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FINAL DRAFT

WOMEN AND THE COCHABAMBA REGIONAL
DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

By:

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GENESYS

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AID or USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
AID/PPC	Program and Policy Coordination Bureau of AID
APSP	Andean Peace Scholarship Program
CRDP	Cochabamba Regional Development Project
GENESYS	Gender in Economic and Social Analysis
GOB	Government of Bolivia
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PDAR	Program de Desarrollo Alternativo Regional Regional Alternative Development Project
PPC/WID	Program and Policy Coordination Bureau of AID/Office of Women in Development
SCW	Scope of Work
USG	United State Government

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WOMEN AND THE COCHABAMBA REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

I EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is a summary of the work done by the GENESYS Gender Specialist of the Planning Team for the new Cochabamba Regional Development Project, a seven-year alternative development project in the coca-producing area of Cochabamba, Bolivia, and one of AID's most important projects in the hemisphere.

The rationale of the project is to reduce the production of coca by providing alternative income-earning sources to rural families in the area. The task of the Gender Specialist, who was requested by USAID/Bolivia, was to integrate gender issues into the Project Paper and to develop the Social Soundness Analysis for the project.

In this report, background information on the project and socioeconomic data on project area families are presented as well as implementation recommendations for integrating gender issues into project components. These are followed by a commentary on the role of the Gender Specialist itself and suggestions for improving the structural position of a Gender Specialist on a project design team.

The implementation recommendations were presented to the team during the preparation of the Project Paper. They were also provided to USAID/Bolivia, which has the ultimate responsibility for preparing the draft of the Project Paper. It is anticipated that some of the recommendations which were omitted from the first draft¹ will be incorporated in the final version. USAID/Bolivia also received the comments concerning the structural position of the Gender Specialist on the project design team.

II INTRODUCTION

A HISTORY OF REQUEST

USAID/Bolivia has conducted a series of activities to address gender considerations in its projects, specifically to enhance women's contributions to development efforts and to improve project impacts on women as well as men. In January 1991, USAID/Bolivia requested assistance from PPC/WID through the Gender in Economic and Social Systems Project (GENESYS) to ensure that gender issues were included in the Project Paper for the new Cochabamba Regional Development Project. Specifically, the Mission requested the incorporation of an additional person in the design team who would be responsible for integrating gender considerations into the relevant areas covered by the Project Paper, as well as provide expertise in rural and small enterprise development.

¹ See USAID/Bolivia for a copy of the final draft of the Project Paper and for the recommendations regarding gender that were ultimately included.

The tasks of the gender specialist were twofold: (1) to identify the special needs, interests, and constraints on women in the project area and (2) to identify the opportunities and constraints on proposed sub-project activities as presented by the actual and potential role of women in the particular areas. In addition, the Gender Specialist had the task of writing the Social Soundness Analysis for the Project Paper. (See Appendix B.) The seven-week contract was carried out from February through April 1991. The following report is the culmination of this assistance.

B. METHODOLOGY FOLLOWED

The Scope of Work (SOW) of this consultancy (see Appendix A) included both integrating gender in the Project Paper and writing the Social Soundness Analysis (see Appendix B). To carry out these tasks, the following methodologies were used:

1. Discussions with GENESYS and PPC/WID regarding project issues.
2. Discussions with USAID/Bolivia Mission members, including WID representatives, about gender and socioeconomic concerns in project area.
3. Interviews with specialists in project area. (See Section IX, "Persons Interviewed.")
4. Daily meetings and discussions with team leader and team colleagues regarding integration of gender into project components. (See Section VI, "The Real.")
5. Extensive review of written materials describing family economics and rural women's roles in project area. (See Section VIII, "Reference Documents.")
6. Short field trips to project areas.
7. Debriefings with USAID/Bolivia, PPC/WID, AID/W and GENESYS.

C. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The following report begins with information on project background, rationale, goal, and strategy. Socioeconomic data on the object of project focus and the rural family, are then given.

Next, it addresses implementation constraints and opportunities, and discusses recommendations for the integration of women in the project.

Finally, we turn to the pragmatic issues of how these implementation suggestions were and were not integrated into the Project Paper and to the role of the Gender Specialist itself.

III THE COCHABAMBA REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

A. PROJECT BACKGROUND

The Cochabamba Regional Development Project (CRDP) encompasses the regions of the Department of Cochabamba in which human migration links the coca-growing areas of the Amazon-Basin Chapare with the high valley farming areas of the Southern Zone which provide the cheap migrant labor for coca growers.

The Chapare consists mostly of tropical lowlands characterized by meandering rivers, high annual rainfall, and poor to fair soils. The Southern Zone consists of high valleys and their surrounding mountains. The area is dry and mostly deforested. Rivers provide some irrigation potential but most farming still depends on rainfall.

The original project, which began in 1983, included only the coca-producing area. This project was negatively affected by a late start and external political factors. In 1987 it was amended to include the "Associated" High Valleys (AHV),² the principal area of temporary outmigration to the Chapare. The purpose of that addition was to stabilize the population in the high valleys in order to cut down the supply of labor that was available for coca harvesting and processing in the Chapare.

The new CRDP will build on the progress made by this amended project. Its goal is to provide economic development in the entire region for two reasons:

1. Coca-growing farmers in the Chapare will not switch to alternative crops or other income-generating activities unless viable alternative economic opportunities are available. The project is designed to develop these alternatives.
2. Farmers in the high valleys (primarily men) migrate temporarily to the Chapare to work in coca because the Southern Zone does not provide enough income-opportunities. Economic development in the Southern Zone will improve on-farm income and provide other income-earning possibilities, thereby cutting off or diminishing considerably this source of cheap labor for coca production.

² The term Associated High Valleys (or AHV) was replaced in the project paper by Southern Zone. Consequently, this report uses the term Southern Zone.

While it is clear that the market price for coca will impact the success of a coca-related economic strategy in the Chapare and Southern Zone, comparative prices between coca and alternative crops is not the sole determining factor in a rural families' decision to grow coca. Research has demonstrated that Chapare rural families prefer crops that can be grown and harvested without outside labor. They also prefer not to subject themselves to "hassling" by the police.

People in the Southern Zone do not like the Chapare and, indeed, would prefer not to migrate at all. In fact, if their incomes are high enough to survive on highland farms, they will not. Even if they do have to migrate, they will not go to the Chapare if other migration destinations can provide equal opportunities for cash employment.

Thus, if coca prices can be kept low enough, as they now are,³ rural families in both zones will choose non-coca related strategies. Therefore, it must be stated up front that the success of this project is absolutely dependent on the continued successful implementation of the coca interdiction program.

The focus of the project, both for programming and evaluation, is the rural family and its income. The family is the basic production and decision-making unit in the region, and the project purpose is to affect family decisions regarding choice of economic strategies.

B. PROJECT RATIONALE

This project is part of an overall United States Government (USG) - Government of Bolivia (GOB) effort to reduce and ultimately eliminate the production and processing of illegal coca in Bolivia. Other joint US-GOB programs, separate from USAID, are directed at the eradication of "illegal" coca and the suppression of coca processing and trafficking.

C. PROJECT GOAL

The project goal is to raise rural family income, from both agricultural and off-farm activities, by providing alternatives to income earned in coca production. This goal will be measured by:

1. increase in family incomes;
2. increase in agropastoral production;
3. investments in agro-related enterprises; and
4. generation of farm and non-farm employment.

³ Because of the many factors involved no analyses have identified the profit threshold at which farmers will turn away from coca, but the research cited above indicates that the price must provide a margin somewhat above that provided by alternative products.

D. PROJECT PURPOSE

The project purpose is the development of alternative sources of income and employment for rural families in the project area. This will include all rural families, whether or not they grow coca.

E. PROJECT STRATEGY

The approach suggested in the Project Paper is a refinement of earlier strategies, but essentially based on the strategy followed and progress made under previous USAID/Bolivia programs directed at this same objective.⁴

This strategy aims to promote the economic growth and transformation needed to provide a legitimate alternative to coca farming and processing. The strategy focuses on improvement of small farmer research and extension activities, improvement of marketing, processing, and packing structures, provision of micro, small and medium-sized credit for project area families, increase of agricultural production and household income through natural resource management activities, and strengthening of the institutions responsible for project planning and administration. All these strategies will include women as well as men.

IV. WOMEN AND FAMILIES IN THE COCHABAMBA REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

A. WOMEN IN THE PROJECT

Women are essential to the success of the CRDP because data show that in the primary unit of project focus -- the family -- income is generated by both women and men and economic decision-making is shared between wives and husbands. Consequently, the project will reflect these shared responsibilities in its objectives, strategies, and implementation recommendations by recognizing male and female roles in production, processing, and marketing. In addition, it will address the needs and possibilities of off-farm employment for both men and women.

⁴ For a good historical review of these efforts, see the "Evaluation of the Chapare Regional Development Project," Bostwick, Dorsey and Jones, November 1990, pp. 15 et seq. See also "Institutional Analysis of the Chapare Regional Development Project," Painter, April 1990.

In the new CRDP, women have been included in many ways, from recommendations that more women be recruited and trained as planners and implementors to identification of the constraints, opportunities, and implementation activities which specifically affect women.

In addition, the Planning Team took a new stance regarding the basic unit of analysis, benefits, and evaluation: the rural family and its household income. Benefits will be directed toward the family as a unit, not specifically to male farmers (or female farmers).

This identifies women and men as joint family leaders, income earners, and decision-makers, thus eliminating the definition of family as male household-head plus dependents, which places more emphasis on men and implicitly assumes that men are the primary decision makers and income earners. Income will be measured by family, not by individual, thus including women's inputs of labor and cash, as well as men's.

The identification of women and men as joint household heads is not a fictitious model imposed by the project. Rather, as the following data show, it is the reality of family organization and production in the project area.

B. BACKGROUND TO THE PROJECT AREA AND RURAL FAMILIES

In the following sections a brief profile is drawn of the three family types on which the project focuses:

Type I.	The Subsistence Rural family
Type II.	The Cash Market Rural family
Type III.	The Small-Scale Entrepreneur Rural Family

Subsequent sections analyze migration constraints and incentives; project the number of possible migrants during the years of the project; discuss the role of women in coca production; and describes types of social organizations which are points of communication and organization for development organizations working with these households.

C. BENEFICIARY POPULATION

There are approximately 71,000 beneficiary families (five persons to a family) in the six Cochabamba valley and highland provinces, as well as the relevant areas of the Cochabamba tropical region (the Chapare) which make up the project area. However, it should be noted that population data for the area vary, particularly in regard to the

Chapare.⁵ Currently, only a part of this territory is targeted by the project. The division of these families by the two regions is:

Southern Zone Families	36,343
Chapare Families	<u>34,704</u>
Total	71,047 Families

The Southern Zone data are derived from National Institute of Statistics data which show the following population breakdowns among the six highland provinces. As stated above, breakdown of the Chapare data is much more problematic and, consequently, not differentiated.

TABLE 1.

POPULATION OF THE COCHABAMBA SOUTHERN ZONE

PROVINCE CANTONS	SIZE IN SQ. KILOMETERS	POPULATION PROVINCE CAPITAL TOTAL	RURAL CANTON	
Arani	570	15,449	8,125	7,324
Campero	5,550	38,011	17,970	20,041
Esteben Arze	1,245	30,526	3,422	27,104
Jordan	305	26,893	8,477	18,416
Mizque	2,730	35,192	16,479	18,713
Punata	850	35,623	9,096	26,527
TOTALS	11,250	181,694	63,569	118,125

D. DIRECT BENEFICIARIES OF THE PROJECT: THE FAMILY

The project area encompasses families living in a variety of ecological zones -- from dry, cold highlands at 10,000 feet to jungle wetlands, producing distinct agricultural

⁵ For Southern Zone area: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) & Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo Regional (CIDRE). Cochabamba en Cifras, Vol. 1. Cochabamba, 1990.

For Cochabamba tropical region: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo Regional (CIDRE). Monografía de Cochabamba Tropical. Cochabamba, 1989.

products, and representing a range of sociocultural styles. Despite these differences, the families can be categorized according to a primary measure of the project: the source of household income.⁶

None of these types is "pure." All families have more than one kind of involvement in the marketplace and in agricultural production. All families participate to some degree in the cash economy; all grow some food for home use. (Even for Type I families, cash is necessary for items such as farm inputs, school costs, and health needs.) As one observer has written:

...people are involved in a multiplicity of income-earning activities. This becomes clear when the household rather than the individual is taken as the unit of analysis... The husband might be a trucker, the wife a merchant, and a young daughter a barter woman.

Moreover, dedication to one activity does not exclude engagement in another in a different setting. (For example) a woman might be involved in a barter exchange in the villages on Mondays, set up a clothes stall in a marketplace on Tuesdays, buy potatoes in another market on another day of the week, and make and sell chicha (corn beer) in her house weekends.⁷

Within the family each member is involved in a variety of enterprises. Although there are separate spheres of labor for men and for women, these are complementary and not rigidly divided. There is overlap and substitution. For example, a woman might plow during the time her husband has migrated to the Chapare, and a man might wash clothing during the time his wife is at a regional market. Finally, decisions about such important questions as who will migrate or what crops to plant are made by the family as a unit, not by individuals.

Using the source of household income as the primary indicator, three family types can be identified for both the Southern Zone and the Chapare.

⁶ Household income refers to any resources, cash or products, that come into the household. This is distinguished from household cash income, which refers specifically to monetary income.

⁷ From Maria Laura Lagos, Pathways to Autonomy, Roads to Power: Peasant-Elite Relations in Cochabamba, 1900-1985. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1988. Pp. 171. Data from the project area of Tiraque.

E. FAMILY TYPES: ECONOMIC, ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

Table 2 summarizes the three family types and their socioeconomic characteristics. More detailed data follow.

TABLE 2.

FAMILY TYPES AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

SOUTHERN ZONE

FAMILY TYPE AND NUMBER	REGION	SUBSISTENCE CROPS	CASH CROPS	ANIMALS	BASIC DIVISION OF LABOR	LANGUAGE USED AT HOME
I. Subsistence farm family 15746 families	dry highlands that comprise most of Mizque and Campero provinces	potatoes, corn, wheat, quinoa, oca, broad beans	corn, wheat, seed potato	very large herds of goats and sheep; some chickens, oxen, burros	men raise crops and migrate; women raise animals and do domestic labor	Quechua; many men and most women are monolingual in Quechua
II. Cash market farm family 16353 families	fertile irrigated valleys of Cliza-Punata, Mizque, and Omereque	potatoes, corn, onions, small quantities of many types of vegetables and fruits	potatoes, onions, peanuts (Mizque), garlic (Tin Tin) tomatoes (Omereque)	sheep and goats; cows, chickens, ducks, turkeys, rabbits, pigs, oxen, horses, burros	men-primary crops, migrate; women-small crops, animals, chicha, market, domestic labor	Quechua; most young men and many young women also speak Spanish
III. Rural entrepreneur family 4240 families	in and near provincial capitals: Arani, Alquile, Cliza, Mizque, Punata, Tarata	potatoes, corn, onions, fruits, vegetables	potatoes, corn, onions, peanuts; land is often cultivated by sharecroppers	chickens, pigs, ducks, turkeys; cows and sheep cared for by others in share arrangements	men-brokers, transportistas; women-market, run stores, chicherias, and restaurants	Quechua; most family members are also fluent in Spanish

CHAPARE

FAMILY TYPE	REGION	SUBSISTENCE CROPS	CASH CROPS	ANIMALS	DIVISION OF LABOR	LANGUAGE USED AT HOME
I. Subsistence farm family	tropical colonies, especially isolated areas	rice, cassava, corn, bananas, citrus	coca leaf	chickens	men clear land; women pick coca and do domestic labor; both farm	mostly Quechua (70% are from Quechua-dominated Cochabamba)
II. Cash market farm family	tropical colonies	rice, cassava, corn, bananas, citrus	coca leaf, bananas, pineapples	chickens, cows	men clear land; women pick coca, domestic; both farm	mostly Quechua, many know some Spanish
III. Rural entrepreneur family	towns on the main road: Shinahota, Isinuta, Ivergarzama, Villa Tunari	rice, cassava, corn, bananas, citrus. some entrepreneurs buy much of their food	coca leaf	chickens	men-transport, taxis, brokers; women-market, run eat/drink establishments	Quechua for marketers, taxi drivers Spanish for restaurateurs, bar owners

1. TYPE I. THE SUBSISTENCE RURAL FAMILY

a. ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION

The economic base of these families is primarily agricultural products produced for home use. Animals are maintained for their productive use, as well as a source of liquid capital, a "walking savings bank." Some agricultural crops are sold in the market for cash, and animals are sold when larger amounts of cash are needed.

These are the poorest of the beneficiary families.

b. ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1) CHAPARE FAMILIES NO. OF FAMILIES:
See footnote.⁸

The subsistence family in the Chapare does not occupy a different ecological zone from the Type II Chapare family, but rather has less access to roads and markets. The primary subsistence crops are rice, cassava, corn, some vegetables and beans, bananas, citrus, and pineapples. A few chickens and pigs are raised.

Men clear and burn forests; women cook for these activities. Otherwise, men and women collaborate in all agricultural activities.

Each family raises at least a little coca as a cash crop, and women and children generally harvest the leaves three or four times a year. Both men and women market it.

In general, these families have migrated from the highlands, and they maintain many highland traits: The first language is Quechua,⁹ although there are some pockets of Aymara speakers, and most speak more Spanish

⁸ Current data for the Chapare do not allow breakdown by household type. Collection of this demographic information will be one of the activities of the Chapare household studies recommended for 1991.

⁹ The DIRECO data show that 70% of the migrants are from the Cochabamba valleys; 12% from Potosi. Quechua is the primary language in both areas.

than their highland cousins. Most women wear polleras;¹⁰ preferred foods are rice, corn, and cassava.

(2) SOUTHERN ZONE FAMILIES NO. OF FAMILIES:
15,750

In the Southern Zone, these families live in the ecologically marginal zones where rainfall is scarce. (Average altitudes of 8,000 - 10,000 feet.) For example, in the areas of Wara in Campero Province and K'uri in Mizque Province. The primary subsistence crops are potatoes and corn. The primary cash crops are corn and wheat. In this harsh environment, sheep and goats are the important animals.

Women are primarily responsible for animal care, cultivation of secondary crops, and the seed selection and processing for all crops. Men are responsible for primary crops. Children work in herding, agricultural tasks, and bringing water.

The first language of these families is Quechua, and many women are monolingual. Women wear polleras or more traditional clothing of homespun (bayetta). The preferred staple foods are potatoes and corn.

2. TYPE II. THE CASH MARKET RURAL FAMILY

a. ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION

The economic base of these families relies much more on agropastoral production for the cash market. However, much of farm production is for subsistence.

These families have a higher cash income than those described above, and their household consumption and agricultural production also depends more on market-purchased goods, such as fertilizer, seeds, and insecticides.

b. ECOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

¹⁰ A pollera is the gathered full skirt worn with an overblouse and some kind of hat which distinguishes a cholita from her more westernized sister.

(1) THE CHAPARE

NO. OF FAMILIES:
See footnote 8.

This family grows the same subsistence crops as Chapare Type I but also cultivates sizeable amounts of coca, bananas, and pineapples for the cash market. Their advantage over Type I is primarily in access to the market, not in size of landholding.

The division of labor between men and women is similar to Chapare Type I.

In general, these families are more bilingual and have more sociocultural characteristics of the dominant Spanish-speaking population. The first language is usually Quechua, though they are often bilingual. Preferred foods are rice, cassava, and corn. (Corn was brought from the highland, as well as potatoes, but potatoes were not successful in the Chapare.)

(2) SOUTHERN ZONE FAMILIES

NO. OF FAMILIES:
16,353

In the Southern Zone, these families live in fertile valleys where the altitude is lower and where water is more plentiful. (Average altitude of 6,600 feet.) For example, the valley regions of Mizque, Omereque, Pasorapa, Tipajara. The primary subsistence crops are potatoes and corn. The primary cash crops are potatoes, onions, and peanuts, as well as garlic (in Tin) and tomatoes (in Omereque). The important animals are milk cows, oxen, sheep, and goats.

Women are primarily responsible for seed selection, crop processing, and marketing, as well as cultivation of secondary crops of vegetables for consumption and sale. As in most areas, they are also responsible for the daily care and health care of animals in addition to domestic responsibilities of cooking and child care. Men are responsible for the primary crops, oxen, and the training and supervision of range cattle. Children work at water carrying, herding, weeding, and protecting crops from birds.

In general, these families are more bilingual and have more sociocultural characteristics of the dominant Spanish-speaking population. Their first language is Quechua, but most men and some women speak or

understand Spanish. Older women wear polleras; some younger women wear western skirts and pants. The preferred staple foods are potatoes and corn, complemented by purchased rice and macaroni.

3. TYPE III. THE SMALL-SCALE ENTREPRENEUR RURAL FAMILY

a. ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION

The economic base of these families depends much more upon entrepreneurial activities than on agropastoral production. These activities include marketing, transport, services, small-scale retailing, and artisan production.

However, most of these families also engage in agropastoral activity for home use and marketing. Many share-crop out sections of their agricultural land to poorer families, who give one-half of the harvest to them as rent.

These families have the highest family income of the three types.

b. ECOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1) THE CHAPARE

NO. OF FAMILIES:
See footnote 8.

In the Chapare, these families live in towns such as Villa Tunari, Shinahota, Isinuta, Ivergarzama, and Eterazama. These are "frontier" towns, with immigrants from the Santa Cruz lowlands as well as the Chapare highlands. In addition to the farm-town enterprises described above, there is a range of "boomtown" enterprises, such as drinking establishments, prostitution, and the use of taxis to transport coca.

The families involved in small-scale marketing are primarily Quechua-speaking highlanders, many of whom still wear the pollera. The owners of bars and restaurants are generally from Santa Cruz and speak only Spanish.

(2) SOUTHERN ZONE FAMILIES

NO. OF FAMILIES:
4,240

In the Southern Zone, these families live in towns such as Punata, Cliza, Mizque, and Aiquile. Their primary entrepreneurial activities center around the marketing of agricultural and manufactured products, trucking, and running eating and drinking establishments.

Women are primarily responsible for marketing and managing stores and restaurants. Men work as truckers and marketers of more expensive commodities and as marketing brokers or intermediaries.

In general, these families prefer Quechua but they speak Spanish as well. The preferred staple foods are potatoes, rice, macaroni, meat, and bread. Many women wear polleras, but their wardrobe includes elaborate and expensive ones, as well as heavy gold earrings (which are also considered investments).

F. FAMILY LABOR CYCLES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR INCOME-GENERATION

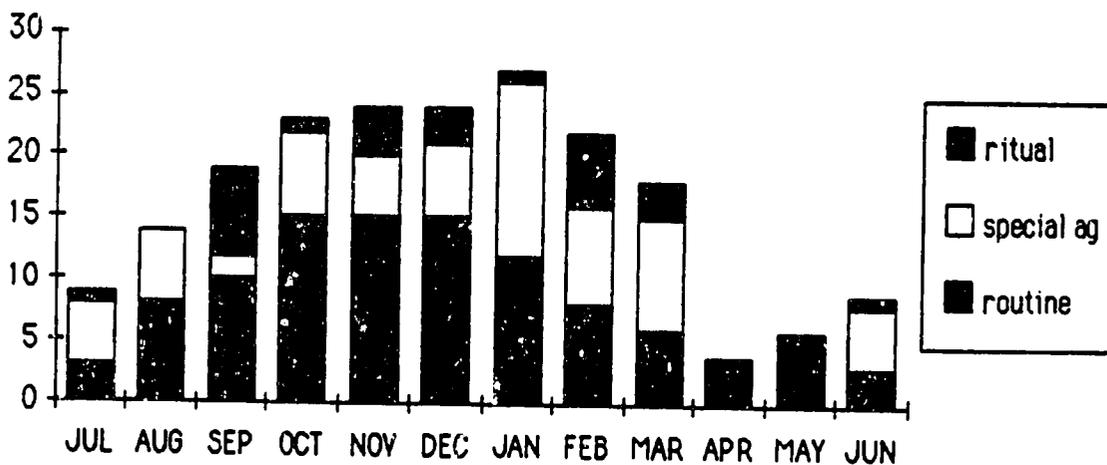
Tables 3 and 4 show labor cycles for men and women in both the irrigated valleys and the dry highlands. Data from the Chapare on labor cycles are not yet available. They are a part of the household studies recommended by the project for implementation in FY 1991.

The tables identify: (a) the types of on-farm labor demands on both men and women; (b) the amount of time given to these activities on a monthly basis; and (c) the cyclical changes throughout the year.

TABLE 3.

LABOR CYCLES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN IRRIGATED VALLEYS

Annual work cycle for men on medium sized irrigated farms in Mizque valley: average labor days per month dedicated to routine labor, special agricultural tasks and ritual obligations



Annual labor cycle for women on medium sized irrigated farms in Mizque valley: average labor days per month dedicated to routine labor, special agricultural tasks and ritual obligations

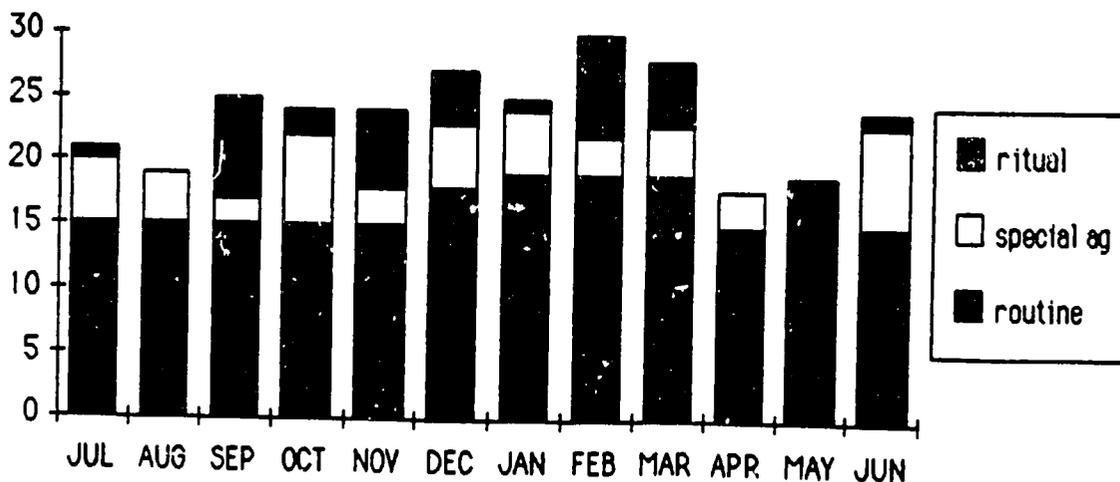
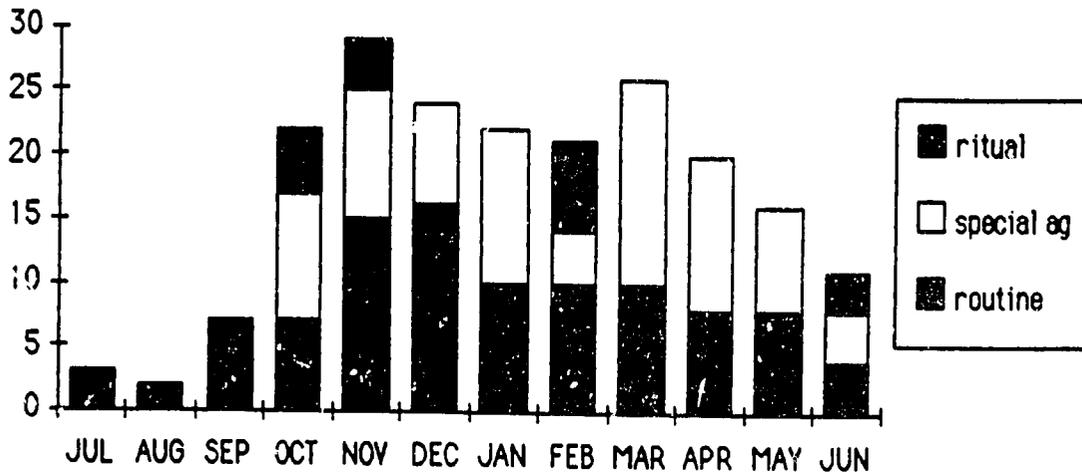


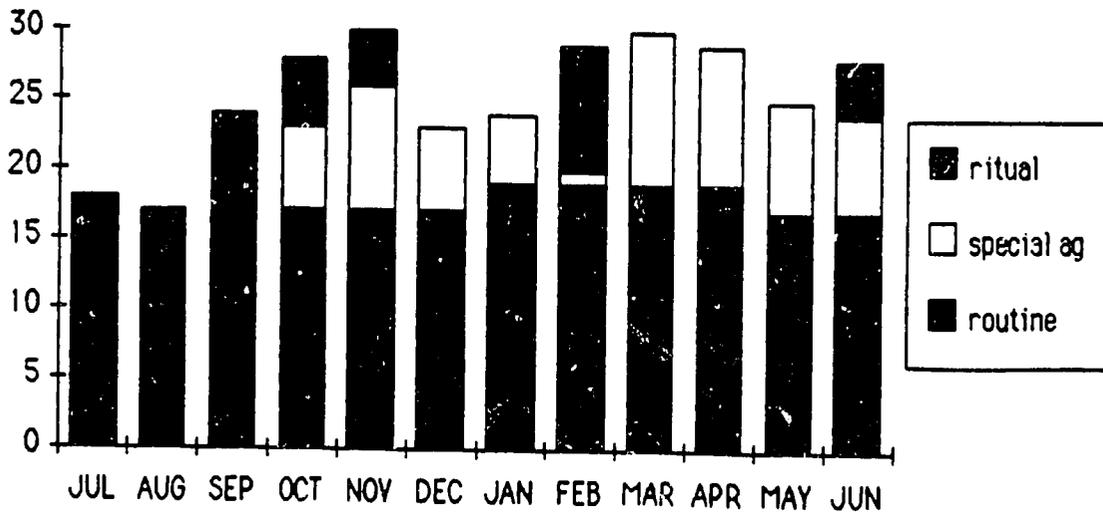
TABLE 4.

LABOR CYCLES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN NON-IRRIGATED HIGHLANDS

Annual labor cycle for men on medium sized farms without irrigation in Mizque highlands: average labor days per month dedicated to routine labor, special agricultural tasks and ritual obligations



Annual work cycle for women on medium sized farms without irrigation in Mizque highlands: average labor days per month dedicated to routine labor, special agricultural tasks and ritual obligations



These cycles have major implications for programs designed to improve income sources for men and women in these different ecological zones. First, significant differences between men's and women's cycles exist. Second are the differences between highland zones (Family type I) and irrigated valleys (Family Type II).

Women have more steady and routine labor and a higher percentage of time use which does not contribute directly to family cash income. Men have high daily labor demands at certain times of the year, particularly during planting season.

These differences are further emphasized in the non-irrigated highlands, where labor input is even higher. Women's daily work is more intense because they have more animals, less access to water, and fewer purchased foods. Men must cultivate very intensely during the natural rainy season and have no crops in the ground the other half of the year.

Consequently, men are available for wage work off the farm at certain times of the year. Men from the highlands have even greater chunks of time free of agricultural labor demands. In fact, highland men tend to migrate for longer periods of time. Valley men tend to migrate and return several times a year.

Women have more daily work, and many activities must be carried on near the home or simultaneously with childcare. A woman may take two to three days to travel for marketing, but she takes her young children with her. New wage-earning or training programs must take these constraints into account. (See the Project Paper, particularly the Small Farm Production and Natural Resource Management Project components, for possible types of activities. Home-based nurseries are one example.)

To increase farm and off-farm income, a first step is to reduce existing labor demands in order to free up that time for other income-generating activity. For example, improved water systems can reduce the time men and women spend in watering their crops and, if spigots near the house are included, can reduce the time women and children spend in carrying water or washing clothing.

G. FAMILY MIGRATION

1. Background

Since the colonial period, members of Southern Zone rural families have had to migrate periodically in order to supplement farm income. Initially these migration trails led to forced and wage labor in the colonial mines. Earlier in this century, the

routes were primarily to Argentina and Chile and in the 1970s to commercial farms in Santa Cruz. In the 1980s, the main trail shifted to the Chapare, where work for seasonal wage laborers was plentiful.

Reasons for migration have ranged from the need for cash to pay colonial taxes to periodic droughts which decimate Southern Zone production. In the 1980s, pressures were intensified. Land was scarcer, cash needs were increasing, and ecological devastation and the severe droughts of 1983-84 and 1988-90 reduced production. The Chapare provided new temporary migration opportunities to earn cash. As the data in Table 5 show, more than 25% of male household heads from the Mizque Valley had spent more than a total of six months in the Chapare during 1988 and 1989.

However, the data also indicate that it is the inadequacies of their home farming regions more than the attractions held by the Chapare that cause people to migrate. In one study, 83% of Chapare migrants stated that they migrated because of the lack of economic opportunities at home rather than a "get rich quick" pioneer mentality.¹¹

This implies that the population that provides the bulk of the cheap labor force for coca production would not be there if their own farms could support the family or if alternative forms of employment were available.

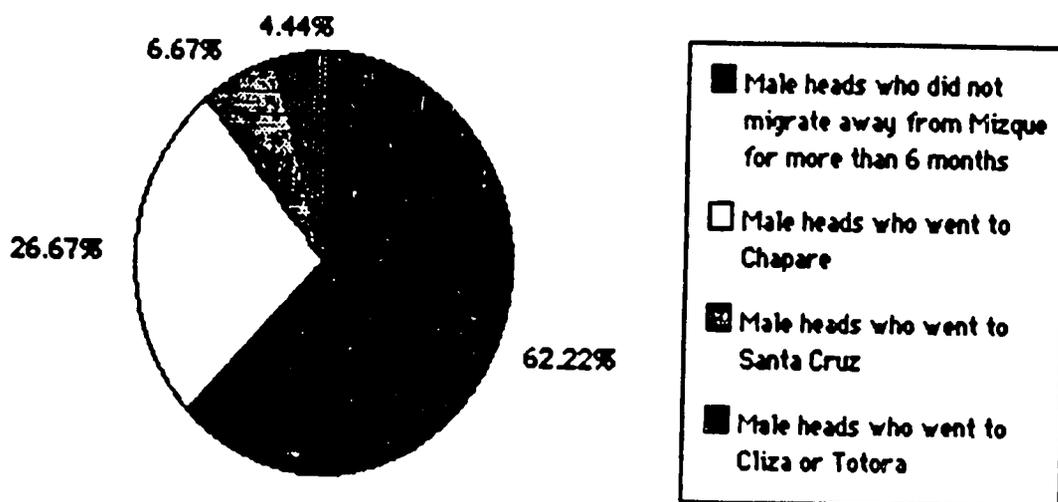
¹¹ Painter and Bedoya, p. 15.

TABLE 5.

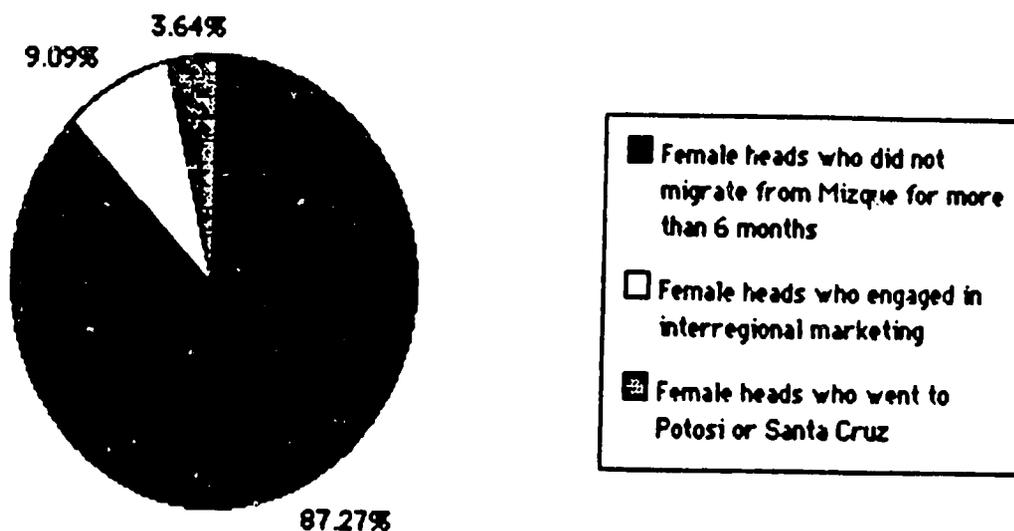
MIGRATION DESTINATIONS FOR VALLEY HOUSEHOLDS 1988-1989

The demographic group with the highest long-term migration frequency was men, usually married and between 20 and 29 years old. In the population shown below, almost 27 percent of male family heads migrated to the Chapare for more than six months in 1988 and 1989. Many married women traveled frequently, but as marketers not as migrants. Generally, women stayed at home to run the family farm.

MIGRATION DESTINATIONS FOR MALE HEADS FROM 55 MIZQUE HOUSEHOLDS WHO MIGRATED FOR MORE THAN 6 MONTHS DURING 1988 AND 1989



MIGRATION DESTINATIONS FOR FEMALE HEADS FROM 55 MIZQUE HOUSEHOLDS WHO MIGRATED FOR AT LEAST 6 MONTHS DURING 1988 AND 1989



2. Predictions of Migration and Employment Needs

Predicting the number of jobs that need to be created in order to provide alternative employment for these seasonal migrants is based on a number of variables, including alternate employment sources in the 1990s and the market for coca. However, a very rough estimate can be offered, based on current data for Southern Zone populations and the percentage of male farmers that were migrating.

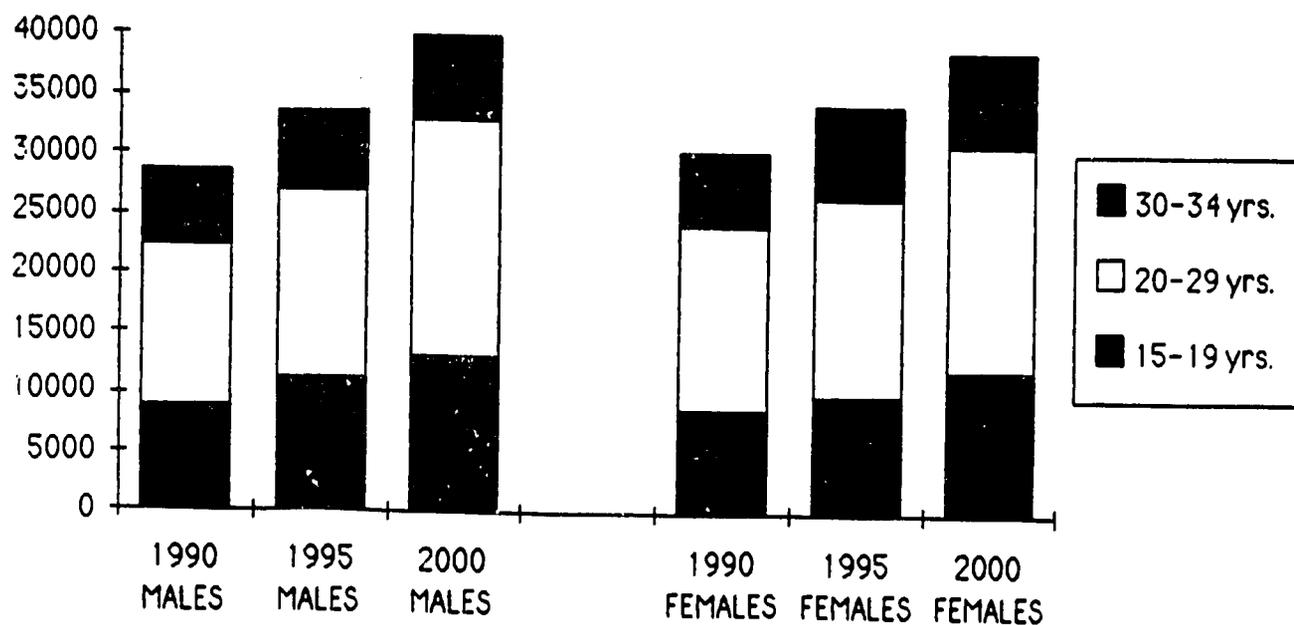
As Table 5 indicated, 26.67% of male household heads from the Mizque valley migrated to the Chapare in 1988-89. Table 6 shows that a cohort of 33,500 men between the ages of 15 and 34 (the ages when most men migrate) will be living in the Southern Zone in 1995.

If the Mizque percentage is applied to this cohort of 33,500, approximately 8,950 part-time employment opportunities would need to be created in order to compensate for the work that was being offered in the Chapare in 1988-89.

TABLE 6.

POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR SOUTHERN ZONE, 1995 AND 2000

PROJECTED POPULATIONS FOR PRIMARY MIGRATING COHORTS: MALES AND FEMALES
AGES 15 TO 35



H. WOMEN'S ROLES IN COCA PRODUCTION

In discussing women's roles in coca production, it is necessary to look at (1) the possible choices of female and male farmers in the Chapare and the Southern zone and (2) the factors behind the migration of men and women in this region. Families -- and, in turn, the women in them -- are involved in coca production because there is no other viable economic alternative. In general, work in coca is not the preferred source of household income, but it is often the only realistic one at the moment.

If the project can provide alternate sources of family income, women's and men's participation in coca production will be considerably diminished.

Much less is known about women and families in the Chapare than in the Southern Zone. In fact, one of the Planning Team's recommendations was a study of Chapare families, with particular attention to household decision-making and women's roles.¹² But based on the data available, a brief summary of family involvement in coca production includes the following:

1. Families of Permanent Migrants

Many families have established permanent farms in the Chapare, where one of their farm products -- and the major cash crop -- is coca. In these families, men, women, and children all work in agricultural production; they all plant, weed, and care for coca plants, fruits, rice, cassava, and other crops. Only men work clearing the land and cutting timber. The whole family helps with the coca harvest, but women and children are reputed to be better pickers, and, indeed, do most of the picking. Men and women dry coca. If the bundles need to be carried a distance from the farm to the road, men take it out. If the distance is shorter, either men or women transport and market bundles of coca.

2. Two-Household Families

Some families maintain two homes. This is a very common pattern in the Andes: families have homes in different ecological zones or one near their land and another in a ritual or civic center, and most of the time the family moves as a unit. However, in the case of the Chapare and the Southern Zone, the division of labor and residence between the zones is often difficult and destructive. Rather than the family moving as a unit, it splits up.

¹² This study will be carried out by USAID/Bolivia in 1991.

Usually, women stay in the valley of highland community where they farm, care for animals, and raise young children. Meanwhile, men and older sons are on the Chapare farm, growing coca. In this case, women's role in the coca economy is to maintain the traditional farm and the reciprocal relations in the home community that help support the family. (See Section IV.H). This strategy of two households also keeps the family from burning economic bridges: if the market for Chapare products (including coca) falls through, there is still the high valley farm to go back to.

3. Families with Men as Temporary Migrants

There is a very large "floating" (temporary migrant) population in the Chapare. The majority are men who come from the Southern Zone to earn temporary wages by picking coca, stomping coca, or other short-term jobs. As described in Section IV.G, families cannot maintain themselves with the economic conditions in the Southern Zone, so many men migrate to the Chapare.

When these men -- husbands and older sons -- migrate, they leave behind wives and daughters to manage and work the family farm, adding to the substantial burden which women farmers already carry. If alternative sources of income were provided nearer the homes of these migrants, the labor demands on both women and men could be reduced considerably.

4. Families with Women as Temporary Migrants

Although men have been the family members who usually migrate, young women are beginning to migrate in larger numbers, and many go to the Chapare. Some work as marketers, buying food, clothing, soap, and other merchandise in the city of Cochabamba and Santa Cruz and taking it by truck or bus to settlements and towns in the Chapare. Some of these young women deal in contraband goods from Brazil and Argentina. And some also transport illicit substances: the kerosene, acids, and chemicals necessary for cocaine production, and the coca paste and cocaine itself.

Other young women work in the service sectors in the Chapare, cooking meals or preparing foods or beverages for sale. Others work as waitresses, cooks, or prostitutes. Most young women frequently travel back and forth from their Southern Zone homes.

Some older women travel to the tropics for a month or two at a time to pick coca for wages, often traveling with relatives or ritual relations who cultivate land or work in the Chapare. These women generally come from the poorer of the Southern Zone households and often are single heads of households.

I. COMMUNITY SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS: TYPES OF SOCIAL AND PRODUCTIVE ORGANIZATIONS THAT INTEGRATE RURAL HOUSEHOLDS

Throughout the Southern Zone and the Chapare, the family is the major unit of production, consumption, and social organization. Nevertheless, these households are also dependent on various types of reciprocal relationships and larger social organizations. Each family cooperates with different groups of people on different levels, including networks of kin and reciprocal relations, irrigation groups, farmers' unions (sindicatos), producers associations, political parties, and various NGOs.

1. Reciprocal Kinfolk

For most households, the most immediate group is its own unique network of reciprocal relations or kinfolk. Reciprocal relations help each other in everything from planting potatoes and hosting fiestas to lending money and solving marriage problems. Many NGOs have started grassroots organizing by approaching a few motivated individuals of a networks who, in time, spread ideas to their relations and get them involved in specific projects.

The advantages of working through such networks lie in the efficiency of existing channels of communication and traditions of cooperation, and in the cohesion offered by a pre-existing group which has more at stake than the project activity provides. The problems stem from the fact that reciprocal kinfolk groups are not formal permanent bodies with elected leaders and boards of directors. In other words, these are not legally-recognized organizations.

2. Farmers' Unions (Sindicatos)

Farmers' unions provide a stable and formally organized body. They operate in almost all communities, although the character and organization of the unions vary widely between communities.

In areas such as Molinero Canton, Mizque, farmers' unions are strong and comprehensive organizations that control communal land, manage cooperative production, and determine infrastructural improvement and maintenance. In other areas such as Tarata, farmers' unions are virtually nonexistent.

One dilemma with farmers' unions is that all formal leaders are men, and most families are represented in the union by men. Nevertheless, in some unions, as many as a third of the affiliated households are officially represented by women and other women frequently attend meetings as family representative when their husband is away. The definition of women's role in the union often depends on whether it is from the point of view of the rural family or from an outsider. Although many outsiders see farmers' unions as "male-dominated," rural women generally see themselves as an integral part of the union. Even though women may not hold a

formal voting position in the union, a man's vote comes only after discussions between men and women at home.

As an example of women's activities in a union structure, the women of a Mizque union organized all-female union meetings, raised money, and constructed a crop storage and childcare building. It is possible to work with women through farmers' unions if women's formal and informal political roles are understood.

Another problem with farmers' unions is that the local union is sometimes affected by the extra-communal politics at the federation or confederation level. If a local union has taken on this larger political agenda, it is sometimes hard to work with.

Because of the complexity and importance of farmers' unions and the lack of good information about potential roles in development, particularly in the Chapare, the project has recommended that a study be carried out in 1991 of farmers' unions in the project area, with particular attention to women's roles.

3. User Groups, e.g., Irrigation Groups

These are usually subgroups of unions that share main irrigation infrastructure and work together to maintain the system and distribute water fairly. The groups are based on territory and have a clear-cut purpose. They tend to have fewer political agendas. They are easily clustered into larger units, with several adjacent groups working together. They also have a long tradition of organizing community work projects (obras comunales), in which each family is required to contribute both labor and money or other goods for a common project.

4. Mothers Clubs (Clubs de Madres)

Mothers Clubs are almost the only organizations specifically for women. In general, they have directed their activities toward women's domestic responsibilities, such as knitting or cooking, rather than toward economic development efforts. They have not assisted women in their agricultural and income-earning responsibilities. In addition, most clubs have serious operational and organizational problems.

5. Regional Differences

All of these rural organizations have different characters in the three major ecological zones of the project area. Highland communities tend to be more cohesive and self-conscious of their "groupness," and unions often coincide with clusters of interrelated networks of reciprocal relations. Some highland unions have long community histories, as they arose from groups of sharecroppers (colonos) on colonial haciendas.

Irrigation groups are only important in irrigated valleys, where reciprocal networks are very strong and serve to link diversified households to market and entrepreneur partners and where unions are quite varied.

Many Chapare unions are very strong and highly politicized, which poses obvious advantages and disadvantages for development projects.

V. THE IDEAL: IMPLEMENTATION CONSTRAINTS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE PROJECT PAPER

A. INTRODUCTION

The data collected by the planning team revealed that in the project to date very few project activities have included women as implementors and few have reached women as beneficiaries.

Currently, the personnel of project planning and implementing institutions are overwhelmingly male. Of the 82 "professional" positions (project directors to agricultural extensionists), 96% are men and only 4% women. Of the 143 positions in general (including secretaries and drivers), 80% are held by men; 20% by women. Table 7. shows these data.

Questions were raised about the number of qualified women professionals available. However, as Table 8 demonstrates, 18 percent of the students in the B.S. Agronomy program at the local university and 20 percent of the students in the Technical Agronomy¹³ program are women. The absence of female agronomists in the current project is therefore not justified by the lack of qualified women professionals in the area.

¹³ See Table 8. for definitions of Bolivian university degrees.

TABLE 7.

1990 CRDP PERSONNEL BY GENDER AND POSITION¹⁴

PROGRAMA DE DESAROLLO ALTERNATIVA REGIONAL COCHABAMBA	MALE EMPLOYEE	FEMALE EMPLOYEE
DIRECTORS, ADMINISTRATORS	9 (90%)	1 (10%)
ENGINEERS, ECONOMISTS, OTHER PROFESSIONALS	26 (100%)	0 (0%)
PUBLIC RELATIONS, COMMUNICATIONS	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
CHIEF OF CAMPS AND TRANSPORT	4 (100%)	0 (0%)
COMPUTATION, ACCOUNTANTS, APPRAISERS	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)
DRIVERS, WATCHMEN	13 (100%)	0 (0%)
SECRETARIES, RECEPTIONISTS	0 (0%)	9 (100%)
TOTAL	61 (85%)	11 (15%)
USAID/COCHABAMBA		
DIRECTORS, ADMINISTRATORS	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
ASSESSORS AND COORDINATORS	3 (100%)	0 (0%)
ENGINEERS AND OTHER PROFESSIONALS	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
SECRETARIES	0 (0%)	2 (100%)
DRIVERS, JANITORS	3 (100%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL	9 (82%)	2 (18%)
DAI		
DIRECTORS, ADMINISTRATORS	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
ASSESSORS	5 (83%)	1 (17%)
SECRETARIES, ACCOUNTANTS, RECEPTIONISTS	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
DRIVERS	4 (100%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL	11 (73%)	4 (27%)
SARSA		
ASSESSORS	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL	1 (100%)	0 (0%)

¹⁴ Data taken from personnel list of PDAR, the primary planning and administrative institution of the project, "Personal (a diciembre, 1990) Proyecto de Desarrollo Alternativo."

TABLE 7. (continued)

ASAR		
DIRECTORS, ADMINISTRATORS	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
CHIEFS AND COORDINATORS	3 (100%)	0 (0%)
ECONOMISTS, TECHNICIANS AND EXTENSION WORKERS	20 (100%)	0 (0%)
COMPUTATION AND ACCOUNTANTS	1 (25%)	3 (75%)
SECRETARIES	0 (0%)	4 (100%)
DRIVERS, WAREHOUSE OPERATORS, GREEN HOUSE OPERATORS-WATCHMEN	4 (100%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL	29 (81%)	7 (19%)
ASAR-AMERINDIA		
SUPERVISORS	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
PROMOTORS	3 (50%)	3 (50%)
ACCOUNTANTS	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
TOTAL	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)
TOTAL OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS	114 (80%)	29 (20%)
COMPOSITE CATEGORIAS		
DIRECTORS, CHIEFS, ADMINISTRATORS, ECONOMISTS, ASSESSORS, EXTENSION WORKERS	79 (96%)	3 (4%)
SECRETARIES, RECEPTIONISTS, COMPUTATION, ACCOUNTING, PROMOTORS	11 (30%)	26 (70%)
DRIVERS, WATCHMEN, JANITORS	24 (100%)	0 (0%)

TABLE 8.

1989 ENROLLMENT BY DISCIPLINE ACCORDING TO GENDER
AT THE UNIVERSIDAD MAYOR DE SAN SIMON, COCHABAMBA

FIELD	DISCIPLINE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
LAW	LAW	1884 (61%)	1193 (39%)	3077
MEDICINE	MEDICINE	1502 (61%)	960 (39%)	2462
DENTISTRY	DENTISTRY	518 (34%)	1020 (66%)	1538
BIOCHEMISTRY AND PHARMACY	BIOCHEMISTRY AND PHARMACY	72 (7%)	1003 (93%)	1075
ARCHITECTURE	ARCHITECTURE	173 (17%)	818 (83%)	991
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SCIENCES	ALL DISCIPLINES	1888 (56%)	1472 (44%)	3360
	ECONOMICS	481 (72%)	186 (28%)	667
	ACCOUNTING	869 (47%)	964 (53%)	1833
	BUSINESS ADMIN.	418 (65%)	226 (35%)	644
	SOCIOLOGY	120 (56%)	96 (44%)	216
AGRONOMIC SCIENCES	ALL DISCIPLINES	1790 (81%)	400 (19%)	2190
	AGRONOMY ENG.*	1072 (82%)	231 (18%)	1303
	T.S. FORESTRY**	138 (85%)	24 (15%)	162
	T S. AGRONOMY	580 (80%)	145 (20%)	725
SCIENCES AND TECHNOLOGY	ALL DISCIPLINES	1644 (77%)	489 (23%)	2133
	ELECTRICAL ENG.	291 (98%)	5 (2%)	296
	INDUSTRIAL ENG.	288 (84%)	55 (16%)	343
	MECHANICAL ENG.	299 (98%)	6 (2%)	305
	CIVIL ENGINEER	172 (96%)	8 (4%)	180
	CHEMICAL ENG.	10 (77%)	3 (33%)	13
	LIC. COMPUTER [≠]	362 (60%)	242 (40%)	604
	LIC. CHEMISTRY	18 (64%)	10 (36%)	28
	LIC. BIOLOGY	37 (43%)	49 (57%)	86
	LIC. MATH	11 (65%)	6 (35%)	17
	LIC. PHYSICS	9 (70%)	4 (30%)	13
	T.S. BIOLOGY	1 (13%)	7 (87%)	8
	T.S. CHEMISTRY	3 (33%)	6 (67%)	9
	T CHEMISTRY ^{**}	143 (62%)	88 (38%)	231
HUMANITIES	ALL DISCIPLINES	267 (22%)	947 (78%)	1214
	PSYCHOLOGY	153 (27%)	412 (73%)	565
	LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGES	41 (11%)	336 (89%)	377
	EDUCATION	73 (27%)	199 (73%)	272
TOTAL UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT		9738 (54%)	8302 (46%)	18040

*Engineer degrees require 4 yrs. of study and a major thesis.

**Technico Superior (advanced technician degree) requires 2 yrs. study and a short project.

[≠]Licenciado degree approximates a Bachelor of Arts with a thesis.

^{**}Basic technician degree requires approximately 2 yrs. study.

The exclusion of women as professionals and as beneficiaries of the project is significant, given the socioeconomic data which show that women's agricultural labor and decision-making are as important as men's in the Southern Zone. Good data on Chapare families are still to be collected. (See C.2 under "Implementation Plans" below.) However, preliminary data indicate that women in the Chapare also have important responsibilities in household production, processing, and marketing.

The following summarizes the project objectives, constraints, opportunities, and activities which were suggested by the Gender Specialist to other team members. The purpose of these suggestions was not to segregate out women as separate project beneficiaries and implementors, but to have the project better reflect the socioeconomic realities of the area.

B. OBJECTIVES, STRATEGIES, CONSTRAINTS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND INDICATORS

1. OBJECTIVES

- a. To increase the productivity of women's labor on and off the farm.
- b. To enhance women's contribution to alternative development, and agricultural production in general, by providing them with access to more resources through improvement of their agricultural production and animal husbandry, enhancing their marketing activities, and providing other opportunities for income earning.

2. STRATEGIES

- a. Obtain data on women's and men's productive activities and incomes in rural areas through the National Rural Household Survey, which will put special emphasis on households in the Chapare and Southern Zone.
- b. Take into consideration the role of women in agricultural production, particularly when crop substitution or a shift from agriculture to other economic activities is promoted.
- c. Emphasize extension and training activities directed at women and women-dominated agricultural production, with special awareness of the link between women's agricultural and husbandry activities and environmental change.

- d. Carry out projects with organizations that actively encourage women's participation.

3. PROBLEMS/CONSTRAINTS

- a. Women farmers lack direct access to productive resources; they are often considered economic dependents of men.
- b. Traditional "campesino" organizations, unions, federations, confederations, and producers associations, as well as regional development organizations, the church, and NGOs, only include women in matters related to their domestic responsibilities, such as health, hygiene, cooking and handicrafts.
- c. Over the long term, the program area is attempting to increase private-sector employment outside of agriculture and to increase rural incomes from non-coca sources in selected geographic areas. Each of these may have differential effects by gender, depending on the type of alternative development promoted. In particular, USAID must ensure that women and women-owned firms are represented among the firms or individuals receiving financial, technical, or marketing assistance from organizations it supports.

This will require:

- (1) Special efforts to reach economically active women
 - (2) Taking into consideration women's constraints in joining producer organizations, obtaining credit, and benefiting from other private sector resources.
- d. The lack of recruitment and training of women as project planners and implementors.

4. OPPORTUNITIES

- a. Women are active in agricultural production on small farms in the region, especially in care of sheep, goats, and cows, water, fuelwood, planting, weeding, and harvesting of crops. Men migrate seasonally or most of the year, leaving women in charge of all farming activities. But traditional extension and credit systems tend to exclude women. Project success will be enhanced by women's participation.

- b. Women are actively involved in agriculture in specialized tasks that can be made more productive through training and technical assistance. Significant improvements can be effected by working with women in the care of small animals, the raising of secondary crops, the selection of seed, harvesting, production of milk and milk products, handicrafts production, and agricultural marketing.
- c. Women have developed better skills in agricultural marketing than men and will make effective use of market credit and improved storage, transport, and market facilities.

5. INDICATORS

- a. Number of new project technicians trained for agricultural research and extension technology. Data disaggregated by gender.
- b. Number of beneficiaries receiving training from project. Data disaggregated by gender.
- c. Increases in income and employment from non-coca sources. Data disaggregated by gender.
- d. Increases in private sector employment outside of agriculture. Data disaggregated by gender.
- e. Number of women professionals in project planning and implementation institutions, such as USAID, PDAR, and NGOs.

C. IMPLEMENTATION PLANS AND ACTIVITIES

1. INTRODUCTION

Rural women's incomes will increase as a result of project operations. The project is not designed to segregate women and address them as separate beneficiaries. Rather, it reflects the current socioeconomic reality of the area in which women are economically active as producers, processors, and marketers and in which women's work often supports many other family members. The project will identify and enhance women's productive roles, and thereby increase female contributions to family income.

2. CHAPARE HOUSEHOLD DATA

In order to provide baseline data on families in the Chapare -- which does not now exist -- the project will collect and analyze socioeconomic data on these families, including gender-disaggregated analysis of:

- a. division of labor in agricultural production;
- b. nature of home responsibilities;
- c. sources of household income by member;
- d. extent of participation in community organizations;
- e. access to extension and resources;
- f. migration patterns (according to age).

This research will be carried out by the 1991 Rural Household Survey and the Chapare Household Survey recommended by the Planning Team.

3. SMALL FARM PRODUCTION

a. NEW FARMING SYSTEMS

- (1) Production recommendations for new cropping/farming systems should take into consideration the division of labor in agricultural production and associated labor constraints in the household.

b. EXTENSION WORK

- (1) Train all extensionists, both men and women, to work directly with women farmers as well as men. This is particularly true in those areas for which women have primary or equal responsibility. These include:
 - (a) seed selection;
 - (b) intercropping;
 - (c) production of secondary crops;
 - (d) introduction of nontraditional crops;
 - (e) demonstration farms;
 - (f) animal husbandry;
 - (g) health care of all animals;
 - (h) domestic water management and water pollution;
 - (i) forestry conservation.

- (2) Train and utilize women extensionists. Target: 20% of new hires are women by 1995 and 40% of new hires are women by the end of the project.¹⁵
- (3) Train women as well as men to act as community extension workers (promoters). Target: 40% of new hires are women by 1995 and 50% of new hires are women by the end of the project.

c. **PILOT PROJECTS DIRECTED TOWARD WOMEN FARMERS**

- (1) Undertake pilot activities directed primarily to the economic activities of women farmers, such as improvement of milk production, small animal production, or seedling nurseries.

4. **MARKETING, PROCESSING, STORAGE**

a. **WOMEN AS SMALL-SCALE MARKETERS AND INTERMEDIARIES**

- (1) Recognize important role that women play as marketers in the sale of their own products and as intermediaries and retailers in the local and regional markets. These economic activities will be taken into consideration in the design of any new project activities.
- (2) Because women are more involved in small- and medium-scale marketing rather than large-scale, include in marketing planning small-scale activities as well as larger-scale activities such as producers associations. This more clearly addresses the needs of women marketers.

b. **PILOT PROJECTS DIRECTED TOWARD WOMEN FARMERS/MARKETERS**

¹⁵ The USAID/Bolivia WID representatives and I realize that these numbers are somewhat problematic, and we debated whether they should apply to new hires (the team's suggestion) or to all personnel in these categories. Regardless of the base, we argue that from the point of view of project evaluation, target numbers are necessary.

- (1) See 3(c) above. Undertake pilot activities directed primarily to women and the marketing of these improved products.

c. PROCESSING AND STORAGE

- (1) Collection and Storage Facilities

Consideration should be given to on-farm or community-based storage and collection facilities. These decentralized capabilities for farm produce management allow women farmers a more powerful market position, especially in relation to the centralized collection and storage facilities proposed in the paper.

- (2) Involve women in planned group purchases of inputs, which reduce their expenses considerably.

5. CREDIT

Recognize the credit needs of women as small farmers and marketers in any proposed credit plans. (See Micro and Small Enterprise Development Project Paper, USAID/Bolivia, 1988.)

6. NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

- a. In forestry, include women in the management of community nurseries, agro-forestry, and community control of natural resources.
- b. Train women as community extension workers in natural resource management. Target: By 1995, 40% of community extension workers are women.

7. INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

- a. Women staff members will be recruited and trained to work in project planning and implementation. The participation of project implementors who are more knowledgeable about and better able to communicate with women as economic actors in the rural family is crucial to the attainment of the project goal.

VI THE RFAL: THE INTEGRATION AND EXCLUSION OF GENDER ISSUES IN THE PROJECT PAPER. WORKING WITH THE PLANNING TEAM.

The general organization of the six-and-a-half-weeks of work of the Planning Team was:

- A. Weeks 1 and 2: Individual research with brief nightly meetings to report on findings to date.
- B. Week 3: Meetings of "task forces" -- individuals working on each component -- to discuss preliminary recommendations. As Gender Specialist, I was included in Small Farmer Production, Small Farmer Credit, and Institutional task forces.

Meetings with USAID/Bolivia to discuss the preliminary recommendations of individual components. I presented the section on Socioeconomic Analysis, with an emphasis on women's roles.

- C. Week 4: Research and Writing. Meanwhile, I also worked with team members re the integration of women in their component sections.
- D. Week 5: Meetings of entire team to discuss individual components, which were written in draft form. I presented the implementation recommendations listed above in Section V.

In about half the components, notably small farmer production, marketing, and credit, women's roles were ignored or touched on only briefly. In turn, I discussed this individually with the responsible team member and the team leader, asking if the team member would be amenable to including more data and recommendations specifically on women farmers and marketers.

- E. Week 6: Written component sections to USAID/Bolivia. Discussion with USAID/Bolivia Planning Committee on sections. This was the first time I saw these revised component papers. I noted that most did not include the above suggestions, although the Team Leader had incorporated some of the recommendations in his sections.

USAID/Bolivia Planning Committee raised issues about better integration of socioeconomic data and recommendations regarding the integration of women in the Planning Paper. I replied that some of us on the team had agreed to disagree re women's roles.

- F. **Week 7: Meeting with Planning Committee in La Paz.** Short discussion with Committee on Project Paper as a whole. I met individually with WID representatives and the Director of the Office of Development Planning to discuss the inclusion of other gender-based recommendations in the final Project Paper. The Deputy Director of the Mission also expressed his support for better integration of women in the project.

The USAID/Bolivia WID representative and the Evaluation Specialist, who, among others at the Mission, will be finalizing the final draft of the Project Paper, will include many of the recommendations from Section V.

VII. WOMEN WITHOUT POWER: THE ROLE OF GENDER SPECIALIST ON A PROJECT PLANNING TEAM

The position as Gender Specialist on the CRDP planning team had two structural problems: (1) the chain of command was not clear; and (2) there was no authority to carry out the primary task of the SOW, the "incorporation of gender considerations into the relevant sections of the Project Paper."

A. TOO MANY CHIEFS: THE CHAIN OF COMMAND

Of the seven consultants on the planning team, six -- including the Team Leader -- had contracts with another consulting firm. I was the only consultant whose contract was with GENESYS. This made sense in terms of GENESYS' agreement with PPC/WID, but it presented difficulties as a team member.

Who was my boss? Was it the team leader, who was the bottom line for producing the Project Paper? Was it USAID/Bolivia, the client for the other six team members? Was it the WID representative in USAID/Bolivia? Was it GENESYS? Or was it PPC/WID, with whom I had no contact?

Although I believe I carried out my SOW satisfactorily, this unclear chain of command presented dilemmas on a day-to-day basis. Among other things, my SOW was changed at least three times, with input from the Mission, from the Team Leader, and from GENESYS. At other times, the Team Leader -- who was sympathetic to the issues of the integration of women in the project -- wanted to use my skills as a social scientist to work on issues in addition to women's roles (but issues which, at base, also affected women).

Because of good relations with the Team Leader, I was able to negotiate the sometimes conflicting demands on my time. However, if one had a team leader who was not amenable to the Gender Specialist's SOW and her marginal position on the team, the Gender Specialist could easily be caught between a rock and a hard place vis-a-vis their responsibilities to the team and her responsibilities to her contracted employer.

B. KNOWLEDGE WITHOUT POWER

The General Objectives of the SOW for the Gender Specialist state [she/he]:¹⁶

- . "will be responsible for the incorporation of gender considerations into the relevant sections of the Project Paper"
- . "will ensure that project activities reflect the actual and potential reality of women's roles and responsibilities, with respect to language and approach"
- . "will work with other team members to guarantee that they fully reflect women's roles, present and potential, in the design of the project's components"

As mentioned above, accomplishing these tasks was problematic. Through extensive research, I was able to identify implementation constraints and opportunities regarding women's roles and recommend mechanisms for their implementation. However, the inclusion of these recommendations in each section was almost totally dependent upon the willingness of the consultant for that particular section to incorporate them in his or her component. Some colleagues were pleased to have the suggestions. Others were not. The team leader was supportive, but he was reluctant to tell team members "what to do." As was I.

In other words, the Gender Specialist has a weak structural position on the team. She or he has responsibilities without the authority to carry them out and must rely on persuasive powers and the logic of data to incorporate women's issues. And sometimes one is not dealing with logical responses.

I would suggest that in future projects each team member has as a part of their SOW tasks similar to the following:

- . Identify mechanisms for including women as major participants in this component.
- . Identify constraints which inhibit women from receiving benefits from these project activities.
- . Develop gender-disaggregated project performance indicators to measure x and y of project beneficiaries.

Then, the Gender Specialist could act as technical advisor to his/her colleagues, working with them to complete these tasks. The advice may be welcomed, it may be resented. But at least she would not be accused of being a "policewoman," imposing gender integration on colleagues who believe that it is not a relevant part of the project. Individual consultants would be carrying out their own SOW's rather than having an additional SOW imposed on

¹⁶ See Appendix A, "Scope of Work of the Gender Specialist."

them by the Gender Specialist. The Gender Specialist might also serve as a component specialist, responsible for a paper section as well as providing technical assistance concerning the integration of gender.

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IX. PERSONS INTERVIEWED

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X. APPENDICES

Appendix A

SCOPE OF WORK

GENDER SPECIALIST FOR THE DESIGN OF THE COCHABAMBA REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (GEN.90-50.109)

Background

The objective of the Cochabamba Regional Development Project is to increase investment, productivity and employment in non-coca activities in the region through a market-led strategy. The project is focusing on the design issues of credit, migration and beneficiary needs and resources, marketing and economics, technology transfer, and institutional arrangements. While there are a number of potential beneficiary populations with regard to occupational specialty, the demographic dynamics of upland areas mean that the beneficiaries of the project will, in large measure, be women. In addition, there is strong evidence indicating that women in the Chapare area play an important role in agricultural production and a major role in marketing of produce.

General Objective

The gender specialist will participate in the design of the Cochabamba Regional Development Project, and be responsible for the incorporation of gender considerations into the relevant sections of the Project Paper, as well as providing expertise in rural development and small enterprise development. In particular, the gender specialist will be responsible for identifying 1) the special needs, interests and constraints on women in the project area, and 2) the opportunities and constraints on proposed sub-project activities as presented by the role of women in the particular areas. The gender specialist will ensure that project activities reflect the actual and potential reality of women's role and responsibilities, with respect to language and approach. The gender specialist will work with other team members to guarantee that they fully reflect women's roles, present and potential, in the design of the project's components.

Tasks

The specific tasks of the Gender Specialist include:

1. Briefly review/assess/identify what women's current role in coca production is, what their role can be in alternative activities being proposed, and other opportunities that may be important to consider in order to optimize their participation in alternatives to the coca/ cocaine industry in rural Bolivia.
2. Provide appropriate inputs to the social soundness analysis, in particular regarding the anticipated impact of the project on women.

3. Identify constraints which inhibit women from receiving benefits from project activities, and develop recommendations to overcome these constraints.
4. Identify appropriate organizational forms and delivery systems which insure the full integration of women into the training, credit and technical assistance activities to be offered by the project.
5. Identify mechanisms for including women as major participants in the credit, investment, research and extension, small enterprise development, infrastructure, marketing and processing and natural resource management components of the project.
6. Examine women's labor burdens identifying activities that will increase their access and control over productive resources and income while allowing them to use their time more efficiently.
7. Develop gender-disaggregated project performance indicators to measure employment and incomes of the beneficiaries. Relatedly, provide recommendations to ensure that gender is fully incorporated into the project's implementation, monitoring and evaluation system.
8. Prepare a report containing a) the findings of the research conducted; b) the inputs incorporated into the necessary sections; and c) the sections themselves. In addition, prepare a trip report as stipulated in Attachment 6 of the GENESYS Consultant Guidelines.

Appendix B

SOCIAL SOUNDNESS ANALYSIS
OF THE COCHABAMBA REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

I. PROJECT GOAL AND BENEFICIARIES

The goal of the project is to increase rural family income by providing more varied and improved sources of income for families in both the Chapare and the Southern Zone. The specific beneficiaries of the project are the three types of rural families in the Southern Zone and Chapare described above.

To carry out this goal, project activities will focus on:

1. the promotion of sustainable increases in agropastoral income;
2. the promotion of activities to add value to agricultural production;
3. the improvement of marketing and processing activities and access to credit;
4. the promotion of natural resource activities which will increase agropastoral production;
5. the provision of seasonal off-farm income-earning activities such as construction projects and tree planting;
6. the introduction or expansion of irrigation and potable water systems; and
7. the improvement of infrastructure.

The project will be working with the three family types in both the Southern Zone and the Chapare. Project activities will also be targeted as completely as possible toward both male and female family members to assure that the project addresses the fullest possible range of income enhancement possibilities.

II. BENEFICIARY PARTICIPATION AND DETERMINATION OF NEEDS

To determine the needs of the six subcategories of rural families, the project will:

- A. Work with appropriate community organizations of rural families to help members assess and determine the types of project activities which best meet their needs and the best means for carrying them out.
- B. Design project activities around the separate but complementary production, processing, and marketing responsibilities which are carried out by men and women.
- C. Recommend socioeconomic studies to help the project assess family time use in order to recommend labor saving activities for men and women and to tailor additional income producing opportunities to their possibilities.
- D. Take into account the on-farm labor cycles of men and women and consider time-use implications for new crops, wage opportunities, and other projects.

III. SPECIAL POPULATION CONCERNS

A. Rural Quechua Speakers

The project will give special attention to the identification and training of community leaders. In the current project, some farmers from the Chapare have been trained in Costa Rica. Similar training activities will continue, with Quechua-speaking community leaders, both men and women, targeted as special beneficiaries.

To the extent possible, the Andean Peace Scholarship Program (APSP) will support the project by helping to identify community leaders, men and women, and supporting their training.

B. Women

Rural women's incomes will increase as a result of project operations. The project is not designed to segregate women and address them as separate beneficiaries. Rather, it reflects the current socioeconomic reality of the area in which women are economically active as producers, processors, and marketers. The project will identify and enhance women's productive roles, and thereby increase female contributions to family income.

Women staff members will be recruited and trained to work in project planning and implementation. The participation of project implementors who are more knowledgeable about and better able to communicate with women as economic actors in the rural family is crucial to the attainment of the project goal.

IV. SPECIAL ISSUES AFFECTING PROJECT SUCCESS OR FAILURE

A. Focus on Family Income

Project success depends on a comprehensive and sustained focus on family income. This concept must be thoroughly built into all components so that the primary beneficiaries of project activities are the three household types described above. Examples include:

1. Agricultural experiment stations should aim their work toward crops and techniques that will raise the income level of project families. New crops should be promoted only after careful market and on-farm production studies.
2. Marketing studies must take into account the functioning of local market systems and the roles of women and men as they actually function in these systems. Externally-generated models lead to misconceptions of regional market dynamics and risks and to the implementation of inappropriate market strategies.
3. Marketing proposals must be aimed at increasing the margin of profit on products grown by rural families, not by agribusiness. Consequently, products

will be selected for marketing only if (i) there is a viable market and (ii) if the product will produce a higher margin of profit for rural families.

V. THE SOCIOECONOMIC REALITIES OF WOMEN AS FARMERS, PROCESSORS, AND MARKETERS

The project must organize appropriate activities around the socioeconomic roles of women farmers and marketers that will help women to increase their income. Without this integration of women beneficiaries in project planning and implementation, the project will not achieve success.

Evaluation of the project will assess the increase of family incomes, women's contributions as well as men's. It will also assess the number of small farm, credit, marketing, and natural resource project activities that included or excluded women.

As described above, the project must hire staff members, from planners to technicians and promoters, who are knowledgeable about farm women's economic roles and able to communicate with women farmers in order to carry out the planning, implementation, and evaluation of project activities that involve women and the farm economy.

VI. SOCIOECONOMIC ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- A. Identify types of income-producing activities that are compatible with women's and men's farm activities and that are complementary in terms of timing, resources, and labor. Use the data as a primary basis for project recommendations.
- B. Identify and carry out types of operational social science research necessary for the planning, implementation, and evaluation of sub-projects.
- C. Identify socioeconomic needs and strategies of men and women farmers and marketers in the Chapare, the project area for which socioeconomic data are particularly lacking. Determine appropriate research methods and strategies for incorporating the data in project planning and implementation.