support, supplies and equipment.

At the time of the evaluation, the Gara Cloth Industry Cooperative was producing quality, marketable items, but mismanagement had "led to lack of confidence on the part of participants." The problems with the project appear to be those commonly encountered in projects involving setting up businesses whether male or female-managed.

6.SILKWORM AND VEGETAL TANNIN STUDY: UPPER VOLTA(1980)

These were feasibility studies to determine the income producing capabilities for women of vegetal tannin and silkworms. Because the local AID mission refused permission for a site visit, the evaluation was based on a review of documents. The silkworm evaluation study was entirely technical and did not indicate what mechanism might be used to involve women or who would control the income earned. The need for a WID specialist and an economist on the feasibility team was noted. The tanin study similarly failed to discuss how women might be included. (A number of pages are missing from this report.)

7. PROFILE OF LIBERIAN WOMEN(1982)

Funding: $295,000
Years 3

The profile focuses on rural women who engage in subsistence agriculture, cash cropping and marketing. The project resulted in a core library of development literature at the University of Liberia. It suffered from revolution and personnel clashes. The final report had not been submitted.

8. LAKARA SKILLS DEVELOPMENT TRAINING:TOGO (1982)

Funding: $671,180
Years: 3

The project was to construct a training center, conduct a series of research studies, provide training to staff and village women, and assist women in organizing village cooperatives. However, the evaluators noted:

The socioeconomic survey has resulted in a low-quality, methodologically unsound study. The nutrition survey is almost complete, but a NCNW (National Council of Negro Women) decision to limit the survey to one ethnic group in a multi-ethnic area limits its value.

The sociological study appears to have been conducted in an area significantly different from the implementation area and yielded recommendations that were wholly inappropriate. The evaluation notes:

> The project coordinator feels that centralized location for training is impractical for African women. Participation will be limited because of lack of transportation and household responsibilities.

QUESTIONS:

The following questions were either raised or left unanswered in the project documentation reviewed:

1) How was this project designed?
2) Were the designers people with field experience with African women? the implementers?
3) Was twelve small projects in six years a justifiable use of funds?
4) What were the evaluation criteria?
5) What role did the WID office play in this project?

6) Were efforts made to inform Peace Corps or PVO's about the availability of this money?
7) What were the guidelines for funding and length-of-project life for the sub-contracts? (The evaluator suggests there were none.)
8) What were the channels for proposing a project? How were these publicized?

Although this project did provide resources to women, it was not selected as one of the best projects because its success relative to the resources and attention focused on women was extraordinarily low. Based on field interviews, the 1982 evaluator reported that there was a clear need to develop information on women and to raise the sensitivity of many AID employees to women's issues. It is important to note that the problems encountered were not unique to WID projects. The major problems were those common in AID projects- inappropriate and inefficient procurement, failure to consult beneficiaries, incompetent contractors, poor design and so on. On the whole, in fact, the participation rate of women in these projects is at least as good if not a great deal better than those of the other projects examined. This may be due to the focus on a specific kind of beneficiary and the dedication of many of the kinds of staff who may be attracted to such a project.

PROJECT TITLE: Botswana Agricultural College Expansion
PROJECT NUMBER: 633-0074
COUNTRY: Botswana
FUNDING: $7,149,300
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1978 - 1984
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: Improve and increase Botswana Agricultural College manpower training capacity for low and intermediate level agricultural personnel.
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 3 percent
WOMEN PERSONNEL: None

COMMENTARY: The project involved the construction of classroom and dormitory buildings, curriculum development, and the training of teaching staff in the United States. The project paper noted the central role of women in agriculture and that women served as Agricultural Demonstrators. Nonetheless, no training slots were reserved for female students or staff and the lack of dormitory space for women was used as an excuse to admit men who were less qualified than women candidates.

Women's role in agriculture was not included in the curriculum. The midterm appraisal noted the dormitory problem. By 1983 the number of women accepted into the agricultural certificate program had increased from 27 percent in 1978 to 37 percent; in animal health, from 0 to 5 percent. Female enrollment in the diploma courses in agriculture and animal health had increased from 0 in 1981 to 33 and 9 percent respectively. (In the social work and community development certificate the percentage of women had dropped from 60 to 48 percent.) The placement of female graduates is not discussed. (Many at one time were placed either in research or in administration rather than in the field.)

This project provides a good example of the need for the inclusion of infrastructure such as dormitory space on a list of "conditions precedent for the participation of women." Similar problems will arise in other projects (such as boarding schools, out-of-town workshops, seminars, and demonstrations) where separate sleeping and/or eating facilities may be required for men and women.

QUESTIONS:

1) Has the enrollment remained high?
2) Where are female graduates placed?
3) Do they last and are they promoted?
4) Has the question of women in agriculture (and particularly that of of female-headed households) been added to the curriculum? What is the effect of this omission?
5) Will facilities for women be provided in future expansions of the physical plant?
6) Are provisions made to include women farmers in the demonstration days offered by students?
7) What efforts are being made to recruit women faculty members?

PROJECT: Botswana Agricultural Planning
PROJECT NUMBER: 633-0067
COUNTRY: Botswana
FUNDING:$4,778,650
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1978 - 82
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: Develop a localized Government of Botswana economic and analytical capacity to rationally plan and program responses to the

issues of rural sector development.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 30 percent
FEMALE PERSONNEL: None

The Project Paper noted that:

> Since strategies to be pursued within this project will take into account the fact that women do the major part of crop production activities, the contractor (implementing agent) should be encouraged to include women when project staff is recruited. The Government of Botswana should as well, be encouraged to include women among the persons trained by this project.

However, the project hired no women although the eventual Chief of Party of the project was in-country on an OPEX project and significantly influenced the writing of the PP. (The USDA librarian who spent a few weeks in the country on TDY was a woman.) Thus, the fine words about women above can be interpreted as Percy Amendment window dressing.

The project sent five women for training. (This is based on my personal knowledge of the project. The documents tell us neither the the total number of students nor the number of women sent.) The women were all were trained in rural sociology, but the Rural Sociology Unit became marginal for personnel reasons outside the Unit. While this probably could not have been anticipated, the lack of economics and/or agricultural science training for women is telling.

The PES criticizes the project for failing to analyze "causal factors for low agricultural productivity which must be understood if effective programming is to be achieved." One of these factors would have been the female headed household. Attention to women was so poor in the project that when the expatriate rural sociologist (a man supportive of research on women) left, he neglected to mention the role of women in his summary report until his female staff forcefully brought the omission to his attention. The project failed ever to systematically include women or women's issues in the planning exercise and sent women for training only in subjects considered marginal.

This project also demonstrates the cut and paste method of project design. On page 43 of the Project Paper we find,

> "...after planting, crop production is considered women's work and, as a result, some production goals may be feasible without changes in the traditional roles of the sexes."

This statement may be familiar to those who read the 1978 PP for the Botswana Agricultural College Expansion in which we find:

> "Project design in support of the arable lands policy, for example, must consider that, after planting, crop production is considered women's work and, as a result, some production goals may not be feasible without changes in the traditional roles of women.

Too bad they couldn't lift it from one Project Paper to the other without a typo which changes its meaning. It is, in any event, an indicator of the seriousness with which women were considered in the project design.

QUESTIONS

1) What might have been shown by disaggregating planning statistics by gender?
2) What data are needed so that planning projects can better address women's needs?
3) Could more "technical" slots have been reserved for women?

PROJECT: Managed Input and Delivery of Agricultural Services (MIDAS)
PROJECT NUMBER: 641-0067
COUNTRY: Ghana
FUNDING: $14,700,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1976 - 1980 - 1982
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: $398,200 (approximately 10 percent of the extension package targeted to women).

PURPOSE: Develop an institutionalized, coordinated system to provide improved agricultural inputs and services to small farmers: fertilizer, improved seeds, credit, marketing, research and extension. Increase farm production by small-scale farmers leading to higher levels of income.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: No information available
FEMALE PERSONNEL: One woman on design team.
WOMEN'S ROLE IN AGRICULTURE: As early as 1949 independent female cocoa farmers had been documented. Further it was found that women were entitled to grow their crops among the crops of the men. (Source: Meek, C.K. 1968. Land Law and Custom in the Colonies. London: Frank Cass. Second Edition.) See the commentary for additional information on women's role in agriculture.

The project design notes that 80 percent of the 2.3 million women counted in the 1970 are in some way involved in farming and that women account for 92 percent of the total increase of all persons employed in agriculture because men have migrated to the urban areas in search of employment. Thus, it is noted, about 60 percent of the agricultural workforce is female. We are also told that "the (male) extension agents of the Extension Service commonly deal with the rural men who transmit farming information to women farmers." The document goes on:

> "Most technicians are aware of the role and need for a profitable technological package in the farming system but have difficulty identifying or understanding the interactions and changes generated in the system through the introduction of innovations. This is particularly true with respect to the division of labour between the sexes and the impact of new technology interventions on women who provide the bulk of the agricultural labor force.
>
> "The constraints/research needs will be jointly identified with the farmers, both male and female, to maximize the probability that it will be viewed as applicable to their situation. Practical adoption of research results by subsistence farmers requires that research experimental conditions reproduce the conditions under which the technical innovation developed are to be applied on the farms. This includes the sex of the persons doing the work. It is conceivable that a male laborer or a research plot could cope with the new technique, but be difficult for a woman to

implement on the farm due to the extra time, physical strength etc. involved particularly since most women already have long, hard daily work schedules and may be less nourished than men. All implications and ramifications of the division of labour require study and attention."

The project design utilized approaches recommended by a WID study. This is a model which should be carefully considered for adoption elsewhere. In this case it resulted in an excellent project design which unfortunately was only partially implemented.

The design called for women traders to be included in a program for small traders. It intended that agricultural extension for women be strengthened through the Home Extension Unit which previously had focused on nutrition, food processing, home management and the like. Ten percent of the extension budget was targeted to supporting and expanding the program of the Home Extension Unit. The project paper noted that women would not have labor for incremental increases in production without intermediate technology or hired labor to ease their workload. To this end, the project proposed to support intermediate technology development, to provide medium term credit for the purchase of labor-saving intermediate technology and to provide annual production credit to hire labor assistance.

The final report of the farming systems component implemented by The International Institute for Tropical Agriculture never mentions women. Indeed, the document reads as if contact between the project staff and any farmers was minimal. The report focuses on the results of traditional technical field trials and comments obliquely that farmers seemed interested in some of the suggestions. Nowhere are the traditional practices of farmers, gender division of labor or other hallmarks of competent farming systems research discussed. Their absence seems compelling evidence that they were not considered in implementing the farming systems research component.

The midterm evaluation reads as if there were disagreements about women as a priority. For example,

"ADB should investigate ways to insure truly equal availability of credit to women farmers. However, the evaluators recognize this is not a need comparable to working on critical issues facing ADB."

facing ADB."

Every comment in the report which suggests that women have not been served as they might have been is vehemently rejected in comments by Ghanaian government officials. Since no statistics are presented it is not possible to determine who is correct. However, had substantial attention been paid to women, one might have expected documentation of the fact. Indeed the repeated insertion of comments emphasizing women's role as farmers would suggest that this fact was by no means taken for granted.

QUESTIONS:

1) Why was attention to women dropped from the farming systems research component?
2) Were the farming systems research recommendations adoptable by women? By female headed households?
3) Were any female extension agents trained?
4) Did any women receive annual production credit?
5) What percentage of loans went to women?
6) Ghanaian officials wrote that women are not disadvantaged in receiving advice from male extension agents. What do the data show?
7) Did the FSR research deal with women's crops?
8) Did women traders participate in the program? If not, why not.

This project is recommended for field follow-up to see where and why the implementation parted company from the excellent design. This project was chosen as one of the four best projects. First its design dealt creatively with problems faced by women farmers. Second, although the project suffered from numerous problems, it appears that the Home Extension Unit was used at least partially successfully to deliver services to women in their capacity as farmers.

PROJECT: Women in Agricultural Development Project (WIADP)
PROJECT NUMBER: 930 -0300
COUNTRY: Malawi
FUNDING: $125,766.00 + add-on funding of $14,011
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1982 -1983
TYPE OF PROJECT: WID
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: WID project
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: Not available
FEMALE PERSONNEL: Chief of Party who also submitted the original unsolicited project proposal to USAID, one Malawian counterpart, secretary, and an independently funded agricultural economist
PURPOSE: To strengthen project planning and extension services to rural women through: 1) Collection of data on women's agricultural work in diverse contexts 2) Identification of women farmers' need which might be addressed through AID projects 3) Preparation of a manual that will allow project workers and host country planners to ascertain whether or not their projects consider women in terms of training and benefits

The following data were collected in three agroecological zones: farm level socio-economic data, agronomic information, and the organization of agricultural services for reaching rural women. Rather than focusing solely on women, the project also collected information on the similarities and differences between men and women. Project staff documented women's lack of access to agricultural information, services, and credit, participated in diagnostic surveys to identify smallholder farming constraints with particular emphasis on disaggregation of data by gender, assisted in revising the curriculum for refresher training for the female extension service; contributed to curriculum planning for the female extension service; worked on a proposed revision in the career ladder for women in the Department of Agricultural Development; made presentations to ADD (Agricultural Development District) headquarters staffs at the request of the Programme Managers and made specific recommendations on handling data to evaluate differences between male and female farmers; made recommendations to ADD evaluation sections for disaggregation by sex of data and analyses; and was asked to evaluate all ADD programms for ways to improve assistance to women farmers. At the request of women farmers who had objections to research station recommendations a series of on-farm soybean trials were carried out under the management of women farmers.

According to the evaluation

"The WIADP staff itself has experienced no difficulty in working with women farmers. However, they have identified others' difficulties, particularly the male extension agents' inability or lack of incentive to reach women farmers. The WIADP suggested and developed an extension aids circular on techniques for male extension to reach women farmers

and is writing it. The project has also been closely monitoring an innovative technique being tried in Blantyre ADD to allow more women farmers access to credit."

The evaluation also noted:

"[The University of Florida long-term technical assistance] team has not taken full advantage of the additional expertise and information available from the WIADP...There is a general perception by the biological researchers (including members of the UF team) that socio-economic data collection and analysis are not actually "research." Quantity of empirical data appears to carry more weight than quality of analysis."

The evaluation also indicates quite clearly that the project suffered from bureaucratic problems, not the least of which was inactivity on the part of the WID office.

"The project start-up suffered almost a year's delay due to obstacles emanating from the Malawi AAO and the AID/W/SER files. In addition, certain administrative problems developed between USAID/Malawi and WIADP after project implementation began. ...PPC/WID should have assessed the situation early on and attempted to intervene constructively. Certainly, once the contract was signed, PPC/WID should have maintained more active contact with the project rather than relying on a one-way flow of reports."

In this case the WID office failed to actively monitor and support a good project. And this <u>is</u> a good project. It documents the status of women farmers in comparison with male farmers and identifies their problems. It makes suggestions about how some of these problems can be overcome. It then helps to implement its own suggestions. It involves women farmers as active participants in solving some of their problems through on-farm research.

This is the best of the 21 projects and is strongly recommended for field follow-up. I also recommend follow-up with the University of Florida team to determine why they would not accept this project and its findings and whether their own project would have been improved if they had been more receptive to the findings and work of this one. Follow-up

should also be done with WID office personnel to determine why the funding of the project was not facilitated, why contact was not maintained with the project, and why a concerted effort has not been made to test and replicate this project model elsewhere.

The extension leaflet "Reaching Female Farmers Through Male Extension Workers" provides a prototype for what might be used elsewhere.

Having learned that this project has been severely criticized. I interviewed the project evaluator, a critic of the project, and the person who had reviewed project documents. These are my findings:

1. Even the critic agreed that the project was successful in terms of putting women on the extension agenda.

2. The project evaluator felt that the focus on women in a recent joint World Bank/USAID project in Malawi is a direct result of this project.

3. There were three substantive criticisms:

a) The on-farm trials were based on a crop, soybeans, which was considered inappropriate because there was no local market. Soybeans were chosen because the Ministry of Agriculture Extension Department had instucted its women extension agents to teach women how to cook soybeans as a means of solving nutritional problems. Since most women did not know how to grow soybeans, the decision was made to fill the gap by providing agronomic information and eventually by undertaking field trials. Thus, although soybeans may or may not have been the best choice from a marketing standpoint, the decision to focus on soybeans was not a capricious one.

b) It was not clear from the final report what weighting procedure had been used in doing statistical tests. The statistician with whom I spoke stressed that she had not said the statistics were invalid, but rather that she could not tell from the information whether they were valid or not. If in fact there is a problem with the statistics, and it is not at all clear that there is, this can be remedied by reanalysis.

c) The data did not answer all the questions some USAID personnel had. This criticism suggests that subsequent implementation of this model may want to include additional data collection. This project

the terms of the contract.

The above criticisms are focused on details of implementation. If they are correct, these are issues which can be addressed in future implementation of the model. Whether or not they are correct, they in no way detract from the project model itself. In nearly ten years of working at the village level in Africa I have not seen a project which accomplished as much as this one for women in agriculture.

PROJECT TITLE: Arusha Regional and Village Development Project
PROJECT NUMBER: 621-0143
COUNTRY: Tanzania
FUNDING: $21,164,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1979 - 1983
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None -suggested in design but nothing reserved for women
PURPOSE: Improve production, income and well-being of people in the rural areas of three districts of Arusha Region; strengthen the capabilities of Arusha, the three pilot districts and villages in these districts to identify, implement and evaluate development activities within the framework of the policies and priorities of the Tanzania government. Provide the micro-data that will assist in the preparation of the Arusha Region Integrated Rural Development Plan. Improve agricultural production. Identify and promote other economic activities. Improve the social and economic infrastructure directly related to production activities.
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 25 percent
WOMEN PERSONNEL: Woman on design team; At least two women consultants; two women Rural Development Specialists

This project was based on a participatory grassroots model of planning. It was intended to strengthen the planning capacity at both the district and regional level and to involve villagers in planning and implementing their own small scale projects. The project review team praised it highly for its successful use of a process approach and for the fact that most team members spoke Kiswahili and worked well with their counterparts. Nonetheless, women did not fare as well under this project as was intended by the design team.

I served on the design team and wrote the section on the role of women. The section explored the roles which women played in agriculture,

the constraints they faced in terms of improving their own production and argued for the need for women agricultural extension agents to work on the projects. At the time the AID/W project officer said there had probably never been such attention paid to women in a project design. The entire design team supported the idea of the involvement of women.

In 1981 the project implementation team commissioned a study on the effects of the project on women. The report, "Women and Development: A Case Study of Ten Tanzanian Villages" prepared by Liz Wily concluded:

> ...Women's Development in the Region is not very encouraging. Not only is the total sum of action extremely small but what is taking place is ill-supported on the one hand, and... effectively confined to the needs of rural women in the home, on the other.

Wily noted the following key constraints to the involvement of women in development in the region: inadequate control over resources and the fruits of labor, a preference for or reluctance to tackle the gender status quo, the orientation of most programs to women's roles as home-makers and child-bearers, women's economic dependence on men, underrepresentation in village decision making bodies, the lack of experience in decision-making bodies, and women's own fear of changing their status.

Two important weaknesses of the project design were revealed in this report. First, the emphasis on women's roles as farmers (while a great advance from the former view of women as housewives) neglected their roles as producers of crafts and other roles. Second, the design team rather naively assumed that if we pointed out the need for various things to be done for women, they would be. They weren't.

Joyce Stanley, Rural Development Specialist for Arumeru District has noted,

> In all cases the women participants were those already in place in government at any level. If a woman happened to be in an agricultural office, she was able to take part in the agricultural training. If women were there, they might participate. There was never any direct effort to recruit women, to encourage the participation of women or to encourage the Tanzanian government to select women for training. The situation differed little at the village level and in fact was at its worst at this level. Since all planning was done by the village councils and since women were

represented by the chair of the UWT [national women's organization], men made the requests of the districts for all projects. In all cases I am aware of, the women rarely if ever spoke during a village council meeting and were rarely, if ever, consulted about their plans and priorities for village development. The plans that came from the village were those of the men who ran the village council.

I feel that I was able to make a significant difference in some ways .... As often as the men were encouraged to participate, I would encourage the women. I ensured training for two female district staff, assisted in finding a scholarship for one district woman to attend a conference; consistently questioned the women women participants in all village and district meetings and was a vocal spokesperson during all planning sessions of the APRVDP staff. The significance though, in retrospect, was minimal. True, women were encouraged to participate, but women's projects were not the ones selected for funding; women district staff were not the ones sent to Cornell; women did not take part in equal numbers in the planning seminars and in the end women received few benefits from the project results.

[T]he skills of problem solving and decision making are the skills that encourage confidence and self reliance. These skills were not encouraged in women.... In the facilitator workshops held in Arumeru District (in which I insisted that 50 percent of all participants be women), the participants learned skills that they can use today. ARVDP may be gone; but those women were left with something that required no spare parts; only their committment and interest.

...I do not believe that ARVDP reached women in a way that increased their abilities at self-reliant development. I do believe that the presence of women on the staff improved the conditions for women and their opportunity to take advantage of the training ARVDP offered.

LESSONS LEARNED:

1) Training slots must be allocated for women
2) If participant slots are reserved for women (as in the facilitator training), they will use and benefit from them. Be aware of the need for child care, possibly separate eating facilities etc.
3) One can not count on males to represent the interests of women. Special efforts must be made to solicit ideas from women themselves.
4) Funds must be set aside for women's projects.
5) Special attention must be paid to the full gamut of women's economic activity

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PROJECT: Arusha Women's Participation in Development
PROJECT NUMBER:621-0162
COUNTRY:Tanzania
FUNDING: $400,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1979 - 1981
PROJECT TYPE: WID
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: WID project
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS:
FEMALE PERSONNEL: Chief of party
PURPOSE: To accelerate the transfer and adoption of appropriate and improved technologies, services, and systems to the rural poor by using educational methodologies which will enable women to become more confident and more aware of their own and others' resources which can potentially improve their lives.

The project was intended to encourage and facilitate village level local planning, implementation, and evaluation of development projects on a participatory basis. The project was to utilize audio-cassettes in working with village women to identify problems and frame actions to address them. Control villages in which audio cassettes were not used were to provide a means of evaluating the technology. Out of this experience a Handbook for Participatory Development Programs was to be developed.

This project has recently been evaluated. As soon as the report has been published, it should be carefully examined. Although it was not strictly an agricultural project, it is relevant to this evaluation because it provides a process by which such projects may be carried out. Most project designers and implementers know nothing about women's involvement in agriculture or the constraints which they face. The

techniques developed in this project would provide means by which in either an extended design phase or during project implementation, village women could identify the major problems they face in agriculture and work with project (or design) staff to develop a strategy to solve them.

This project has been selected as a model for project process.

PROJECT TITLE: INERA Support
PROJECT NUMBER: 6600064
COUNTRY: Zaire
FUNDING: $6,159,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1977 -1981 extended to 1982 extended to ?
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: Assist with the development of the National Institute for Agricultural Research (INERA); develop test/production for food legumes with participatory research model; provide soils analysis and classification information to those interested in developing agricultural production, provide potentials and limitations of soils in Zaire; make Zaire self-sufficient in production of major agricultural crops by 1985.
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: No information available
WOMEN PERSONNEL: The wife of the first rural sociologist on the team, although not an official member of the implementation team, worked with her husband in working with women. The head of the 1982 evaluation team was a woman.

The design document informs us that in 1963 there was one woman attending university in Zaire and by 1973 there were 159 or 4 percent of the total student population. The only part of the project which dealt in any fashion at all with women was the unofficial village work done by the rural sociologist and his wife. Indeed this apparent high point in the severely troubled life of this project was soundly criticized because this was not what the rural sociologist was supposed to do. The design document noted that "Cultural practices to be developed in the INERA project must take into account the farming activities contributed by women and the impact of change in cultural practices on women's role and farm production." However, the difference between this design document and the implementation process is staggering. With the exception of the rural sociologist, it appears that not one member of the implementation team spoke adequate (if any) French. Implementation was focused on the research institute, not on the process of farming systems research

emphasized in the project paper. No apparent effort was made to recruit or train women or to discover what farming systems they might be using. Indeed it was the evaluation team which noted the importance of bananas and cassava in the production system!

This project is a prime example of the need for tight control over contractors. It is also an example of why women's issues are not included in evaluations. The evaluators in this projects were absorbed with the contractor's irresponsibility and/or incompetence and on the financial, institutional and personal problems at the research station and had little time to devote to less immediate problems.

QUESTIONS:

1) What precisely were women's roles ?
2) How might research have addressed these roles?
3) Was there a need for female extension agents?

This project failed in large part due to poor performance by the contractor and USAID's failure to take action to compel the contractor to fulfill the terms of the contract.

PROJECT: Young Farmers 4-H
PROJECT NUMBER: 698-0407,010
COUNTRY: Zaire
FUNDING: $18,000 (!)
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1980 -83
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: To establish a 4-H program in 50 primary and secondary school in the Bas-Zaire and Bateke Plateau. This activity was chiefly aimed at encouraging young people in this rural area to become involved in productive agriculture as an alternative to wage employment. Through practical demonstration and loans of seed and hand tools, 2,500 young people would be involved in home garden projects and should be self supporting at the end of two years.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: No information available
FEMALE PERSONNEL: None

This project is a striking contrast to the multi-million dollar INERA project. It was not without its problems including an American-built

International Harvester truck which was constantly broken down (an example of the sometimes inappropriate "Buy-American" rule). The ratio of male to female club members was four to one, although one club was comprised solely of women except for the male club leader. The Peace Corps Volunteer attached to the project explained that men have " much more free time" than women and hence were more able to participate. The project also had problems collecting loans for seeds and handtools which were perceived as gifts. A switch to selling the materials straight out seemed to be working. Unlike probably any other project in Zaire, this one did not suffer from embezzlement of funds or equipment. The lower participation rate of women should be examined but the local focus of the project favors their incorporation. The location of the project villages facilitated marketing.

CRUCIAL QUESTIONS:

1) What kind of women participated? Class? Age? Marital Status?
2) Can non-participants be categorized and special efforts made to facilitate their participation?
3) Does the entry of men into vegetable production have adverse effects on women?
4) More details on the all female club and why it chose a male leader.
5) Should there be an effort to establish other all female clubs?
6) Was the experience with the all female club different from that of the predominantly male clubs.
7) Would a female PCV have had a higher success rate with women?
8) What backstopping from the extension service is necessary?
9) Are there any women extension agents?

This ranks as one of the best projects reviewed. Although the male to female participant ratio was four to one, women were being assisted in agricultural production and marketing. The small scale of the project suggests that a concentrated effort to increase the participation would be successful. The project did not depend on sophisticated technology or expatriate experts and institutional obligations and enjoyed enough flexibility to make changes necessary to incorporate more women. The fact that the project did not suffer from embezzlement of funds or equipment was probably a result of a competent design based on local knowledge, adapted to local conditions, and limited in scope.

LATIN AMERICAN PROJECT PROFILES

PROJECT TITLE: Colonization Consolidation in the Bolivian Subtropics
PROJECT NUMBER: 511-0514
COUNTRY: Bolivia
FUNDING: $2,105,915
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1979-1982
PROJECT TYPE: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: $268,258 (calculated in document as 13 percent for informal education in nutrition, hygiene, care of children and other non-formal education)
WOMEN PERSONNEL: The project design document repeatedly emphasized that both men and women could fill team positions. Women were hired as nurses and community and home extensionists. All agricultural extensionists appear to have been male.
PURPOSE: Increase per capita incomes and raise the standard of livng among colonists in the Bolivian lowlands. Develop and test models for consolidation of colonization areas for wider application in the Bolivian lowlands.
PERCENT FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 18 percent.

Under the auspices of FIDES (Foundation for Integral Development), a non-profit foundation of Bolivians and expatriates, this project was intended to help consolidate the colonization effort by dealing with problems encountered in colonization of lowland subtropical areas by peasants from the highlands.. Diversified family farm systems to replace slash and burn agriculture were to be developed, demonstrated and analyzed. Home and farm supply cooperatives were to be established. Agricultural, trade, and local industry credit was to be established. Marketing groups and systems were to be developed.

Women are significantly affected by migration. Cooking, meal planning and child care all differ due to the new environment. Because there are few traditional markets in the colonization area, "the women's role as a buyer and seller of products is reduced. The influence of the woman in family economic decision-making may have diminished since to a large extent a commercial money economy has replaced the barter economy." The program therefore was to emphasize the need for women to become involved in production activities and to assist them in adapting household tasks to the local environment. Informal education in home gardening, the care of small animals, children, hygiene, and nutrition was

to be carried out. Expanding economic opportunities for women was to be given special attention. Changing attitudes towards women were to be encouraged.

According to evidence available in evaluation documentation, attention was paid to women, but the record is somewhat mixed.

Farmers and agricultural extension personnel are referred to as "he" throughout suggesting that all agricultural extension workers were male.

Credit was supplied through cooperatives for agricultural inputs, home use items such as knitting wool, pots and pans, and basic consumption items. Thus, the cooperatives appear to support domestic maintenance activities. The evaluation stated, "The home-input division of the cooperatives has been particularly noteworthy for its effects in promoting the participation of women."

The evaluation also noted that during the initial phase of colonization, women were left behind while the men assessed the new situation.

> Among a sample of settlers arriving during 1976-1977, 40 percent of the married colonists went through the orientation program without their spouses. Sometimes the man works for a season and then returns; sometimes he stays for a year or more setting up a farm before he comes back for the rest of the family. In the same sample of settlers, 78 percent of the men had worked between 1 and 20 years in the Oriente prior to settling in Santa Cruz. Thus the husband usually has a better idea of what this move will entail than does his wife. Often the wives arrive at the colony long after their husbands have gone through the orientation program (husbands are sometimes reluctant to bring them to the area before some sort of house is ready), so the women miss not only what they might have learned in the orientation program about gardens and the preparation of new foods but also those first months of working together to start a new life.
>
> The first year of resettlement is particulary difficult on the women. They must begin housekeeping in a completely different setting. The climate is hot and muggy, and unfamiliar insects and illnesses abound. The old familiar

foods are difficult to find, and they do not know how to prepare the new foods available. They have left their extended family back in the interior and have not had time to develop new social networks. They do not usually have the livestock which they cared for daily in the highlands.

...A survey in 1978 of 62 women showed that almost half of the women raise children, cook, tend a vegetable garden, care for livestock, and work in the fields. One activity that is no longer available to women is the marketing of their vegetables. Since nearly every family has its own garden, small-scale marketing of vegetables has become obsolete. How much the women miss this function is difficult to say. More important is the question of money handling within the family since the women no longer earn their own. The women talked to informally by the woman on the evaluation team said that their husbands let them handle the family finances (although some had stories of women whose lives were not so simple).

Female home extensionists taught women how to knit and embroider, encouraging membership in the cooperatives, and offered courses in math, budgets, and bookkeeping. In each community a directorate of women was formed with one woman responsible for selling merchandise (unspecified) and keeping books.

Home and community extensionists were hired to teach women in their homes about food preparation, nutrition, and special needs of children. Gardens were started in several communities.

Despite a policy against giving land to women, a few women received land.

PROJECT: Exploratory Research in Farming Systems
PROJECT NUMBER: 5110464
COUNTRY: Bolivia
FUNDING: $495,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1976-1979
PROJECT TYPE: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: To research appropriate crop and livestock technologies and explore their integration into improved farming systems applicable to small farmers of the North Central Oriente. To promote the development of a continuing capability for research and extension in appropriate small farmer technologies for the North Central Oriente.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 18 percent
FEMALE PERSONNEL: Woman economist on the Project Paper team. Served as one of the two people who actually drafted the Project Paper.

Women are not mentioned in any project document, an illustration of the fact that having a woman on the design team does not assure that attention will be paid to women.

QUESTIONS:

1. Do women do any particular agricultural tasks?
2. Are any particular crops grown primarily by women?
3. Do female-headed households have a different production system?
4. Do households at different income levels face different constraints and therefore have different production systems.
5. Did any of the recommended production practices require labor or inputs which would significantly increase the workload of women?
6. Did the farming system research take into account the need to grow fuelwood to reduce the workload of women and to reduce erosion?
7. Do women own land?

Useful sources on farming systems research which might have improved this project:

1) Kirkby, Roger Alexander. 1981. The Study of Agronomic Practices and Maize Varieties Appropriate to the Circumstances of Small Farmers in Highland Ecuador. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. Cornell University.

2) Cornick, Tully R.V. 1983. The Social Organization of Production in Quimag, Ecuador: A Case Study of Small-Farmer Production Systems in the Highland Andes. Unpublished . Unpublished PhD. Dissertation: Cornell University.

PROJECT: Small Farmer Organizations
PROJECT NUMBER: 511-055; 511 -0452
COUNTRY: Bolivia
FUNDING: $10,917,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1976 - (1982+?)
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: 1) Develop four viable integral cooperatives on a pilot basis and create the conditions in the rest of the country which will facilitate the future promotion of integral cooperatives 2) Assist community groups of small farmers to develop rural enterprises 3) Strengthen the capability of the National Community Development Service to effectively carry out the above.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 18 percent
FEMALE PERSONNEL: None

This project focused around the establishment of integral cooperatives (IC). In 1979 it was extended for two years because "despite having proven themselves to be effective channels for reaching the target group of Bolivia's poorest farmers, the integral cooperatives are not yet financially or institutionally viable." At that time 5,272 farmers had received loans averaging $567, one of the lowest average loan sizes of any program in Bolivia. The IC imported fertilizer at prices 40 percent below the local market price and won better better prices from the government owned milk processing plant and negotiated 80 percent lower payments by small farmers to the large farmer-controlled Milk Producers' Association. Misuse of cooperative funds was a problem in 1979 in part because the cooperatives promoted membership too fast. Most cooperative members spoke Quechua or Aymara and foreign advisors had to use interpreters.

A 1982 evaluation noted:

> ...the EOPS [end of project status] conditions to be achieved during the life of the project could be positively affected by an increased participatory role of women and ...a high potential for female involvement exists in the Cochabamba and Santa Cruz del Norte ICs. Based on the observed impact of women's current participation as IC members/officers and on the project's handicraft credit component, the evaluation strongly suggested that promotion of economic activities by the ICs could have a significant impact on lower-income households.
>
> ...the experience of the SFO project so far does not contradict the

> assumption that ... the participation of women in project activities contributes to greater social equity and income impacts, and can strengthen the overall project implementation.

Despite this, (and perhaps due to the lack of specifically recommended mechanisms) the sole reference to women in the amended PP is "No directors of the ICs will be delinquent on his/her loans". Women are never mentioned in another evaluation and members are referred to as "he" throughout. The project appears to have proceeded in an experimental way so that when one tactic did not work, another was tried. The evaluators caution that importing an American model and trying to "implant it whole and almost instantaneously " was not a good way to proceed.

This project, also discussed in Blumberg (1983), provides an example of the perils of the "paper trail" methodology. Blumberg's analysis is based only on the documentation for 511-0452 and appears to use a 1975 Capital Assistance Paper and an April 1981 final evaluation report. Blumberg found many references to women and women's involvement. This evaluation is based on documentation for both 511-0452 and 511-0055 and includes the 1979 PP Amendment, a January 1982 PES, and a December 1982 Evaluation Report. As can be seen in the text above, the image of the project varies significantly in the two sets of documents. Only a field analysis can determine what actually happened.

QUESTIONS:

1) Were women allowed to be cooperative members in their own right? As spouses?
2) In the event of the death of a male member, did his widow inherit his membership? Was she disenfranchised?
3) What was the handicraft credit program? Was it primarily a women's program? What was its repayment rate? How did this compare with male repayment rates?
4) If women did get loans- what was the average size and what was their repayment rate. What were the comparable figures for men?
5) What did men get loans for? What did women get loans for?
6) Did female household heads get loans?

PROJECT: Caribbean Agricultural Extension II
PROJECT NUMBER: 538-0068
COUNTRY: Caribbean regional
FUNDING: $2,172,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1982 - 1985
PROJECT TYPE: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: Improve the economic and social well-being of small farm households in the region. To increase the effectiveness of national public and private sector extension systems in six eastern Caribbean states and Belize and to improve the long term effectiveness of the University of the West Indies to backstop and support national extension services.
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 13 percent on St. Lucia; no other information available
FEMALE PERSONNEL: Two women on evaluation team. Women on planning team.

This is Phase II of a Title XII project designed and implemented by MUCIA. In Phase I women on the design team developed a women's component. Greater involvement of women in agriculture was one of the three project goals, but this was dropped as a goal in Phase II. In early 1981 research was carried out on a random sample of all small farmers on St. Lucia followed by in-depth interviewing of a sub-sample. The research findings were published (Knudson,1982) and presented along with recommendations for action to the USAID mission and the project team, never implemented. When the Phase II extension was negotiated, women were excluded from the design team. WID activities included in Phase II of the project are token. The Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the University of the West Indies presents a two week module on Women and Development in the University's Extension Diploma course. Women participate in workshops and courses, but there is no indication of how many women or what percent of the participants they comprise on avereage. Of eight diploma students mentioned, only one is a woman. Three of four scholarships for frontline extension agents went to women. Specific sections of the extension manual are to be reviewed by WAND/WID representatives. WAND participates in the Regional Agricultural Extension Coordinating Committee. None of the extension agents recognized for excellence were women. Ironically, the extension agent chosen for recognition used as his example of success the story of a female-headed farming household. Yet available evidence suggests that women farmers continue to be ignored by male extension agents.

QUESTIONS:

1) How many female extension agents are there?
2) What is the contact rate with women farmers as compared with male farmers?
3) What is the contact rate with female farmers by male and female extension workers?
4) Are extension recommendations applicable to women?
5) What is the performance record of female extension workers compared to male extension workers?

This project has not ignored women entirely, but serious recommendations based on data to deal with the problems of women farmers have been consistently ignored.

It is strongly recommended that this project be followed up with further research both in the field and in the MUCIA system to determine what has been done for women and why the MUCIA project administration has not paid systematic attention to women farmers.

PROJECT TITLE: Ecuador Integrated Rural Develoment
PROJECT NUMBER: 518-0012
COUNTRY: Ecuador
FUNDING: $4,800,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1981 - 1986
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: Increase production, employment and incomes and otherwise improve the well-being of the rural poor. Help the Government of Ecuador institutionalize its integrated rural development mechanism, particularly through implementing and planning replicable IRD field projects which initially emphasize agricultural development activities.
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 14 percent
WOMEN PERSONNEL: On Quimiag-Penipe staff- three female extension agents including one agricultural engineer
WOMEN'S ROLE IN AGRICULTURE: Potatoes: Primary role in planting, harvesting, processing, seed selection; occasionally weeding and hilling up; sales but secondarily to men. Maize: primary role in planting, weeding,

hilling up, topping, harvesting, processing, seed selection; sales but secondarily to men. Only plowing is done exclusively by males. Gender is not a criterion for informal credit but formal credit programs generally require a male signature thereby excluding partnered women and restricting the direct access of unpartnered women. Male extension agents work with men. While women are not deliberately excluded, they are not deliberately included and thus are never seen at demonstrations or other extension programs. (Source: Alberti, Amalia. n.d. "Some Observations of the Productive Role of Women and Development Efforts in the Andes" Unpublished Manuscript.) Data from the highlands show that women contributed 30 percent of the family labor expended on crop production, 60 percent of the total time devoted to the care of animals; 39 percent of the total person days devoted to forestry activities; 66 percent of the total time devoted to the processing of farm products, and 45 percent of the total marketing time. For the nation as a whole, the women contributed 22 percent of total family labor in crop production and over half of the family labor devoted to livestock production. (Source: Wava G. Haney. 1983. "Agricultural Development and the Economic Role of Peasant Women in Highland Ecuador" Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Lexington, Kentucky).

The project design document neglects to mention women until the social soundness analysis. There, as if from nowhere, appears a well-conceived project design. All project staff are to be trained to sensitize them to women's issues. Research will be undertaken on rural women. Special attention is to be paid to projects involving women's animals, marketing by women, women's handicrafts, and labor-intensive agricultural techniques. Nevertheless, the midterm review refers to women only once- to say that some women's groups built rabbit hutches.

The Mission Project Officer replied to my enquiries as follows:

> ...my impressions are:
>
> Women's projects involving the raising of small animals, marketing of farm production and using improved agricultural technologies have been implemented.
>
> I know of no specific research that has been done on rural women. Research has been limited to adaptive agriculutral research related to small farmers (male and female). No training was done to sensitize project staff to women's issues because they were and are very sensitive to these issues.

...Community organization has been emphasized as a vehicle for project implementation. Women participate equally as men in these organizations. Also women have taken advantage of training courses with some courses being organized exclusively for women. No courses were organized for male participants only.

...many farm households are headed by women. The Project staff works with the head of household irrespective of gender distinction.

On the Quimiag-Penipe staff, there are three female extension agents, one of whom is an agricultural engineer. Two female graduate students, both doing their thesis work in agricultural engineering were given stipends by the project. In addition, the project staff has had female health person (sic) including a female physician. The health side of the IRD project has emphasized maternal and child care.

The IRD project does not make gender distinctions purposefully.

QUESTIONS:

1. What percentage of staff are women? Are there any technical officers other than the agricultural engineer?
2. What is the contact rate of project staff with female-headed households? with male-headed households?
3. What was the content of the courses organized exclusively for women? What was the content of the courses organized both men and women? What percentage of the participants in the latter were women?
4. What is the precise nature of the participation of women in community organizations?
5. How were women's projects identified? What more precisely was their content? How were participants identified/recruited? What percentage of the local women participated? How does this compare with male participation rates?
6. Did male and/or female staff work on the women's projects? What problems or models did this present?
7. Can the participants in women's projects be differentiated from non-participants- by class? by gender of household head? by education? by age? by age of youngest child? by other criteria?

PROJECT: Agricultural Sector Planning
PROJECT NUMBER: 504 -0077
COUNTRY: Guyana
FUNDING: $2,898,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1979 - 1984
PROJECT TYPE: Integrated.
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: To improve the agricultural sector planning capacity through the provision of technical assistance and procurement of computer hardware and software and related goods and services.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: Not available
FEMALE PERSONNEL: None

The Project Paper notes "Very little reliable information exists on the role of women in either the rural or urban setting in Guyana" and expresses the hope that the establishment of a data bank and computer center will permit greater disaggregation of data.

The project was suspended in September 1982 due to shortage of staff (the number of budgeted positions actually decreased over the life of the project) , work demands of the Planning Department and "uncertainty as to work priorities of the contractor." The installation of the computer was considerably delayed. If this project had been successful in establishing a planning process which actually affected the distribution of resources, it may well have had negative effects on women if they were not explicitly taken into account.

QUESTIONS:

1) What information will be disaggregated by gender?
2) What information will be collected on female-headed households and how?
3) What information will be collected on women within male-headed households and how?
4) Were any of the Guyanans on the project women?
5) Were any women sent for training?
6) What are the roles played by women in agriculture in Guyana?
7) What is the percentage of female-headed households and what is their status?

PROJECT: Small Farmer Improvement/Small Farmer Marketing
PROJECT NUMBER: 521-0083 and 521-0073
COUNTRY: Haiti
FUNDING: 521-0083: $7,905,000 521-0073: $2,200,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1977 -1982
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: Increase the productivity and income of small coffee farmers. Establish a marketing network composed of local cooperatives and a national coffee processing center to export washed coffee under a Haitian specialty brand. Major objective to disseminate washed coffee technology for the purpose of up-grading the quality of Haitian coffee, thereby increasing farm gate prices and rural incomes.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: No Information
FEMALE PERSONNEL: No information- apparently none

The project was to build rural roads, train extension agents in coffee technology, study the possiblity of a coffee support fund, construct and equip small coffee processing plants, establish agricultural credit societies, and provide small farmer coffee services. The response from Washington to the PRP indicated particular concern about the project's effect on the employment of women. Although it presumably was trying to assuage this concern, the project paper proceeded from the assumption that the producers were men. It did, however, note that

> In the case of death or disability of the producer, the widow should normally be permitted to continue as a member. If that is not feasible, she should be reimbursed for her husband's investment. That policy should gain some support from the wife for the cooperative. Her support will make the cooperative more acceptable.

It further went on to note that women spent up to 62 percent of their time in commerce, but speculated that the role of women in obtaining market information and bargaining with intermediaries would satisfy their desire to continue to participate in the marketing of coffee. It also stated that the Government of Haiti would " be encouraged to select women as well as men, for training as cooperative managers." A quick survey of peasants was said to have included female respondents but we are not told how many. Neither gender of respondent nor of household head

was included in the questionnaire, and results were not broken down by gender.

Once this project was implemented it became apparent that there was no available transferable coffee technology and the coffee farmers were not commercial growers but subsistence farmers who kept a few coffee bushes in " a semi-wild state which they harvest to provide a cash supplement for their basic needs." The fertilizer distributed by the project was put on food crops rather than coffee bushes because the return to coffee was so low.

It was difficult to determine what happened at the level of the farmer as the evaluation focused primarily on the credit institution. Women were not mentioned once in the evaluation document.

QUESTIONS:

1) What is the proportion of rural female-headed households?
2) Are women jural minors?
3) Do women grow coffee either as the heads of their own households or as the owners of their own bushes within a male-headed household?
4) Are women members of the credit societies?
5) Did women get any of the credit?
6) Did women get any of the fertilizer?
7) Who in a household sells the coffee?
8) How is the money from coffee sales used?

This was selected as one of the three worst projects because the designers had no idea of how the agricultural production system actually worked and thus designed a project for a kind of production which did not exist.

PROJECT TITLE: Appropriate Technologies for Rural Women in Latin America
PROJECT NUMBER: 598- 0600
COUNTRY: Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru
FUNDING: $460,700
LENGTH OF PROJECT: Three years - Dates unspecified
TYPE OF PROJECT: WID
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: WID project
PURPOSE: Test, adapt and introduce appropriate technologies relating to activities carried out by rural women in three fields: agriculture and animal husbandry, cottage industries, and performance of home tasks.
FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Bolivia: approximately 18 percent, Ecuador: approximately 14 percent; Peru: approximately 19 percent.
FEMALE PERSONNEL: Not specified, presumably most

The project, proposed by the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM), is an open-ended one in which the technologies are to be chosen in the course of a consultative process. The project is intended to involve rural women directly in the search for solutions to their problems. The project includes the home because

> ...these tasks occupy so large a part of the time and effort of rural women, and so little has been done either nationally or through technical assistance to seek appropriate technology which would lighten these burdens, commonly taken for granted as the "natural" condition of women

The project is to proceed as follows:

1) A regional staff will be assembled and will make contact with national agencies to be involved in the project

2) A seminar/workshop will be held in the national capital of the first country to formulate an action plan for the project. Participants will include representatives of CIM, rural women's organizations or groups, cooperating agencies, and other experts. The meeting will review the state of knowledge about rural women's activities and the technology they use and serve to exchange information on existing projects, programs and plans, identify possible projects and the means by which infrastructure necessary for the project to proceed can be provided.

3) Visits will be made to communities identified in the workshop as

possible sites for pilot projects. Discussions will be held with the women to determine their felt needs and make a tentative selection of tasks for which appropriate technologies will be sought. The community-level organization of the project will be established.

4) A workshop to chose appropriate technologies to be tested and introduced will be held. Participants will include women from the communities, CIM representatives, representatives of cooperating technical institutions and industries which might produce the technology, and staff associated with the project.

5) After field staff are selected and trained, technologies will be introduced into pilot communities.

6) In the third year acceptable technologies will be disseminated into other communities and an effort will be made to develop industries to produce the technologies.

7) A manuel and a final report will be developed for use of technicians, planners, and field workers involved with the introduction of appropriate technologies.

QUESTIONS:

1) How will field staff be chosen? Will any effort be made to recruit field staff from the pilot communities?
2) How will field staff be trained?
3) What techniques will be used to elicit women's ideas on their needs?
4) What are the incentives for cooperation among the various institutions and agencies?
5) Will the return on manufacturing new technologies be great enough to encourage investment?

This project will most likely rise or fall on its field staff and on the pace of project implementation. If the field staff are good and if enough time is scheduled for the consultation process, this could be a very good project indeed. If the field staff are insensitive, overly urban, directive, and/or in a hurry, the project may be a disaster.

Project paper suggests a danger of excessive centralization and haste. For example, within the first six months, the initial workshop is to be organized and held, pilot communities visited, the need for technologies identified, and the technologies chosen and produced. By the beginning of the seventh month technologies are to be introduced into the communities, a schedule sure to keep Landrovers roaring in and out of

villages at speed. Nonetheless, the basic idea is a sound one. It would be interesting to see if the lessons learned in the Arusha women's project could be applied to this project.

This project ranks as one of the four best reviewed because of its consultative format and is recommended for field follow-up to see if it lives up to its potential.

PROJECT TITLE: Panama Integrated Rural Development
PROJECT NUMBER: 525-0186
COUNTRY: Panama
FUNDING: $9,700,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1978 -1983
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
COMPONENTS TARGETED TO WOMEN: None
PURPOSE: To establish an overall capability for the planning and implementation of regional integrated rural develoment projects and to implement a program for the accelerated development of the first of the priority impact areas in the Tonosi District
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 40 percent
WOMEN PERSONNEL: Although eleven women ostensibly were involved in the design team, in fact only one really was.

The following information on women is provided in the Project Paper. Women's activities include rabbits, chickens, family gardens. Women participate freely in decision making and implementation of community welfare activities. Available labor is calculated on the assumption "that only males are part of the labour force. [This assumption] may well be modified in project implementation." The problem of male alcoholism is mentioned indicating that women may be a better bet for development activities. While boys are pulled out of school to help with agriculture and ranching, the girls stay in school. "Their higher academic achievement causes them to migrate [to the cities] more than their male counterparts. The Project Paper goes on to say, "A substantial number of widowed or deserted women exist who are heads of families; special programs or measures will be designed for them." The Project Paper goes into extensive detail classifying the potential beneficiaries by farming system and land-tenure. None of these is disaggregated by gender, even though the failure of a previous poultry project is attributed to male campesino's

refusal to do the work due to "the cultural norm which assigned that activity to women."

In its early stages, the project had to be abandoned "because of local opposition which culminated in a violent demonstration." The problems appeared to be "lack of beneficiary participation in project design, an unpopular land redistribution component, [and] conflict between" two ministries. The project was redesigned and placed in another area where it seemed to be doing fairly well despite a drought. However, the credit program was "disappointing" with only nine percent of the projected loans disbursed. While this is due in part to the late start-up of the credit component, the need to train field agents (the extension service had been disbanded), and a drought, one wonders to what extent the failure to take women into account is also a factor. Are women eligible for loans? Do the credit agents (who appear to be all male) ever consider offering women loans? With a 40 percent rate of female-headed households, the failure to consider women could signficantly reduce the participation rate in any project. The Audit report complains that the beneficiaries can not be identified from project records and recommends the following classification of farmers: pecaristes (owning less than 7.4 acres), small farmers, medium farmers, large farmers and collective farms. It is impossible to tell from this classification if women in general or female-headed households in particular are beneficiaries. Since over 90 percent of the loans given were for cattle, it is probable that few, if any women were beneficiaries.

QUESTIONS:

From the original design
1) Do women own cattle?
2) Could women work in the tree nursery?
3) Do women make use of forest products?
4) Who does the marketing?
5) Can women can have title to land?
6) Do women have access to credit?
7) Are women distributed evenly across all farming systems or tenure classes.? Female-headed households?
8) What is the legal status of the female-headed household?
9) Are women visited or advised by male extension agents?
10) How many female extension agents are there? What percent?

From the revised project implementation
11) What percent of the loans went to women? To female-headed households?
12) How many credit agents were women? (What percent?)
13) Did male credit agents visit women?
14) Health and education components are mentioned but not specificied. What were they? How were women involved?
15) Were female-headed households disqualified from the loans because they did not have the labor to "plant improved pasture, stop burning off weeds, and build fences" as required? Were these conditions enforced against males?

This project design is instructive because while there was obviously someone on the design team who had some sensitivity to the question of women, none of the data collected were disaggregated by gender. Despite the brave words of the design document, there is no reason to assume that anything would ever have been implemented for women.

In addition to the fact that it led to public protests, this project was chosen as one of the three worst because with approximately 40 percent female-headed households, it is inexcusable not to have dealt specifically with their problems and to have designed specific mechanisms to reach them.

PROJECT TITLE: Managed Fish Production
PROJECT NUMBER: 525-0216
COUNTRY: Panama
FUNDING: $992,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1980 -1983
WOMEN'S COMPONENTS INCLUDING FUNDING: None
PURPOSE: Verify the need for and feasiblity of implementing a large scale managed fish [project] oriented towards increasing the nutritional status of poor rural families through the consumption of fish.
PERCENT FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 40 percent
WOMEN PERSONNEL: Three women on the design team an extensionist, an anthropologist and a nutritionist

The design document notes that women will be instrumental in implementing the fish project

QUESTIONS:

1) Who provides the labor necessary for fish production?
2) Who controls the catch?
3) Who sells the fish?
4) Why not train female extension agents in aquaculture since women have been prime movers in establishing the fish pond groups?

PROJECT: Integrated Rural Development Project
PROJECT NUMBER: 527-0178
COUNTRY: Peru
FUNDING: $16,070,000
LENGTH OF PROJECT: 1979 - 1984
TYPE OF PROJECT: Integrated
WOMEN'S COMPONENTS INCLUDING FUNDING: None
PURPOSE: Further socio-economic development of priority mountain and high jungle regions with emphasis on increasing employment and income opportunities for the poor in key market towns and surrounding rural areas. To strengthen a decentralized regional planning capability and establish a mechanism for financing and executing priority sub-projects in selected market towns and rural areas of the high jungle.
FEMALE HEADED-HOUSEHOLDS: Approximately 19 percent
FEMALE PERSONNEL: Two women were on the design team.

The design team concentrated on the institutional aspects of the project and thus mentioned women only in passing despite the presence on the team of a female anthropologist. The evaluation team was likewise concerned with the institutional problems, but did mention women. They noted with concern the very small number of women participants in project activities. Two evaluation surveys showed that in one village of 265 respondents, nine were women; in the second village of 272 respondents, 33 were women. Interestingly, in one of its few remarks about women, the Project Paper had speculated that women were more likely to benefit from the project because they were less likely to migrate. The evaluators noted:

> Some of the participants stated the opinion that food assistance was destroying the traditional community

customs (the collective workday or minga) in which the women prepare special food for participants, thus damaging the principle role of project participation formerly reserved to rural women. This exacerbated the broader problem widely observed in Cajamarca and Junin that women participate very little in PODERIN sponsored projects; project participation opportunities are virtually monopolized by male residents.

The evaluation document asks "who does the project belong to?" Clearly that it does not belong to women.

QUESTIONS:

1) How many women actually participated in these projects?
2) What projects did women participate in?
3) What did they get from their participation?
4) What other kind of project might have induced greater participation and provided greater benefits to women?
5) What was the effect of the loss of the minga role?
6) Were there any women in the PODERINs?
7) Were there any women extension staff?
8) Was the participation rate of female-headed households in these projects different from the rate of women in male-headed households?
9) Why was the women's participation rate so low?

APPENDIX B: COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE METHODOLOGY

Problems arose from three distinct sources in the conduct of this study: the questionnaire, the documents, and AID's institutional memory.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE: The questionnaire was based on a theory of how development and, more particularly, development which benefits women takes place. It was designed to guide a detailed search for indications that this theory had influenced the design, implementation or evaluation of the projects. There were three problems with this.

First, the questionnaire diverted attention from what the projects actually did in dealing with women, particularly in the design stage. Some project design teams appear to have made serious attempts to do something about women. However, the questionnaire had no section on mechanisms for including women. Projects which concentrated on the mechanisms for including women looked worse on the questionnaire than projects which included simply pro forma sections on women's productive roles.

Second, the focus of the questionnaire led some coders to evaluate projects highly if they mentioned women in more than a single sentence. But other coders evaluated projects highly only if the mentions of women actually contributed to the project design. These inconsistencies will cause certain kinds of projects to appear more sensitive to the concerns of women than they actually were.

Third, few USAID projects are explicitly (or, often, even implicitly) based on development theories. Rather, many tend to be based on what is fashionable or political at the moment- water, integrated rural development, fuelwood, private initiative and so on. So the project analyst will search in vain for indications of theory, let alone one concerning women.

Recommendation: In the future use, more emphasis should be placed on what projects are actually intended to do for women and how they intend to involve them. The viewpoint should be that of the well-intended mission director- what information can s/he use? Mission directors are more concerned with mechanisms than with theory.

THE DOCUMENTS: The analysis presumed that project documents were a reasonably accurate reflection of the processes of project design, implementation and evaluation. This is not the case (See U.S. Congress, 1984: 61-63). Many project design documents are simply justifications of a decision to do a given project. Attempts to reconstruct the reasoning of the design team by reading the project paper can thus be quite futile. Using USAID documents to trace the degree to which a project considered women may result in misleading conclusions due to the following factors.

1) Fulfilling USAID Requirements: Women may be mentioned only to fulfill USAID requirements.

As a result of the Percy Amendment all project designs must consider women. The response is often the inclusion of some boiler plate statements on women, no indication that women have been considered realistically.

2) Cut and Paste Design: The information on women may have been lifted wholesale from another document.

Many project papers appear to one like an intricate ritual of words mandated by Congress but signifying little. Some design teams use other project papers to reduce their work by cutting and pasting sentences, paragraphs, pages and indeed sometimes whole sections. The design of, say, a seed multiplication project need differ from country to country only in minor details. The description of the role of women in the economy can be the same for most projects in a single country or even neighboring countries if a regional view is taken. The sentence on women which, as noted in Appendix A, appeared in the project papers for both the Botswana Agriculutral Planning Project and the Botswana Agricultural College Extension was not the only duplication in documents read for this evaluation. There was also duplication in a succession of documents in the same project. Thus, insofar as USAID documents do not reflect thought but the necessity of fulfilling ritual and a certain dexterity in the use of scissors and scotch tape, they are not satisfactory material for project analyses.[1]

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1. Women, it should be pointed out, fare somewhat better in this regard than the environment. While women were mentioned occasionally in later documents, the environment was never mentioned again in the documents for the twenty-one projects read for this evaluation.

3) Attention is focused on other issues: Project disasters may push attention to other issues.

USAID documents which have been prepared in a conscientious and professional manner may nonetheless be unsatisfactory data sources because they reflect the often justifiable preoccupations of their authors.

Project evaluation documents do not, as a general rule, systematically follow the design documents. Rather, they focus on specific components which are either very successful or cause for extreme concern. There is rarely time or money to give attention to all the components of a project. It is quite understandable that in the case of the Zaire INERA project in which only one member of the contract team (who was replaced) spoke French adequately, in which there was strong animosity between the contract staff and their local counterparts, and in which the contractor had failed to ship spare parts for equipment- the evaluators did not get around to considering whether the project was serving women. Another example of this phenomenon is the evaluation of the Africa Regional IRT project which was done in conjunction with the evaluation of the Africa Regional WID project. The team was obviously aware of the WID problems and the report had a number of useful insights on the WID project. However, the evaluations of IRT projects only occasionally mentioned women, not, it would seem, because of unawareness but because in the context of the IRT project there were far more fundamental problems. The recognition of this phenomenon should not detract from the recognition that often the failure to mention women is indicative of other fundamental problems with the project.

4) The deliberate omission of women: Mentions of women may have been deliberately curtailed.

It is possible that certain aspects of women's involvement in a project may be deliberately underplayed because of the local ideology about the role and status of women.

5) Missing documents

A final problem with USAID documents is that they are simply not

there. Although USAID is to be congratulated on a good start at a retrieval system, numerous documents were either not available or were not available in legible condition. The person who does not have her own file of documents or contacts with the right people is unlikely to succeed in following the paper trail. Indeed, the evaluation of the Bolivian Small Farmer Organizations Project done for this report came to conclusions which were the complete opposite of an earlier evaluation for the simple reason than different documents were used (See Appendix A).

This problem affects all evaluations and design efforts not just projects such as this one. USAID personnel and consultants in Missions are at a severe disadvantage if they do not have access to some form of institutional memory. Often the only person who knows what happened more than four years ago is the local secretary. One reason the same mistakes are repeated is that the documents which record them are lost or inaccessible.

Recommendation: A similar project done for FAO used a much wider variety of project-related documents- internal memoranda, trip reports and so on. It is these working documents which often tell the real story. To the extent that it is possible, such documents should be utilized in the future.

A document storage and retrieval system should be instituted for Missions.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY: Holes in documentation can sometimes be filled in by interviews with Washington staff, but more often, they can not. Many Washington staff, even those who tried to be helpful, had almost no knowledge about what was happening or had happened in the field with regard to a project. This is, unfortunately, too often the case with field staff as well.

Recommendation: It would be useful to provide a list of the people (and, if possible, their current whereabouts) who had actually been on the design, implementation and evaluation teams so their insights into the dynamics of various project phases could be tapped.

Appendix D: List of People Contacted

J. Albert, USAID/Washington.
Dr. J. Ashby, International Center for Tropical Agriculture, Cali, Colombia
J. Atherton, USAID/Washington
Dr. T. Barclay, Development Alternatives Inc., Washington, D.C.
J. Beausoleil, Assistant Agricultural Development Officer, Quito, Ecuador
Dr. R.L. Blumberg, University of California
K. Cloud, University of Illinois
Dr. W. Haney, University of Wisconsin
Dr. H. Henderson, University of Arizona
Dr. C. Jones, Harvard Institute for International Development
J. McGuire, USAID/Washington
S. Sandager, MIDAS project, Ghana
M. Sorrels, USAID/Washington
Dr. A. Spring, University of Florida
J. Stanley, Ashland, Oregon
T. Worrick, USAID/Washington

Projects for which I have personal knowledge

Tanzania Arusha Regional and Village Development Project
Botswana Agricultural Planning Project
Botswana Agricultural College Extension Project

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