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**The Institutionalization of Women in Development Theory at the  
United States Agency for International Development**

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## Preface

It was at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, that I first discovered the importance of women in developing economies. Previously, I had thought of women in these countries as mothers, wives, and traditional leaders. I had not considered, however, their importance in the economies of developing nations, and their potential to greatly impact the future of the developing world. After the Conference, my views of women -- and especially of women in developing nations -- changed dramatically. I began to see women as wage earners and mothers and farmers and artisans and as 'movers and shakers' on the international scene.

Just as it took me some time to realize the many and varied roles that women can play, the development community was slow to see the all of the ways that women were producers within the developing world. Women in Development (WID) has emerged since the 1970's as the dominant theoretical framework to integrate women into development. Although this 'integration' is questionable, it is helpful to examine the varying methods of looking at women and their relationship to development. Just as importantly, it is crucial to look at institutionalization of these concepts for two reasons: it shows the problems of defining policy from this theory and shows the possible problems with the theory itself.

WID and now Gender and Development (GAD) are tossed about in development dialogue as the newest politically-correct ways to view women in the development process. We cannot blindly follow these camps; we must stop and examine the history of WID and GAD in order to plan for the future of women in the development.

## Chapter One

### Women in Traditional Economic Models

During much of the last quarter-century 'development' has been viewed as the panacea for the economic ills of all less developed countries: create a modern infrastructure and the economy will take off, providing a better life for everyone. Yet in virtually all countries and among all classes, women have lost ground relative to men; [it] has not helped improve women's lives, but rather has had an adverse effect upon them (Tinker 1976b, 22).

The question of economic development has been a primary concern within economics since the 1950's. After World War II, the international system faced two problems: rebuilding the older economies of Europe, and bringing the former colonies into the international economy as full partners. Putting the states of Europe back on their feet required money and time. But including the newly independent states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the international trading and financial system required planning that would change the structure of the international economy created by colonialism. The challenge was to find a new role for the developing countries of the South rather than to continue their position as suppliers of primary products and consumers of finished goods.

Development can be defined in many terms -- economically, socially, and politically. Traditionally, economic development has been measured by growth of GDP (Gross Domestic Product). GDP reflects the productivity of the formal sectors of an economy and their success in increasing the value of goods and services produced. Economic development should the standard of living of a nation (income, living conditions, health care, and education) and of the distribution of income and wealth within a country.

Economic development theory examined the ways in which developing countries could follow the path of developed countries. This transition was often assumed to be a linear movement which would repeat the process of development in Western Europe (Bunch & Carillo 1990, 75). Theories and models of development were created which reflected this Western economic heritage of progress, growth, and individuality. This use of historic economic change, however, ignored important differences between developed and developing economies; these differences could mean that developing countries would not be able to follow in the footsteps of the West and would never be able to match the domination of the already industrialized states.

These differences are apparent in the many similar features which characterize the economies of developing countries. Although the exact composition of these features varies in individual analysis, as a whole they are fairly accepted as describing the shape of economies. It is important to understand this shape before forming policy and implementing programs. These features include (Sen & Grown 1987, 28-29; Todaro 1994, 38):

- Dual economies characterized by an industrial, modern sector and a traditional, agricultural sector.
- Vulnerability to changes in international trade and financial systems.
- Incredibly polarized ownership and access to land and resources.
- High unemployment and underemployment rates coupled with low levels of productivity.
- Low social indicators such as low education levels, low health care, and low incomes.
- High population growth.

Beyond these similarities, it is critical to recognize the differences between these trends and the shape of Western industrial economies. These structural

characteristics of developing countries make traditional economic theory which is based on the Western model difficult to apply in the Third World.

Traditional economic development theory before the 1970's relied on modernization theory to explain and structure development. Modernization defines development in terms of Western development: society should move from an agricultural, labor-intensive, traditional system to an industrialized, capital-intensive, modern system (Kabeer 1994, 15-17). Modernization was not only a descriptive term but a prescriptive process that traditional societies should follow. The implicit assumption behind this theory was that all members of society (women as well as men) would advance as the economy developed economically, politically, and socially. Just as modernization assumed that developing countries would benefit from this process, it also assumed that women would be carried along in this beneficial process.

The question of women's position in economic development has been a concern for many development researchers and feminists since the 1970's, when they began to critique the role of women in modernization and other development models from a feminist perspective. Ester Boserup's 1970 classic work, Woman's Role in Economic Development, started the movement to examine the status of women within developing countries, and how that status was influenced by traditional economic development models. One of the hypotheses of economic theory is that through development the status of women will be raised as these countries enter the modern stages of production (Jaquette 1982, 269). For many economic observers, however, it seemed as if the status of women was not increased and was often disregarded in development programs. Along with the question of status, it was argued that women were not included in development as participants or as actors but as beneficiaries. Because of these

arguments, several critiques of development theory have emerged, and provided a new starting point for development theory and implementation.

Criticisms of development were varied and many, but there are six broad categories into which various perspectives can be divided. These criticisms are:

- Development models concentrate on economic growth as measured by GDP.
- Current development programs do not integrate women into the planning and implementation process.
- Development models assume a Western-style linear growth model which will benefit developing societies by introducing modern ways of living.
- When development theory does address women, it focuses on the reproductive roles of women instead of on the productive roles of women.
- Development models assume that men and women will be equally affected by the development process.
- The international economic system is biased against marginalized groups. Thus, it is not women's integration into the system but transformation of the system that is needed.

These criticisms focus on the roles of women within development, and set the stage for later feminist models of development.

**Criticism #1:** Development models concentrate on economic growth as measured by GDP.

Economic growth measured in terms of GDP assesses the importance of individuals in terms of their production as valued by the market; thus production for domestic consumption is not valued while production for the cash market is. Women's work is often only recognized when it is done for money and when this work is located in the modern sector (Tinker 1976, 23). The majority of women's work meets neither of these criteria, and women and their work are not counted

as a productive sector of society. Since women work in the informal sectors such as subsistence farming and micro-enterprise, they are often ignored by development planners because they are not contributing to the increase of GDP. During 1990-1992, there were three women for every five men in the formal work force of the developing world (UNDP 1994, 147); this gender gap kept women outside of mainstream development planning and analysis. This perceived production gap is largely fictional, however, and there is a "huge disparity between the real economic and social benefits of women's work and the social perception of women as unproductive" (Jacobson 1993, 65).

Economic growth in developing countries has often been encouraged through increased exports since this industry earns foreign exchange and contributes to GDP. In the agricultural sector of the economy, the trade emphasis has been to change production from subsistence farming to cash crop farming. While this may positively affect numbers like GDP and the trade current account, it often negatively affects the standard of living of women and the families whom they support. Women have had to add cash crop work in addition to their subsistence farming (Jacobson 1993, 72). Thus a focus on GDP growth leads in some areas to increased work for women.

When economic development is defined by GDP, important social development is not included in the equation. Higher levels of education, increased health care, and greater equality are all desired elements of economic development which values human resource development. But when these indicators are not used to measure the progress in development, they become marginalized issues that do not merit the attention and resources that they deserve. Some attempt has been made to give greater importance to social indicators, such as the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI), but economic growth as measured by GDP still predominates. This focus on economic growth

leaves social issues and equity issues in the background of development programs.

**Criticism #2:** Current development programs do not integrate women into the planning and implementation process.

Development planning often does not consider the role and productivity of women in its policies. Tinker calls this the error of "omission," where planners "fail to notice and utilize the traditional productive roles which women are playing" (1976a, 5). For Tinker, this omission occurs because planners do not understand the role of women in developing societies. Development projects, she argues, are usually created and implemented by male Western planners or indigenous elite males who often do not see the important contribution of women because they view women in the Western woman's role of mother, wife, and homemaker instead of economic producer. Development's seeming ignorance of women's many roles is a continuing misperception that both Western and non-Western women are fighting to disprove. Caroline Moser argues that three roles exist for women as reproducers, producers, and community organizers (1989, 4). It is often the reproductive role, however, which is considered the primary job of women and this emphasis relegates their importance to welfare and population programs (this will be discussed in greater detail under Criticism #4).

Another glaring instance of the omission of women is in agricultural extension programs. Women in the developing world are more productive than men in many areas; women in Africa contribute 60% - 80% of the agricultural labor (Staudt 1982, 264). Agricultural development programs, however, do not deliver new technologies, new fertilizers, or new seeds to women since they often assume that it is the men who are the primary farmers (Jacobson 1993, 72).

Critics argue that women's work should be considered in agricultural planning and

women should be included in the programs and projects that result from this design and analysis because they are often the primary subsistence agricultural producers.

**Criticism #3:** Development models assume a Western-style linear growth model which will benefit developing societies by introducing modern ways of living.

Modernization emphasizes only a positive idea of development that brings "backwards" peoples into civilized models of governance and economics. According to Jaquette, "standard liberal [economic] theory sees women and development as part of an overall process of modernization" (Jaquette 1982, 269). Modernization argues that as an economy develops, society will move away from traditional modes of thought to accept more modern roles and ideas. The status of women can increase in a modern society "since status was no longer based on ascribed and diffuse relationships, but on individual choice and achievement, women were not necessarily disadvantaged within this system" (Kabeer 1994, 18).

Boserup "challenged the common assumption that women's rights and status automatically improve as modernization proceeds" (Jaquette 1990, 55). Their status, in fact, often seemed to be deteriorating as development proceeded. This deterioration started during colonial rule, when Western notions of sex-defined work roles were implemented. It seemed that as the family moved into the modern sector, women became only mothers and wives instead of "workers." As they were valued increasingly as a symbol of sex and fertility, women lost the status they previously had as producers for the family. This increased women's dependence on men, and left them more vulnerable in society. Thus increased status was not automatically tied to modernization.

One of the main feminist critiques of modernization is the notion that development is a benign influence on the cultures of developing countries. In the first feminist critiques of development, many believed that "...women's main problem in the Third World was insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process of growth and development" (Sen & Grown 1987, 15). It is this assumption that development, as defined by Western economists and modernization theory, is a positive force in these societies is questioned. Questioning of this basic assumption moved the debate beyond simply working to include women in the existing development framework but also to changing the scope and goals of development.

**Criticism #4:** When development theory does address women, it focuses on the reproductive roles of women instead of on the productive roles of women.

When Western definitions of production were introduced, a sharp line was drawn between public and private production. Women's work was defined solely in terms of reproducer, and development planning created strict categories of public and private production, and refused to include women in both areas. But women's status decreases, according to Boserup, when their role is confined to that of "reproducer" (Boserup 1970, 51; Jaquette 1990, 59). Women had been more important economically in African systems, where they were often the primary agricultural producers and responsible for the maintenance of the family. After modernization, however, women's ability to perform these duties was decreased because of the loss of the commons and new perspectives about their roles as reproducers, and they lost their former position of being equally-perceived producers as men. Women still produce as much or more than men in many developing countries, yet their ability to do this has been hampered by the concentration on their reproductive roles.

Since women are the members of society primarily responsible for reproduction, development programs focus their attention on women around the mother role. According to Jaquette, "foreign assistance reaches poor women almost entirely through maternal and child health and population programs" (1990, 63). These programs, however, are not interested in increasing women's economic independence or productivity; instead, they are welfare programs which tend to exacerbate the dependent status of women and children. In developing countries, women are much more than mothers but economic planners "have been unable to deal with the fact that women must perform two roles in society [or even three, according to Moser], whereas men perform only one" (Tinker 1976b, 22).

Even as development attempts to curb the family size in developing countries, it is the refusal to address the productive role of women which results in continuation of high fertility rates. Women have children for a variety of cultural, economic, and personal reasons. Development programs that limit development resources to women because of this private/public dichotomy can actually "increase women's dependence on children as a source of status and security" (Jacobson 1993, 76). When these policies remove women's status as producers, women look to their children to provide labor and old-age security. Since women are defined in terms of their families, they may also have more children to gain status and position within their society. This focus on women as reproducers ignores both their real productive work and exacerbates existing problems of status.

**Criticism #5:** Development models assume that men and women will be equally affected by the development process.

The notion of equality in development is driven by two ways that the process ignores the gender gap: development does not recognize the existing gender bias in economies or examine the different impact of policies on men and women. Gender bias within the economy, whether at the international level or at the country level, is not a consideration for development planning. In fact, "[t]he process of modernization itself, and the administration of development policies and programs, are perceived as sex-neutral or as particularly advantageous to women," (Jaquette 1982, 269). If women's status does not increase as economies develop, it is because of the persistence of traditional values and perceptions, and not the failure of the development model itself (269). The assumption that modernization will address inequalities and through its process solve this problem is inaccurate and misguided.

The impact of development on women and men is assumed to be equal. While development theory proposes certain steps to industrialization, the implementation of this process is full of assumptions about gender roles that are often unstudied and purely speculative. Before the 1970's, very little sex-disaggregated research was done which could actually document the change in gender roles. This earlier notion that both sexes were equally affected was not documented and definitely questionable. Tinker does not blame development for directly attempting to hurt women; rather, that "the case being made is that, *compared to men*, women almost universally have lost as development has proceeded" (Tinker 1976b, 24). It is this almost negligent gender discrimination which seems to be inherent in the development process.

Women often are not the equal recipients of development benefits. The gender bias influences changing sexual work roles, unequal education, and intra-household inequality and often means that men benefit from development programs while women remain at the same level or lower.

In Boserup's Woman's Role in Economic Development, she theorizes that women's status is actually lower after modernization transforms the economic system because the role of women as producers is decreased (Jaquette 1982, 270). Modern agricultural systems are different from what Boserup calls "female farming systems." In traditional agricultural systems, women can use the commons for subsistence farming; after modernization, however, production shifts to private ownership and cash crop production. Women then have less access to land than under the commons systems of traditional agriculture, and are less able to produce because they do not have the access to credit and educational resources needed in the new system.

Increased access to education, in many countries, is thought to reduce inequality in social systems, and in development theory is thought to increase the value of human capital. The gender bias in education, however, tends to perpetuate the subordinate status of women in developing countries. Girls and women often receive less education than their male counterparts. The gap in education in developing countries was (females as a percentage of males) 54% in 1970 and 71% in 1992 (UNDP 1994, 147). Higher levels of education allowed men to work in the modern sector of these dualistic economies, while women remained in the traditional agricultural and informal sectors of the economy.

Intra-household resource allocation is affected by this gender bias also, and women and children often do not receive the benefits of development. The focus on the family as the unit of economic measurement and its accompanying assumption that resources are best allocated to the father as the head of that family is biased and often harmful to the family as a whole. An increase in the income of the male head of household often has little to no effect on the standard of living of his wife and children (Jacobson 1993, 64). In addition, the majority of <sup>7</sup> <sub>1</sub> homes in developing countries are now headed by women. When development

resources are given only to men, a majority of the population does not receive the benefits.

The refusal to see gender inequality in all of these areas by development planners leads to development that puts the burden of change on women. It is not that women are totally left out of the development process, but that the planning and evaluation of development does not focus on the gender gap which already exists in society and which is mirrored in this system of change. The gap between men and women is ignored because of previous assumptions and lack of research on gender roles, and is leading to development which increases inequality rather than eliminates it.

**Criticism #6:** The international economic system is already biased against marginalized groups. Thus, it is not women's integration into the system but transformation of the system that is needed.

The goal of economic development, according to the Marxist critique, is to keep developing countries at their former colonial level of dependence in the international capitalist system. These developing countries, at the time of their independence, were already in an inferior position within the international economic system as the suppliers of raw materials and as markets for industrialized countries. Inequality is a result of this international capitalist structure, and change of women's status must come with change to this structure through revolution or an end to the international capitalist economy (Jaquette 1982, 274).

For Marxists, the dichotomy of this industrial/unindustrial split is reflected in other social constructs, and the inferior status of women reflects the same inequities of the international economic system at the micro level. "The marginalization of women became an extreme and telling example of the

marginalization of the periphery" (Jaquette 1982, 273), and this push to keep workers powerless is echoed at other levels of society as men try to keep women powerless. Women are only one group and gender is only one method of oppressing various groups within society.

### Conclusion

These general criticisms attacked not only the process and prescriptions of development theory but more importantly the assumptions underlying this theory. Many challenged the idea that development was a linear process or that women were not already producers in addition to their reproductive roles. Structuralists questioned the notion that developing countries had to follow industrialized capitalist models. Feminists were attacking much more than the answers of development but also the questions themselves. Chipping away at the very foundation of development theory meant that new frameworks had to be created to replace former models.

It was these criticisms of traditional development theory, policy, and implementation that inspired a new type of development paradigm. Women in Development (WID) was a direct outgrowth of these problems as critics and development practitioners, aware of the problems, attempted to create a new theoretical framework to alleviate many of these negative aspects of the development programs. While WID became the most institutionalized of the feminists paradigms, other frameworks of analysis evolved out of critical attacks and responses to development. These frameworks provide theory which attempts to address the critiques of traditional development activity.

## Chapter Two

### Introducing "Women in Development" Theory

In response to these many criticisms of traditional economic development theory and its omission of women, various practitioners and theorists created new models of development which attempted both to explain why it was important to include women in development and how to accomplish this goal. "Women in Development" (WID) became a widely known acronym which represented the growing importance of women (and their feminist advocates) within the development field. From the 1970's to the present, WID has emerged as a leading doctrine for feminist models of development.

#### History

Most scholars pinpoint the early 1970's as the period when the role of women in development was first noticed and targeted as a new variable in the plans for economic development (Tinker 1990a; Kabeer 1994). The focus on women was a result of several global influences and events, and the resulting introduction of women into the vocabulary of development planners was a global event which radiated throughout the development community. Today, the idea that women are important to the development process and have a role to play in their countries' futures seems almost too sensible and pragmatic to be a controversial issue. But in the 1970's, this epiphany incited radical new ways to look at and think about economic development.

Any discussion of the emergence of women in the development dialogue must begin with Ester Boserup's 1970 book Woman's Role in Economic Development, which many consider the seminal work of the field. Although I will discuss this work in more detail as part of the prescriptives of WID, it is important

to note now why this work was so critical in bringing this issue to the forefront of development theory. According to Boserup, women in African villages were critical to the production of food. Although work was delineated according to gender, female labor was essential for the planting, weeding, and harvesting of crops in many agricultural systems. By proving that women were doing much of the agricultural work in addition to their domestic duties, Boserup introduced the notion that women were producers and thus should be included in planning.

Boserup's work presented interesting statistics on the role of women within agriculture. More important than the numbers, however, was the fact that Boserup presented women as a variable to be studied and measured within development. Her focus on women outside of the unit of the family presented a new idea to development planners: women could fare differently than men under development programs and this difference could be negative. This notion contradicted earlier beliefs regarding the equity of development.

The increasing dialogue about women's roles in economic development was the result of a large network of women and men in development who presented new data about women's production in the developing world and argued for a change in development programs. It was this grassroots development work which gave the movement its research and revolutionary ideas. Irene Tinker's "The Making of a Field" (1990, 27) cites a variety of sources from which the concept of WID emerged. She identifies three categories -- advocates, scholars, and practitioners -- which individually and collectively promoted WID policy in the international arena. *Advocates* were the administrators working in agencies, such as the UN Commission on the Status of Women and US State Department Officials, and also women fighting for women's rights. *Practitioners* were the fieldworkers inside of the development agencies who had to implement whatever new strategies were created. And *scholars* were

the researchers and thinkers who both created new theories regarding women in development and researched to discredit the old methods of development.

Globally, the impact of development on women was considered. The United Nations (UN) is credited with leading the institutional acceptance and application of these ideas in the development of new measures and new roles for women. One reason why this issue was accepted was because, for the first time, women's issues were considered on an economic basis rather than solely on an equality basis (Tinker 1990b, 31). Some scholars see the UN conferences as the starting points of the international women in development movement. Leahy cites the 1974 UN Food Conference and the UN Population Conference (1986, 1) as beginning points for the WID movement. However, this emphasis disregards the impact of earlier work like Boserup's which pointed out the need for gender disaggregated statistics and evaluation of the role of women.

According to Leahy, it was at these two conferences that people realized that women were growing much of the food and that they were making rational decisions about having children. Other writers also point to UN sponsored events such as these conferences and the 1975 International Year of the Woman; although it was at these events that the role of women became an international focus for the first time, this discussion was not new. Women had been discussed before as welfare recipients and as mothers and wives but had not been treated as workers having a productive impact outside of the home. It was at these conferences where this issue became a focal point for more theory and policy implications.

The United Nations further spread the women in development momentum as it focused on women not only as an area within development issues but as an issue within itself. According to Kabeer, the "advent of WID in the international arena represented, above all, an infusion of new ideas aimed at influencing

prevailing development policy" (4). The United Nations Year of the Woman in 1975 marked the beginning of the Decade for Women and inspired the series of UN Conferences on Women (1975 Mexico City, 1980 Copenhagen, 1985 Nairobi, and 1995 Beijing) which encouraged the investigation of new research and strategies about and for women. These conferences had parallel importance: as the official delegations met to debate their governments' positions of women's issues, the non-governmental organizations held an unofficial event (the NGO Forum) for Tinker's advocates, practitioners, and scholars to talk, share, and organize.

The women in development community contains people from various backgrounds, institutions, and lifestyles. What has been amazing is the combined work of international agencies and grass-roots development workers in an effort to better the position of women within development. Although this variety has proved problematic at times as differing visions and beliefs hamper the cooperation of many of the groups, the diversity of the community has given consideration and weight to new ideas and concepts and provided the momentum for a great deal of progress.

#### The Three Dimensions: WID, WAD, and GAD<sup>1</sup>

It is helpful to create boundaries within the women in development movement because of experiential and ideological differences within the development community. Employees at AID, for example, have very different perspectives and goals from Marxist-oriented scholars. This attempt to classify

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<sup>1</sup>These three distinctions are used by Eva Rathberger to describe the various camps within the women in development community. I use them for the sake of simplicity, and assign various authors concepts to a division even when the author does not specifically do so.

ideological divisions does not compartmentalize the perspectives since many criticisms and ideas cross these esoteric boundaries, but it does facilitate a framework from which to examine the varying groups within the general "Women in Development" community.

Eva Rathberger delineates three divisions within the women in development community: WID, WAD, and GAD. Women in Development (WID) is the mainstream notion that women have to be integrated into the development process. Woman and Development (WAD) is a more socialist view that in order to change the position of women within developing societies, it will be necessary to change the global economic and political system and to move away from the capitalist, Western-dominated markets to a more equitable international system. Finally, Gender and Development (GAD) looks at the role of *gender* instead of specifically at the role of women in order to define the problems of development. GAD examines the sex-defined roles of men and women in order to find new ways to balance the gender impact of the development process.

Although Rathberger's divisions are a reasonable method to define the varying theories concerning women in development, it is also important to remember that these divisions are not solid and do not signify a lack of compromise and agreement between various groups. As Tinker says,

"One might think of the women's movement as a ray of light passing through a prism. It is essential to understand the constituent colors in order to understand the whole; it is equally essential not to confuse any one-colored refraction with the light ray itself. ... Failure to distinguish among the different goals and activities of these [rays] and to appreciate their different audiences has distorted efforts to classify women in development proponents and programs" (1990b, 27).

Although Tinker is referring to her above-mentioned classifications (advocate, practitioner, scholar) as the 'rays' of the prism, this analogy is also useful to

examine the divisions of WID, WAD, and GAD as the rays within the prism of the women in development community. Although WID, WAD, and GAD may have different ideological bases and different overall goals, their one shared objective is to make the development process a more friendly, open, and equal experience for women as well as men.

### Women in Development (WID)

The issue of Women in Development started with Ester Boserup's 1970 Woman's Role in Economic Development. The notion that women had been disregarded in the development process, and that they may have been negatively affected by this neglect, spurred policymakers to investigate the status of women within developing nations. The findings of this research and theorizing resulted in an economic justification for including women in the development activities in addition to previous equity arguments. Since the WID community that had emerged in the early 1970's was working to gain women's equality through new policy and programs, Boserup's "work was instantly embraced because ... [her] theory legitimized efforts to influence development policy with a combined argument for justice and efficiency" (Tinker 1990b, 30).

WID was assembled around new research such as Boserup's which examined the productive side of women's lives and which proved that women in the developing world produced much more than just babies. "WID emerged in the 1970's, not because women had been totally ignored by policymakers in the first [UN] decade of development [1961-1970], but rather because they had been brought into development policy on very sex-specific terms" (Kabeer 1986, 5). These earlier development terms were based on assumptions about gender roles that often gave men too much credit as producers and women to little credit as

reproducers. WID continued to examine women as a separate group in society but now included more aspects of their sexually delineated roles.

Policymakers, of course, could argue with the criticism that they had neglected women in the development process. Much of their aid, in fact, went to welfare programs which were specifically geared to women and children. Women were the object of food and nutrition programs, child-care education, and reproductive programs (Kabeer 1994, 6). These programs focused on the reproductive areas of women's lives, however, and disregarded the relationship between reproduction and production. This welfare mentality kept women in a dependent and passive position within development programs.

The WID movement shifted as the discussion moved from equality issues to economic issues. Starting in the 1960's and continuing into the 1970's, the goal of Western feminists (who were active within the development debate) was to create legal acceptance that women had equal rights with men. WID was revolutionary within the feminist movement because the emphasis on equality was gradually decreased and more reliance was placed on a newer argument for including women in development: efficiency (Kabeer 1994, 8). Ignoring the production of women was wasting precious development resources. In order to most efficiently develop economies, programs should include all members of society whose production is valuable.

This efficiency argument allowed WID advocates to bring women into development planning on a new level as productive members of society. WID theory claimed that integrating women would be the key to development. Since women already were producing, focusing development efforts on women could increase their output and make these programs even more productive. The idea of women as key to development created a hope and a future for development that was lacking in the early 1970's. The old ideologies surrounding development

were obviously not working or creating horribly inequitable societies. WID was accepted because it offered a new paradigm to replace the old and a new hope to again justify development efforts.

WID advocated a two-prong method of including women in development programs: creating new women-focused projects and including women in current-development programs from which they had earlier been excluded.

One of the main goals of WID was to bring women into the cash economy just as men had been led into this system with the focus on cash crops and industrial labor. Rather than welfare programs, "WID proponents support income activities to help poor women since they consider economic activity as the key to improving women's status" (Tinker 1990, 37). This type of program often focused solely around women: selling women's weaving or having women plant a new crop alongside the food for their families and selling it for cash.

Including women in current development programs that had been aimed solely at men was also a method to integrate women into economic development planning (Tinker 1990, 40). While farm extension programs were prevalent within development efforts, women were often not included even though they were a large part of the farming population because of false assumptions that men were farming. WID calls for farm extension to include women in its education and training programs. Also, programs could create special components within their plans to make sure that women were part of a program. Overall, the emphasis was to include women into development programs as active participants.

WID became the dominant theoretical paradigm within the development community and has remained the most accepted framework for development. Early in the 1970's, agencies like AID and the United Nations began to define this approach for themselves and to implement WID in their development programs.

WID was easily accepted by these agencies because it added the efficiency argument to the equity arguments which were already in place. Since WID was a very individualistic, Westernized appraisal of developing countries, it was acceptable to development agencies who were mostly Western funded and subject to the political restraints of the developed world.

Although many of the WID assumptions and goals are now under attack by feminists and by third-world women, it still remains the predominant paradigm of development agencies. These criticisms are exposing the ethnocentric analysis which hampers WID's ability to foster change in development programs, and will be discussed later under GAD.

#### Women and Development (WAD)"<sup>2</sup>

This area of the women and development community draws its ideological focus from Marxist and socialist theory. At the same time that WID adherents were examining the position of women within development programs, WAD advocates were looking at the international system characterized by Western, capitalist markets and a dependent fringe of economically marginalized countries to consider the role of women within development. Women could be compared to other groups which were forgotten or enslaved by the dominant capitalist forces.

The definition of development is different under Marxism than under the Western capitalist model; thus WID and WAD have fundamentally different definitions of the goals of development. WAD critiques more of the basic ideological assumptions underlying standard development theory while WID

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<sup>2</sup>I am especially indebted to Naila Keeber's 1994 book "Reversed Realities" and her discussion in Chapter 2, "Structural Perspectives," for a thorough reading of WAD perspectives and her discussion in Chapter 3, "Gender Perspectives," for a rich and insightful examination of GAD and its objectives.

primarily challenges the traditional model's treatment of women, not its goals as a whole. "WAD focuses on the relationship between women and development processes rather than purely on strategies for the integration of women into development" (Rathberger 1994, 6). The Marxist strategy for development calls for a proletarian revolution that transforms all aspects of society and ends class distinctions; this results in the end of the state and a socialist society (Leahy 1986, 6). The role of women is dependent on their production and reproduction functions and their equality will come when society is changed to respect their public works and to lessen the singular burden of their private lives (6).

For structuralists, class and gender are interconnected. "[W]omen's experiences with processes of economic growth, commercialization, and market expansion are determined by both gender and class" (Sen & Grown 1987, 25). Women were discriminated against under development doubly because of their gender and because they were the majority of the poor. These forces of gender and class cannot be divorced in the WAD perspective, and any solutions must deal with both of these issues. Many feminists, however, question Marxism's commitment to women because their agenda is often made a secondary issue while the primary battles become those of class conflict.

Theoretically, WAD identifies many of the problems that face the developing world and women and makes plausible arguments relating these to the international capitalist system. At the operationalization and implementation levels, however, WAD has many deficiencies which have reduced the relevance of this division for two reasons. First, since the international system is dominated by Western, capitalist markets, it is difficult to create strategies which work without the ideal socialist society. Secondly, because it is generally international development agencies and the governments of developing countries who are

implementing these concepts, they have been unable to apply ideas which dramatically oppose these actors' self-interests.

Although WAD makes many interesting critiques of the current development paradigm, it seems a less pragmatic option for furthering women in development activity because it requires an ideology that is outside the mainstream. The primary feminist problem with WAD is its reliance on class rather than on women or even on gender. This limits its use for women because they will often have to wait for their problems to be addressed until capitalism is destroyed and the new socialist society is created. For those looking for hope for women today instead of in some utopian period in the future, this perspective does not have enough immediate and implementable strategies.

#### Gender and Development (GAD)

Gender and Development is the newest field of the women in development community, and is one result of the growth of 'global feminism' that has had an impact on all levels of the development process. The 1995 UN Women's Conference reiterated the topics of "Peace, Equality, and Development," and development has become one of the dominant themes of the international women's movement. This movement has moved, in many ways, from a focus on 'women's issues' to the belief that 'every issue is a women's issue.' Gender relationships have come to the forefront of methods to examine these issues within development.

Instead of examining women as a variable within economic development, GAD attempts to use gender roles as the context in which to change the position of both women and men in the development process. It is useless, under the rubric of GAD, to simply look at women instead of at the way that gender influences the roles of people within development. Gender goes beyond the

biological classification of male or female to examine the socially-assigned characteristics of gender that follow the male/female differentiation. GAD "seeks to avoid the universalistic generalizations that characterize the more structuralist approaches which see women's oppression as produced by the capitalist mode of production ..." (Kabeer 1994, 65). These universal generalizations are present with WID's analysis on women as a variable without considering the impact of class or race on their experiences in development. WAD also generalizes as it defines all struggles by the class conflict inherent in capitalism.

GAD emerged from the newer development rationale of empowerment that has swept into the women in development community. Empowerment is the ability of women and men to shape both their gender roles and the future of development in ways that they find personally and culturally acceptable. Like the philosophies behind WAD, empowerment "maintains that women have to challenge oppressive structures and situations simultaneously at different levels" (Moser 1989, 28), but it focuses on the variable of gender relations rather than that of class to promote change in the system. This attempt to make the benefits and burdens of development equal for both women and men is based on the use of gender analysis.

Both WID and WAD theory are unacceptable to GAD proponents because in each case they miss the importance of including the roles of both men and women as variables within in the development process. This use of women as the variable is limiting and does not work toward new perspectives of development; instead, it operates under many of the former assumptions about men and women that were earlier criticized. Thus WID policies that advocate women-only projects or women's components only prolong the marginalization of women within development. GAD advocates mainstreaming gender concerns within every development project.

Within the women's movement, GAD critiques have become more and more accepted because they are more 'holistic' than WID. GAD offers a distinctly non-Western opportunity for an alternative to traditional appraisals of development. Since the definition of gender is grounded in the culture in which it is examined, GAD produces a more individualized assessment of the sex roles in developing countries and creates better policy since it could take into account the cultural factors which hinder generalized development programs. For many third-world women,

"[t]he assumption of women as an already constituted, coherent group with identical interest and desires, regardless of class, ethnic or racial location, or contradictions, implies a notion of gender or sexual difference or even patriarchy which can be applied universally and cross-culturally" (Mohanty 1991, 55).

WID does make this assignment of women as a group, and thus GAD allows a much more diverse and culturally comprehensive assessment of the roles of individuals within development.

In many ways, GAD seems to be the WID of the 1990's which is making groundbreaking initiatives within the development community. Just as Boserup's 1970 arguments led to new ideas and perspectives on the roles of women, many of the latest work is leading to a better understanding of the gender variables within development. Unlike WID, however, which often argues for women's integration into development process because of equity rationales or because it is economically efficient, GAD is working toward a new vision and framework which bypasses many of the former WID assumptions and dares to question the meaning of development itself through women's empowerment.

## Translating Theory to Practice

These paradigms of women in development -- WID, WAD, and GAD -- are meaningful in that their different visions will result in varying policy choices and program implementations. The framework that a development agency chooses will define its vision of development, its perspective of women and gender, and ultimately its methods to solve whatever problems that it discerns. Since WID is the dominant theory that is recognized and followed by the international community, it is WID definitions and implementation methods that constitute the majority of women in development activities. Although the theory, at times, may seem almost disconnected to the activity in the field, it is important to recognize and examine the rationales behind any development method.

After reviewing these differing ideologies regarding women and their role within development, it is important to reconsider the reference of Tinker's analogy to the prism. These divisions share the same primary goal of wanting to boost the relative status and position of women in every society. Their individual perspectives of the nature of the problems of women and of the shape of development, however, results in differences of the operationalization and implementation methods. Thus their prescriptions for the maladies of women in the developing world are varied and often conflicting.

As Rathberger has suggested, theory and practice are often disconnected in the real world of development. But several researchers and practitioners are working to create new "frameworks" to use in the effort to make development more beneficial for women. Catherine Overholt and others, in their 1985 work, create a WID framework that can help "transfor[m] policy concerns into practical realities" (4). The following outline is an effort to generalize some of these processes and attempt to identify key points in the WID process that translates this policy into product.

### Policy Commitments

WID emerged from the practitioners and advocates who were working to increase the role of women within development programs. But the movement was supported and legitimized by development institutions who wanted to combine the equity and efficiency arguments and who found WID a method to do this. Institutions need to develop and promote their WID policy for two reasons: because it makes a statement to the entire bureaucracy that this issue is a priority and because it provides a common and cohesive definition of WID that can be implemented across the development institution.

Agencies must decide how they will use the theory to shape their definitions of WID. Policy defines the development objectives that will shape the nature of programming and involvement in developing countries. Objectives involve long-term visions of what development will bring and how society will evolve because of development activity. The definitions of these objectives leads planners to the next step: to identify areas in which projects could help to reach these long-term goals.

### Project Identification

In order to target certain groups or development areas for project, the base-line situation must be analyzed to determine what types of projects are needed and what populations are already involved or removed from the present situation. For WID programs, this study is gender analysis. "[T]he cornerstone of [a] framework is an adequate data base which considers what women do and why" (Overholt 1985, 4). Beyond women, however, this research must look at both sexes and at other groupings in society. Development activity affects groups differently, and it is important to begin the process with an accurate (and not assumed) assessment of the roles across society.

Since WID was introduced, gender disaggregated data has been the most important tool for program development. Overholt begins with the "Activity Profile" which disaggregates labor and duties within a society by gender, age, race, and other delineations crucial to the situation (Overholt 1985, 5). There are two categories within this profile which echo WID theory regarding the split between productive and reproductive duties. Planners must identify "specific productive activities carried out for all goods and services by men or women" (5) and then identify the roles of men and women in "[a]ctivities that are carried out to produce and care for the family members" (6). This profile allows planners to make a thorough assessment of the differing roles and duties between men and women and between other groupings in society.

#### Program and Project Design

After the baseline situation has been analyzed, projects can be developed which attempt to implement the WID policy which has gradually filtered through the institution to the operational level. Each project has two levels on which to operate: development objectives and project goals.<sup>3</sup> The development objectives are the long-term goals for overall development of the country or region that pinpoint the direction and shape of the development process. The project goals are the more immediate aims that the planners want to work toward. Project design must take both of these factors into account and make sure that development objectives will be met while working toward short-term goals.

The next step is the "Access and Control Profile" which identifies the difference between men and women in their "access to and control over the use

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<sup>3</sup>Many development studies make a distinction between long-term and short-term purposes. I will call long-term development purposes "objectives" and short-term purposes "goals."

of resources ... and [their] access to and control over the benefits derived from the mobilization" (Overholt 1985, 7). One of the principle problems with WID planning is that it does not assess the cultural barriers and resource allocation that may limit the success of projects. WID project design must include information regarding women's access to community resources, what power they have over the use of these resources, and whether they will receive any of the benefits from their work.

After the project area is analyzed for problems of access and control, and more general "Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities, Access, and Control" can be conducted. Some of these factors that must be included in project design are: general economic conditions, institutional structures, demographic factors, and community norms (Overholt 1985, 8). Projects cannot be designed in a bubble, and the impact of all of these factors on the outcome and implementation of a project must be considered.

The final stage in Overholt's four-step framework is the "Project Cycle Analysis." This step involves examining the data generated from this analysis, identifying areas in which the WID goals will not be promoted, and selecting which aspects of the project may need to be changed as a result. "The challenge is to find ways to deal with the problem areas either by removing them, by-passing them, or adjusting project expectations within them" (Overholt 1985, 10). Thus projects that have thorough and adequate analysis and which have been adapted in accordance with these findings can be much more successful in meeting both their long-term objectives and short-term goals.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The 1987 study of WID projects at AID found that "[g]ender-sensitive project adaptation of mainstream projects will most effectively include women in the development process [a long-term objective] and also provide a higher return to project investments [and short-term project success].

## Implementation

The WID project is often focused specifically at women, although there is increasing use of this gender analysis in mainstream development programming. The implementation of WID-perspective projects often differs because of the aforementioned access and control issues and more general interruptive factors. Although there are important implementation components to WID, the use of gender-sensitive design and adaptation of projects is the critical point.

WID implementation must ensure that women are equal and active participants in development projects. The problem at this level is often that women are not able to be participants in the project because of time conflicts or previously unidentified factors. Implementation also means that WID projects must come to completion and be funded and supported by development institutions.

## Conclusion

Although theory does not always translate into practical guidelines for implementation, the WID framework does provide some direction to development planners. The most important goal for WID is to include women as part of the process. Then planners can begin to look for methods to do this, such as using the Overholt framework to examine gender considerations in projects. One of the reasons the WID was so readily accepted by international development institutions was because of its relatively non-ideological, pragmatic perspective. And although some may find this approach too limiting and accepting of the status quo, WID is attractive because of its simplicity. WID theory has been applied and referred to in these implementation processes. Theory is not a separate entity from implementation: the two are related and inextricable parts of a whole.

## Chapter Three

### How to Put Women in the Program: Policy Implications at AID

In 1973, the United States Congress recognized that women had not been adequately included in development efforts by the federal agency responsible for distributing aid to foreign countries, the United States Agency for International Development (AID). In response to a number of advocates inside and outside of the government, the Percy Amendment was included in the 1973 legislation to amend the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act. Charles Percy, a senator from Illinois, sponsored the amendment to "integrate women into the economies of developing countries and assist the total development effort" which gave AID a mandate for change. This quiet beginning was to bring new ideas and yet another new objective to the policies and programs of AID.

A strong and growing WID community existed in the early 1970's and created a great deal of theory and policy ideas that would change the role of women within development. Although public foreign aid issues are not often influenced by public opinion, WID legislation was particularly affected by a strong feminist constituency in Washington which worked at the right time and at the right place to lobby for WID (Tinker 1990). The original proposals for the 1973 legislation did not include any mention of women, but these advocates successfully lobbied Congress to include a WID amendment in this legislation. The WID mandate came not from the agency's development practitioners in the field but from an outside group of feminist activists. Since WID was imposed upon the agency rather than emerging from the agency, WID policy and implementation at AID had to be taught to fieldworkers. WID, from the beginning, was seen in AID as yet another externally imposed mandate, this time to satisfy feminist demands to include equitably administrated government programs.

The Percy Amendment was included along with other changes amending the earlier 1961 legislation. These changes reflected a move from large-scale, industrial projects to a 'basic needs' approach to development of the early 1970's. This changed the focus of aid and the contact with beneficiaries (Staudt 1982, 256). The former strategic goal of economic growth through industrial development and increased trade was abandoned in favor of a more fundamental approach to meet the needs of hunger, shelter, and education; these changes shifted the focus to the poor. This shift brought women into the limelight of development programs since they were primarily responsible for ensuring that the household was provided for and since they make up the majority of the world's poor.

The WID policy created by AID has been a reflection of the contemporary women in development thinking since its initiation in 1973. Equity was initially the driving force behind the WID mandate, but as AID began to produce WID policy the original equity rationale diminished in the face of the efficiency argument. The focus of development shifted once more in light of the quickly deteriorating global economy and it became more important to examine resource use and ensure that all development resources were being used productively (Kabeer 1994, 8). The women's movement began to use this economic language in order to justify WID activity in development. They argued that women were especially important in developing economies for two reasons: first, women were productive members of society, especially in subsistence agriculture, it was necessary to include them in training and give them resources to more efficiently produce; second, because women are 50% of the human resources, it was important to make sure that all resources were used. By presenting women as resources for development, the WID community formed a new economic argument for integrating women into the development process.

The women in development community has initiated new methods of involving women in development and is now advancing women's empowerment as the WID approach to development. The WID policy at AID has once again shifted in response to this new thinking inside and outside of the agency. AID has defined its focus for the 1990's as sustainable development which is intended to promote change that "permanently enhances the capacity of a society to improve its quality of life" (USAID 1994a, 3). Two of the requirements to achieve this goal are women's participation and integrative methods. AID has realized that to effectively administer its development programs, the agency must increase the participation of women and must use integrative methods to include them. To do this, it has looked once again to the theory coming out of the women in development community in order to define WID for the agency. The WID rationale at AID has changed to reflect this theory: equity, efficiency, and empowerment. Gender, not women, has become the new variable for analysis, and the goal has been to ensure that women have the tools for decision-making and economic self-reliance in their countries. AID policy has reflected the continuum of WID theory over the past 25 years.

### Equity

In response to the Percy Amendment, AID instituted many policy changes to implement this women in development mandate. Early AID policy looked toward the equity argument to define the shape and direction of its WID mandate. The advocates who had toiled to have the Percy Amendment created and passed were arguing for equity in development practices. Since WID "tend[s] not to raise basic theoretical issues but rather seek[s] to adjust current development practices to include and benefit women" (Tinker 1990, 48), it gave less specific theoretical direction to AID but rather practical implementation proposals. AID assumed that

its main problem was that it had overlooked women and that this was inequitable; now, in an effort to include equity in its development activities, AID would endeavor to include women in its work.

AID policy as framed by the equity rationale is the integration of women into the development process. Thus bureaus and missions were to plan and program in ways which fulfilled this goal and include WID strategies in all agency plans, sector assessments, and preliminary and final project papers (Staudt 1982, 265). AID also decided that the agency was to begin to collect gender-disaggregated data on women's roles, status, and contributions (GAO 1993, 17). This modest beginning led to the development of an agency-wide recognition that WID was to be incorporated in projects and programs. Women were included because they had been 'bypassed' in earlier AID policy, and AID had to create a "woman-sensitive program [to] design specific strategies to involve women" (Staudt 1982, 265).

The following is the AID "Special Concern Code Definition: Women in Development" that originally defined WID for the agency. In this document, the WID mandate is crafted from early equity arguments.

"Include activities that will help integrate women into the economy of their respective countries, thereby both improving their status as well as assisting the total development effort. (see Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act.) Programs and projects that are in whole or part specifically designed to afford women the opportunity to participate in the development process in a significant way are to be included in this category. Not all projects that include women as beneficiaries are to be included. For instance, population projects in which women are merely recipients of goods, such as contraceptives, or health projects where mothers receive food and services are to be excluded. However, when, in addition to the provision of goods and services, women receive training or other assistance designed to increase their earning capacity or enhance their economic productivity, include the relevant portion of the funding for the women's component in this category. Where a specific women's component is designed into an integrated project,

include the proportion of that component as a woman in development effort" (Staudt 1985, 147).

Clearly, the concept of "improving [women's] status" comes from equity concerns that, as Boserup had argued, women were losing status under development. Equity was argued simply for the inclusion of women into development; if women were equal in the eyes of development planners, they would gain status and power. The WID movement early on sought to enhance the status of women through these bureaucratic and legal equality issues.

Just as early WID theory sought to introduce women as producers rather than as reproducers, AID policy delineated a line between traditional women's components of development such as reproductive and health issues and the new WID priorities of women's economic role and their status in society. Under the AID Special Concerns code, "a project labeled WID must increase women's participation, opportunities, and income-earning capacities. Explicitly excluded from the WID definition are those projects in which women are recipients of goods (such as contraceptives and health projects) or of food and services for themselves or their children" (Staudt 1982, 269). This policy reflects the WID vision of women as participants to development and not just beneficiaries. The participant component is mirrored in the idea to include women in development programs and to consider their production as worthwhile and necessary to development. The beneficiary status still remains also, but with new ideas that this benefit should be measured and not automatically assumed to be a positive sum.

Overall, the early AID effort to define WID was an attempt to make women equal partners in development. Equity brought women into the dialogue but failed to adequately declare their importance to the development effort. This early effort was not very successful in spreading WID concepts and activity through the

various levels of AID. Because the agency only defined the mandate with the vague notion that women should be 'equal,' the agency left the burden of implementation in the hands of bureaus and missions. Other problems with the early policy were that no criteria was developed to measure how much money was actually spent on WID projects and that there was a great deal of leeway for administrators to label a project WID (Staudt 1985, 52). WID was not substantially defined; the equity argument had not created methods of operationalization or measurement. Thus WID as defined by the equity argument became a priority within AID but remained a concept that was vague and incomplete.

#### Efficiency

During the early 1980's, AID moved away from its reliance on the earlier equity arguments for WID to an efficiency rationale. This change was in response to the feminist women in development community whose economically-based arguments for WID had emerged during the previous decade. Efficiency argues that it is important to maximize the use of all resources in the development process. Since women are already productive members of the economy, they should be included in development programs because this is making the best use of development money and planning. AID also continued to rely on the equity argument in that planning was supposed to make sure that women were not negatively affected by development programming and that women are included in the 'total development effort.' The economic justification for including women in development planning, however, was clearly predominant in the more recent AID definition of WID. This justification was manifested in the 1982 AID Women in Development Policy Paper in which the rationale for WID policy is "ultimately an economic one: *misunderstanding of gender differences, leading to inadequate*

*planning and designing of projects, results in diminished returns on investment'*  
(USAID 1982, 3).

The 1982 AID Policy Paper reflected the agency's commitment to WID as justified by the efficiency rationale, although it did echo earlier strains of the equity argument. The 1982 paper is the first and most recent operationalized policy position paper (although AID did release a new Gender Action Plan in March 1996). This document defined the rationale for WID policy in AID and discussed implementation within the agency. The policy is summed up in 8 points:

- AID will consider the roles of women in its country strategies and project designs, will create strategies specifically to benefit women and girls, and increase the collection of sex-disaggregated data.
- AID will support indigenous women's movements and programs that are culturally appropriate.
- AID will make resources more available to women in education and skills, more labor-saving devices, and will attempt to correct bias within the development process.
- AID will support human resource development for women that will also be an investment for future generations.
- AID will initiate technology transfer to ensure appropriate technology and the inclusion of both sexes in information projects.
- AID will institute research in areas where gender information is not presently available.
- AID will work with LDC governments and other international organizations in their attempts to include women in the development process.
- Most importantly, AID clearly states that all missions and bureaus have a responsibility to institute WID policy in their programs and projects (USAID 1982, 1-2).

These critical steps for WID implementation expose the economic rationale behind AID policy. Although it is also equitable to give women and girls access to resources, education, and technology, the prime motivation of AID is to focus on women as human resource development that went unused before.

In the policy critique "Does Aid Work?" the double focus of equity and efficiency is discussed and indicates that "it is perfectly clear that involving women in development is not solely a matter of equity but, in a great range of activities, a condition for achieving development and, as far as projects are concerned, a condition for their success also" (Cassen 1994, 93). WID was seen as a means to an end (assisting the total development effort) and an end in itself (to include women in the development process). From the beginning, the efficiency argument increased the emphasis on women as producers in which to invest. This would lead, hopefully, to the achievement of long-term development objectives and success of short-term project goals.

The 1982 Policy Paper illustrates how WID theory is processed into policy that is digestible for an international development agency. The document does maintain some equity arguments, but primarily relies on efficiency strategies (just like early WID theory did by emphasizing women's productive roles in society) to justify WID implementation and to create implementation strategies. None of the documents claim to be including women because its "fair." The economic argument is omnipresent. Early WID theory was so successful for use in international development agencies because it used a vocabulary of resource allocation and efficiency that economists could understand and support. This economically-based rationale lent an almost quantitative weight to WID strategies.

WID was defined to be a cross-sectional objective that should be met in every program and project of the agency. AID realized that to implement

development strategies most efficiently, it would need to concentrate on the role of women in every section of its work. This 1982 policy paper did outline five areas in which WID approaches were to be most important: Agricultural Development, Employment and Income Generation, Human Resource and Institutional Development, Energy and Natural Resource Conservation, and Water and Health (USAID 1982, 4-9). But making the WID mandate truly cross-sectional across all areas of programming was difficult. Even though there was economic data and evidence supporting the use of WID approaches, the WID issue remained marginalized within the agency primarily because the equity principle was not instilled in many of the AID fieldworkers who created programs. When women were viewed simply as resources for development, they were not equitably involved in every program. Many critics and feminists argued that a new approach was needed which better integrated WID in all activities of the agency.

### Empowerment

When AID moved to a primary reliance on the efficiency argument for WID justification, it maintained the equity arguments which had first defined the WID mandate for the agency. AID has since made another shift in policy by moving from efficiency to empowerment language in its WID policy. The equity and efficiency rationales are not absent from the new policy; rather, they are the principle arguments supporting the growing belief that women's empowerment is the key to equitable and sustainable development. Since the early 1990's, empowerment has gradually become the WID rationale for the agency, and thus has generated much new WID policy.

Although economics still plays a major role in providing a rationale for WID, other forces are now contributing to the case for including women in

development. These forces are changing the shape of what development policy means. Once again, the new rationale proposed by feminists and women's organizations is defining what WID will be in an international development agency. "If two decades ago the emphasis was on economics as a path for women to attain greater equity, today the emphasis is on politics: local, national, global" (Tinker 1990, 53). Thus it is politics, especially the politics of feminists, which is working to define new methods of WID through empowerment. The empowerment approach has come from the global political forces of feminists and grass-roots women's organizations throughout the world (Moser 1989, 28). Thus empowerment comes directly from the population involved in development rather than from Western feminists or economists like the earlier rationales.

Empowerment, in many ways, harkens back to the early use of equity by feminists to advocate for women's inclusion in development. It goes beyond this, however, because it demands not only equity, but also the disbursement of the necessary tools for that equality. Empowerment calls for moving beyond the WID concept of integrating women to a more advanced, holistic approach. It echoes many of the equity arguments in that it challenges the structure of the system, but pushes more boundaries than merely advocating that women become equal to men. Empowerment involves the consideration of the wants of women, and helping them to develop the tools not only to become integrated in the development processes, but also to gain more power over the process and to begin to define the shape and direction of development. This power is "less in terms of domination over others ... and more in terms of the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and strength" (Moser 1989, 28). This move to people-based development focuses not only on making women participants in development but agents in the process.

Empowerment neatly complements AID's new focus of sustainable and people-oriented development. In 1994 AID released a policy booklet entitled "Strategies for Sustainable Development." This is the agency's redefinition of its strategies, objectives, and approaches for development in the present era. In the strategies, AID says that it

"will pay special attention to the role of women... Of necessity the development process must focus on their social, political, and economic empowerment. [AID] will integrate the needs and participation of women into development programs and into the societal changes those programs are designed to achieve" (USAID 1994a, 5).

Women's empowerment is clearly a goal that AID sees as necessary for achieving sustainable development. In this document, AID also stresses the need for integrative approaches to development and partnerships with NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and PVOs (private voluntary organizations) and host governments (USAID 1994a, 3-5). For AID, "[p]utting people first and focusing on gender issues improve and sustain development results" (Clarke 1995, 2).

These integrative and partnership approaches echo the rationale behind empowerment. Integrated approaches demand development that is gender-sensitive and that mainstreams gender concerns rather than marginalizing gender (and this often meant women) in development. The partnership initiative takes the experiences of grass-roots women's groups and host nations to define development. For AID, this development is "something that donors help the people of developing countries do for themselves" (USAID 1994a, 4). It seems obvious that these approaches are complementary and necessary together to provide for development that will reflect both the objectives of AID and the goals of those in developing countries.

AID is now using a more integrated, gender approach for including women in its activities. WID focused on women as the variable to be measured, almost leaving the roles of men out of the picture. The empowerment approach advocates the use of gender as a more encompassing variable which assesses the social roles assigned to sexes rather than simply the differences between men and women. The "rationale for gender planning does not ignore other important issues such as race, ethnicity and class, but focuses specifically on gender precisely because this tends to be subsumed within class..." (Moser 1989, 7). Gender is not a biologically based definition since it is derived from each unique cultural construct. Thus gender analysis does integrate more than sex concerns but other cultural constructs as well.

Recently, AID released a new Gender Action Plan which is intended to institutionalize the gender revolution in the agency (USAID 1996). The agency has always had problems not in formulating WID or GAD policy but in ensuring that it was implemented uniformly across the bureaus and missions (this will be further discussed in Chapter 4). The Gender Action Plan repeats many of the agency's original promises about its WID policy. The agency will continue its attempt to make WID a part of the strategic framework by discussing the role of women under each strategic objective. It will also update the Policy Paper, and work to make gender considerations part of the implementation process. While this plan does not directly address the empowerment approach to development, it does restate the agency's commitment to WID and to its evolving shape in the agency.

As discussed above, the two key approaches of empowerment are the increased reliance gender integration techniques and the use of partnerships. AID is making significant steps to improve its gender analysis and gender integration into the entire development process. AID is also working to make its

partnerships with NGOs and PVOs stronger. Recently, AID has started to institutionalize NGO input in a new approach, the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid (ACVFA). This committee is a coalition of NGO representatives who use their expertise and experience to both work with and critique AID in order to have a better connection with the fieldwork (Bloom 1996). These NGOs are important since they put pressure on the agency to fully implement its WID mandate. It is advocacy groups like those in ACVFA which have continually insisted on WID (and now GAD) implementation in AID development policy and projects.

After Beijing, the agency has made a greater effort to work with NGOs and PVOs in its women and gender activity. There is a sense that these organizations are better in touch with the baseline situation, and that their experience and input can make AID projects/programs more successful. The empowerment approach has shown that "strategies will not be implemented without the sustained and systematic efforts by women's organizations and like-minded groups" (Moser 1989, 30). AID has realized that it will not be able to implement sustainable and people-oriented development without cooperation with these groups. According to AID's description of its partnership initiatives:

These organizations possess unique skills and contacts; they are USAID's natural partners in development and their work is reinforced by the private sector. Improved coordination with these agencies will permit USAID to do the things it does best and concentrate the skills of its employees where they are most needed (USAID 1994, 4).

Empowerment means that AID will help grassroots organizations and other groups working in development to create their own programs and strategies in ways that will reflect the needs of people in developing countries. Although AID is just beginning to recognize the potential power in these new partnerships, it

has already recognized the strength of these organizations because it is adopting empowerment methods which they developed.

### Conclusion

Although AID has slowly changed its rationales for WID, it has not completely abandoned any of the former approaches. Thus the equity and efficiency arguments are still a part of the WID policy in AID. In many senses, empowerment is not a separate approach from these earlier themes; rather, it is the next step of the evolution of WID rationales. Empowerment may look different at the policy or implementation level; it is, however, a continuation of the attempt to equitably include women in the development process.

AID has followed many paths to define its WID mandate. After beginning with the equity approach in the 1970's, it moved to efficiency and now empowerment to translate contemporary WID thinking into policy for the agency. WID policy at AID has been defined by the theory coming out of the women in development community since the 1970's. AID has not been a leader in WID theory; it has been, however, rather progressive and responsive in its WID policy development. There was a time lag between theory and its translation into policy, but AID did respond and did use the theory to create WID definitions in the agency. The Women In Development policy at AID has continually reflected outside WID theory, and future policy cannot be predicted until the next WID approach emerges from the women in development community.

## Chapter Four

### Policy Translated into Product: Institutionalizing WID at AID

AID has taken steps to create WID policy in the agency. Ensuring that this policy translates into programs, however, is a much more difficult and in many ways totally different challenge. Bureaucracy often creates its own legislation, and policy is often manifested in a much different form than was originally intended. Because AID is an executive agency, its theoretical and political frameworks can overlap and contradict one another, leaving AID to manipulate a consensus between the political forces of government and theoretical advocates of WID theory. This consensus is ultimately the policy that trickles down to fieldworkers. As earlier noted, AID policy has been rather progressive and constant regarding WID implementation at AID. Its effort to institutionalize this policy, however, has not been so successful.

AID is a federal agency which provides the United States government assistance to foreign countries. AID is a rather decentralized organization, with 9 bureaus, four of which are regionally-based,<sup>1</sup> and over 60 missions worldwide. This decentralized system is supposed to allow fieldworkers -- those who are closest to development work and best understand the cultural and regional issues of development -- to most efficiently plan and implement development programs. Policy comes from the Washington office to provide missions with guidance and an overarching goal for AID development.

WID policy was developed by the policy bureau of AID and distributed to various regional bureaus and missions for implementation. Policy has also been

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<sup>1</sup>Currently, the AID regional bureaus are Latin America-Caribbean (LAC), Africa, Asia and the Near East (ANE), and the Eastern European States (EES).

affected as new legislation is passed by Congress, most recently in 1989 when Congress mandated several changes in foreign assistance. Thus AID policy is a product of legislation, agency interpretation of its mandate, and the WID theory that is proposed outside of AID.

AID has worked since the Percy Amendment in 1973 to develop consistent methods of WID policy implementation across the agency. One of the latest attempts was the GENESYS project in 1994 which defined WID institutionalization for the agency and created a training program for employees. GENESYS draws a framework of seven key elements needed for institutionalization of WID in the agency. Those elements are as follows:

- Awareness of gender issues for development outcomes
- Commitment to addressing gender issues in the institution's activities
- Capacity for formulation of gender-focused questions
- Capacity for carrying out gender and social analysis
- Capacity for applying the findings of gender and social analysis to the institution's portfolio
- Capacity for systematic monitoring and evaluation of gender-specific program impact
- Systematic reporting of gender-relevant lessons learned, and subsequent program adaptation (USAID 1994d, 6-8).

This framework depicts the steps that AID sees as necessary for the implementation of WID projects and for overall gender-sensitive projects at the agency. Using each step as a benchmark for evaluation, I will discuss what AID has done to accomplish this goal.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>AID has used different procedures and actions in the past, but I will be using the more current framework to attempt to draw a consistent picture of the agency.

## Awareness

Gender awareness has a two-prong meaning for AID. It combines both the realization that at times men and women are affected differently by development and the recognition that development planning must consciously operate so that these differences are minimized (USAID 1994d, 6). AID policy has consistently acknowledged that women do sometimes fare differently than men under development. From the 1982 Policy Paper to the 1994 Strategies for Sustainable Development which said that "[i]n much of the world, women and girls are disproportionately poor, ill, and exploited" (USAID 1994a, 5), the agency has reaffirmed its commitment through policy to make women equal partners in the development effort.

## Commitment

AID has demonstrated a sincere commitment to WID principles since the Percy Amendment in its policy pronouncements and has created mechanisms within the agency to carry out these goals. Although this commitment has been constant in AID policy, the agency has not always given these new initiatives the money or resources to fully carry out the WID mandate.

In an attempt to integrate women in development into the activity of the agency, AID created Office of Women in Development (WID office) in 1974. The office has had a dual responsibility: to provide technical assistance and information to bureaus and missions in order to further WID integration within the agency, and also to act as an advocacy office to advance the importance of women within agency projects and programming. Since the WID office was part of the administrator's office, it was originally conceived as part of the policy development process rather than as a fundamental part of the WID

implementation process. The WID office has since been moved to the policy bureau but its fundamental missions have remained constant (Staudt 1982, 272).

The office was originally staffed with 3 full-time professionals, and during the 1980's had an annual budget of \$1 million. The WID office was to give technical support and research information to missions as they developed projects and programming that included WID. The office was "responsible for reviewing agency plans and projects to assure that women are integrated, for monitoring agency progress, and for working with other international donors and organization" and to be involved with project reviews and track agency budgetary commitments" (Staudt 1982, 265). Since the late 1980's, WID office has grown with more personnel and more money. It has used this money to provide research and technical assistance for missions and bureaus on women in their regions. The office also works with the other Washington-based bureaus to integrate gender concerns across the agency's work.

The WID Office does have some power to monitor WID implementation, but its power has really been limited and without monetary 'teeth.' The Office has had some power to review the agency's WID performance by the budget percentage spent on WID programs, but no real power to hold or distribute funds based on performance. In fact, in 1979 one-half of field missions actually ignored the WID office's request for information on WID implementation (Staudt 1985, 53). This situation changed in 1993 when the WID office was budgeted an annual \$10 million for gender-related training and for partial funding of technical assistance to bureaus and missions (GAO 1993, 13). Of this money, 60% is earmarked as matching funds to work with bureaus and missions in the implementation and research of WID policy. This increase in funding has given the office more resources and more bargaining power to work with bureaus and mission programs.

AID has demonstrated its commitment by requiring bureaus and missions to specifically plan for WID activities. Bureau and missions each have a strategic plan which creates a framework for operations in the region and in each specific mission. After the GAO report of 1993, they were required to have gender plan of action with deadlines and benchmarks "for achieving full integration of WID issues" (USAID 1994c, 2). Some bureaus and missions are still lacking this organized approach to WID, but many are including this as a top priority in their planning. The Nepal mission has a specific objective in the mission's strategic plan which clearly states its commitment to including women and a greater gender perspective in its activity (Bloom 1996).

AID also has demonstrated its commitment by creating the WID officer position. Each mission also has a WID officer who is responsible for ensuring that WID is included in the activity of the mission. This position is usually the woman on the team or someone who has WID leanings, but is often someone with no special WID training or expertise, although this trend is changing with more training and time going to the WID officer. It is usually 10% of the duties of the position (Staudt 1985, 65). The WID officer has no direct ties to the WID office in Washington, and the cooperation between the two is done on an ad hoc basis. The WID office does offer training and assistance to the WID officer (Brackett 1996), but it is usually on an ad hoc basis. According to Gretchen Bloom, the Gender Specialist in the Asia/Near East Bureau, "[T]he [WID officers] are designated, and these are people who spend a lot of time focusing on women's empowerment themes and gender issues..." (1996) at a mission.

For Bloom, the WID officers can make a huge difference in the quality and quantity of WID activity in the field. "[T]he ideal is to have someone who is in the program office or sort of a higher rank person who sees everything happening in the mission so that it mainstreams and not sidelines [WID]... Many missions now

have created a WID committee or a gender and development committee ... as strategic objective teams, and to have on each of these teams someone who speaks for the issue, that's ideal." (Bloom 1996). The establishment of a WID Officer is an excellent method to ensure that each mission does have some WID advocacy work, but there is still the danger of that WID will be marginalized as "someone's" problem instead of an all-encompassing concern.

AID commitment to creating these methods of WID institutionalization through the WID Office, the WID Officer Position, and Bureau and Mission WID requirements is strong and the agency is continuing to emphasize the importance of these elements. The lack of a central oversight and WID implementation system, however, has hampered the agency's ability to make WID a priority across the agency. The WID Office needs to have more connections with missions, bureaus, and with the WID Officers in order to strengthen the overall WID commitment in the agency.

### Questions

In order to integrate women into development programs, bureaus and missions must be able to ask the right questions about the "gender division of labor, rights, responsibilities and access to resources and to link gender-informed analytical questions and hypotheses to development objectives" (USAID 1994d, 6). AID has instituted mechanisms to help bureaus and missions begin the project process with the right tools to examine the status and roles of women in the base-line situation.

AID has made many attempts to train staff to integrate women and gender concerns. From the beginning, it was recognized that WID could not be implemented without fieldworkers who were trained to do gender analysis and to create gender sensitive programming. In each of the policy pronouncements, the

agency has promised more training for staff in gender awareness. Training is usually done in conjunction with the WID Office by bureaus and missions. The scope of training by the agency has grown to include not only AID direct-hires but also foreign service nationals, PVO and NGO representatives, and contractors (USAID 1990, 14). This training across the agency acknowledges the importance of gender issues in all areas of development planning, and the importance of increased gender awareness by all staff members.

The latest comprehensive training system was created by the WID Office, as part of the 1994 GENESYS (Gender in Economic and Social Systems) project. The project created the Gender Analysis Tool Kit to provide a training framework for WID/GAD approaches in AID projects. The Tool Kit outlines the structure of institutionalization of WID for the agency and gives development workers specific tools to use to integrate gender concerns in their projects. These tools include quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze gender data, diagnostic methods to analyze the gender constraints in a country and more specifically in projects, and also planning tools that give planners guidelines for making projects gender-sensitive (USAID 1994d, 3). AID has gone beyond awareness of gender concerns to include gender issues as a part of all projects with this training.

AID has also moved to hiring gender specialists that work outside of the WID office in order to mainstream gender concerns in each bureau. Presently, the ANE and LAC bureaus each have a full-time gender specialist working in the bureau headquarters who is responsible for technical assistance on gender issues (Bloom 1996). This position turns into an advocacy position as well, however, since the specialist is involved in promoting gender issues by reviewing documents, strategic plans, and giving technical assistance. These bureau specialists have been instrumental in increasing the awareness of WID projects in

larger-scale bureaus and mission strategic plans and also in the inclusion of WID issues in projects and programs.

AID has strengthened the ability of the agency to ask the right questions for integrating gender concerns in development projects. The cooperation between the WID Office and bureaus for training has increased and has made the agency more aware of gender concerns and better able to integrate them into planning (USAID 1990, 14-15). This partnership has strengthened the WID effort by combining resources directed at WID and providing a more consistent WID definition and techniques across the agency. Training must be continued and increased to ensure that gender concerns, while promoted by policy, do filter down to the level of practitioners.

### Analysis

Analysis is important because it "provide[s] development institutions with an informed set of alternatives on how to implement their programs so that they benefit and allow for active participation by both women and men" (USAID 1994d, 7). This analysis allows for later program development and adaptation that makes women participants in the development process and ensures that both genders are advancing under the program.

The basis of gender analysis is the use of gender-disaggregated data. The original WID mandate required an increase in the collection of this type of data (GAO 1993, 17). At the beginning of WID policy in the agency, it was thought that projects were not including or examining the role of women simply because the data was not available. Thus, an increase in this collection would lead to a greater emphasis on women. The origins of WID really stem from this recognition that women were not studied. However, gender-disaggregated data is often not routinely collected or used in design of projects. Where this

information is available, it is still mostly in traditional areas (GAO 1993, 21). It is often problematic to get this information and collection is a costly and time-consuming process.

Gender-analysis, as defined at AID, is the "analysis of the intersection between male and female roles/responsibilities and project goals, strategies, and outcomes at any stage of the project cycle" (Carloni 1987, 8). But in earlier AID efforts, gender analysis was really concerned with looking at the amount of time/seriousness spent at examining women's roles. "The introduction of the more relational term 'gender' to complement emphasis on 'women' is one important indication of a growing concern with the broader implications of differences between men's and women's roles" (Carloni 1987, 4). Although early gender analysis at AID did refer to 'gender' as the variable to be measured, it was really the roles of women which were important.<sup>3</sup> Gender is not simply a 'complement' to the use of women as a variable, but a move away from women to roles and a more holistic perspective of work and roles in society.

AID has moved from the early days of WID analysis to a greater reliance on gender and the GAD perspective. "Gender aware approaches are concerned with the manner in which such relationships [between men and women] are socially constructed: men and women play different roles in society, their gender differences being shaped by ideological, religious, ethnic, economic, and cultural determinants" (Moser 1989, 1). Although AID did have a greater focus on women in the earlier WID effort, its current gender analysis does reflect this more holistic attempt to identify gender roles rather than concentrating solely on women as the variable. It now needs to make sure that gender disaggregated data is

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<sup>3</sup>The AID Synthesis Paper (Carloni 1987) has an excellent ten-step model of the gender analysis process. This model, however, does demonstrate the agency's earlier focus on women rather than on gender.

consistently provided for gender analysis in all areas of the agency's programming.

### Implementation

Gender analysis is not a powerful development tool unless the findings are used in project design. AID has said that "[t]he capacity to apply the major findings from gender analysis is crucial for establishing a realistic program and project design and implementation plan" (USAID 1994d, 7). One of the major problems with any WID policy has been to actually change the development process to reflect gender findings and to include women not as a marginal issue but as a part of the overall picture. AID has instituted guidelines for project design and for project strategies that reflect the policy commitment to integrate women into development activity.

After the tentative approval of projects, a more complex document is written (project paper) which includes more design and analysis (Staudt 1985). Each project paper was required to have "women impact statement" which examines the ways that women will be affected by project and a "social soundness analysis ... theoretically considers the division of labor, diffusion, and distribution patterns within communities affected by projects" (Staudt 1982, 267). Once again, however, the policy is often weakened in the actual application. These gender evaluations are often general and do not provide an adequate analysis of the position of women in the project. The "[w]oman-impact statements, usually no more than a paragraph, tend to be recycled from document to document and are perceived as 'boilerplate' " (Staudt 1982, 267).

Early in AID's mandate initiative, three types of programming were classified as falling under the WID label: integrated projects, women-only projects, and women's components to larger projects (Carloni 1987, xvii).

Integrated projects are mainstream development projects in which a 'gender-sensitive design' was used and the roles of women and men were considered throughout the process. Women-only projects were small-scale initiatives that focused only on women as participants. Finally, women's components were small sections of larger projects which attempted to include women in the larger project purpose. All three of these methods were used, but the latter two were much easier conceptually to initiate because they more specifically dealt with women as the variable and could be clearly articulated. Gender-integrated programming was less clear.

This delineation of three types of WID projects has gradually faded as the agency has increased its support of mainstream integration of gender issues. The 1987 study found that

"Women-only projects and women's components of projects can be useful in specific contexts. Gender sensitive adaptation of mainstream projects, [however], will most effectively include women in the development process and also provide a higher return to project investments" (Carloni 1987, xviii).

This realization by the agency that mainstream gender integration at the project level was the most effective and economically correct method to include women increased the agency's commitment to making gender-sensitive planning a constant part of its activity.

In the Asia/Near East bureau, this new gender commitment has been defined as a two-part process. The bureau initiated gender-integrated programming and gender-led programming to replace the earlier focus on women with gender-sensitive programs. Gender-integrated programming "means the weaving of gender considerations into all stages of the project and programming cycle" (AID 1994b, 5). The two assumptions which this approach uses are that the different roles of women and men within society must be analyzed for

successful development and that the greater inclusion of women will have 'multiplier effects' that will increase their status and aid development (AID 1994b, 5).

Gender-led programming, by contrast, "establishes gender-based strategic objectives, policy dialogue, and development activities... It differs from women-specific programming in that it considers the relationships between men and women and tilts the balance in favor of women" (AID 1994b, 5). This is a dramatic shift from the earlier concentration on just integrating women into development programs. This is an affirmative action program designed to redress present imbalances *based on a comprehensive gender analysis*.

AID has developed implementation strategies to further the WID policy created by the agency. Beginning with the three types of WID programming and moving now to more gender-sensitive methods, AID has changed much of its development planning to include women. This shift, however, has not been consistent across the agency. This is where AID's implementation problem exists. AID must find methods (to be discussed in the next section) to ensure that all bureaus and all missions are using gender-sensitive planning methods.

### Evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation of projects ensures that WID is being implemented and is having the desired effect on women and on the total development effort. WID can only be justified if it is shown to have a beneficial impact on women. And more specifically for the agency, WID implementation must be monitored to ensure that bureaus and missions are carrying out the policy directives of AID.

Previously, the agency was unable to systematically measure either WID implementation or the impact of WID approaches on women. Currently, AID is

developing the PRISM system in an attempt to better monitor and evaluate the agency's performance on a number of issues. PRISM is a database that the agency is developing which will monitor specified indicators to measure several aspects of AID activity. The PRISM evaluation system should change the previous inability of the agency and allow a systemic monitoring and evaluation of WID in AID projects and programs by including sex-disaggregated data and gender considerations (GAO 1993, 22). This system, however, will not allow AID to effectively measure the impact of WID on women participants, and new indicators must be developed to adequately analyze the effect that WID programs are actually having on the roles and status of women. The PRISM system does not include specific indicators that will measure gender impact (GAO 1993, 22), and this will continue inhibit effective monitoring of WID.

Evaluating bureaus, missions, and programs at a more individual level is also important to increasing WID implementation at the agency. AID has been criticized in the past because it failed to tie WID implementation to any evaluation of bureaus, mission, or staff (GAO 1993, 19). AID is increasing the importance of WID programming by including 'sticks and carrots' in the evaluation system. The new Gender Plan of Action identified several methods of increasing WID performance through the evaluation system. These include creating a WID Performance Fund to give extra funding to projects that best integrate gender issues, monitoring WID performance through the personnel evaluation system (USAID 1996).

AID is taking steps to increase the usefulness of its evaluation and monitoring systems for WID implementation. The PRISM system will help the agency measure its WID institutionalization, but the system must be further adapted by creating new indicators to adequately measure the impact of WID on women. AID is also taking great steps to ensure missions and bureaus do have

incentive to implement WID through the monitoring and evaluation process. As the agency increases its centralized monitoring system, it will be better able to measure and enforce policy implementation across the bureaus.

### Adaptation

After all of this effort to analyze gender and to include it in the agency's mainstream programming, it is important to make sure that gender information is available and to change programming to reflect new information and ideas. For AID, "[t]he results of a specific development intervention must be analyzed, synthesized, and reported on to be useful for managing the activity itself and for designing subsequent activities" (USAID 1994d, 8).

AID has done several studies that examine the use of WID/GAD perspectives and the lessons that the agency has learned. One such study by the Bureau of Research and Development examined projects that had done gender analysis to see what design elements helped to foster project success (AID 1992). This report found that a focus on women's multiple roles, gender-specific constraints that limit access or resources, and an effort to slowly change cultural beliefs to those more accepting of changing gender roles were methods that could increase the gender sensitivity of projects (AID 1992, 10). The report also indicated that it was necessary to include both men and women in project design and implementation. This reflects the agency's growing awareness that attention to the gender variable (like the attention placed on other socioeconomic variables) is an important step in project development.

Gender analysis is useless, however, if programs are not changed before or during the implementation to reflect the reality of the situation. One of the main problems with implementing WID is that project adaptation rarely follows the lessons learned through the gender analysis. "[T]he analysis of gender

differences has little effect on the achievement of project objectives unless women actually participate in and benefit from the project" (Carloni 1987, 28). Gender analysis has shown that women are still excluded from many development projects because of constraints not previously identified, and also that programs need to be flexible to meet changing gender roles. Gender "must be an integral part of the larger socioeconomic analysis ... [it] cannot be isolated from consideration of other socioeconomic factors" (AID 1992, 13), and all factors (race, class, etc.) must be examined to make analysis more relevant.

A groundbreaking 1987 study which analyzed a twelve-year period of WID projects at AID found that "analysis of gender differences alone has little effect on project outcomes unless institutional and other barriers to participation are identified and overcome" (Carloni 1987, 44). This study found many ways that planners could modify projects to better include women such as changing the focus of a project to match the interests of women, adapting the terms of lending in credit programs, and changing the location of project activities and services to areas that were easy for women to reach (Carloni 1987, 47-50). Through several studies, AID has learned that it must continually monitor and adapt its programs if it is to adequately include women.

Beyond the gender analysis, field workers must take the lessons learned seriously and use this knowledge in programs. This places WID implementation at the individual level, and AID has not been very successful in its attempt to ensure that these lessons are used. Another 1987 report noted four critical variables that influenced AID implementation: mission leadership, effectiveness of mission WID Officer, mission focus, and general level of awareness among mission staff (GAO 1993, 23). Thus it is much of the agency's other work (like WID awareness and training) that will lead to successful project adaptation.

## Conclusion

All of these elements of institutionalization complement and support each other. They are interconnected, and it is easy to see why AID's progress is ambiguous even though its WID policy and some of its WID activity does seem so successful. Each of these steps is necessary for the next and is really part of a cycle of institutionalization. While AID has continually advocated progressive WID policy and promoted gender awareness in the agency, it has not sufficiently allocated the resources to the WID effort (especially to the WID Office) or centrally monitored WID implementation. Thus there has been progress in some missions and in some areas of development but little to none in others.

AID must now find ways to translate its policy into programs. The Strategies for Sustainable Development in 1994 only briefly mentioned that women were important and that they should be integrated into development programs. The new Gender Action Plan does address this issue, but only briefly and simply promises more studies and more recommendations. AID's success with WID implementation will really be evident when it convinces fieldworkers that the WID/GAD effort is critical to successful development and when that effort begins to consistently come from the bottom rather than constantly created from the top.

## Chapter Five

### The Implications of WID Theory and Implementation for Future Development Activity

Three trends are evident from a study of WID theory and its implementation at AID. First, it is clear that the equity, efficiency, and empowerment rationales of WID theory are articulated into policy at AID, albeit at a slow rate. Second, the move from a singular focus on women to a more holistic approach of gender is happening and is necessary to ensure that women and other groups are not marginalized in the development process. Finally, the new partnership approach between development institutions and NGOs will be a powerful alliance that can match the technical expertise and financial resources of institutions with the grassroots organization of NGOs.

#### Equity, Efficiency, and Empowerment

Since the early 1970's, theorists and development practitioners have initiated women-centered change in development activity. First, Western feminists argued for equity and inclusion. Then the economic argument of efficiency rose to preeminence as feminists recognized the power of economic language to justify putting women into development. Now, there is a growing recognition that including women in development is not enough; instead, the shape of development must be altered and women must be given the tools to make this adjustment occur out of their vision of society and the future. Although this theory has changed over the years, this change has really been an evolution. WID arguments have not changed course or direction but added new perspectives and goals in a gradual movement.

Since the 1970's, the evolving rationales of equity, efficiency, and empowerment have been reflected in WID/GAD implementation at AID. Although the agency has been slow (at times) to respond to new ideas and to implement these concepts in a consistent manner, it has changed its mission in accordance with evolving WID theory. Theory does impact WID policy. AID has responded to outside forces in its attempt to define WID for the agency. At the policy level, AID has consistently advanced new concepts of women and of development.

Just as the movement equity to efficiency to empowerment has proven to be a continuum, the implementation of these concepts has also been a process of evolution not radical change. After the efficiency argument was given preeminence at AID, there was still a recognition in AID policy that women should be included in the development process because it was equitable and fair. Now that the empowerment argument is becoming the leading WID strategy at AID, the agency is continuing to justify its women focus with the rationale that it is economically advantageous to include women in its programs.

All of these rationales have continued to affect the agency's WID programs because they each address an important issue for women. The equity rationale shows that women need legal and social equality to gain access to economic and legal resources in order to be full partners in development. Efficiency proves that women are producers and that their work is integral to the successful growth of developing economies. And empowerment will give women the tools to gain control over their economic and social roles. The three perspectives complement one another and give AID a wide variety of program possibilities which all work to better the status of women in developing countries.

### Gender as the Variable

It has become increasingly obvious that development planning must move beyond the use of women as the variable in gender analysis and make gender roles and gender differences relevant concepts for designing and evaluating programs. Many of the problems with WID implementation came from the marginalization of women because of the emphasis on women instead of gender. Gender is a social construct, and takes into account more of the cultural influences which determine the appropriateness of a project for a group of women and the possible participation of women. It is also a much more holistic approach which considers the roles of men and women in development, and attempts to balance projects to benefit both while assessing the burdens placed on both.

Gender analysis also allows for both the reproductive and productive roles of women to be included in development planning. Before the introduction of WID, women had primarily been viewed as reproducers. WID challenged the omission of women as producers but fell into the same trap of limiting the roles of women. WID defined women by their roles as producers without acknowledging their reproductive roles. Gender analysis can help us overcome this problem by assessing both roles of women and the way that they effect women's position within the development process.

In many ways, looking at women as a group to put into development mirrors the previous neglect of women as a group that was kept out of development. Some women-only projects and women-components (gender-led strategies) are still necessary to ensure that women are not re-marginalized in the development effort, but integrating gender issues in mainstream projects and programs is now the most important focus. Using this concept of gender will ensure that women are not re-marginalized in the development process and that

the roles of both men and women are analyzed in the attempt to create less biased development programs.

### Using partnerships with NGOs for development

There is a growing trend of partnership and collaboration between the non-profit and government sectors, and this merger of resources and interests can have profound impact on the shape and the vision of development. The influence of NGOs has increased in recent years as international agencies have realized the expertise and ability of NGOs have in linking the issues of women and development. It is in AID's involvement with grassroots women's organizations that the greatest impact can be made on the nature of the development process.

Women's groups have much to offer development organizations. They have different resources and memberships than development institutions like AID and can complement the agency's work.

"The strategic role of these organizations and networks can be seen from two perspectives. Developing the political will for the major changes needed in most societies requires organizations that have the strength to push for those changes, and the mass potential of women's networks in this area is great. Second, the particular perspective of poor women gives this centrality to the fulfillment of basic survival needs as *the* priority issue; they are therefore the most committed, militant, and energetic actors once avenues for action emerge" (Sen & Grown 1987, 89).

According to Sen and Grown, NGOs (especially those that are women's groups) have two powerful characteristics to recommend them. Grassroots organizations can help to motivate this political will that is necessary for development because they already have a network of women and a structure that will further the development effort. Also, women's groups constitute the target audience for the WID effort. These are the women that development institutions want to help. It

seems logical to start at the lowest level with these groups to create the bottom-up, participatory approach that AID is advocating.

Using women's groups to advance the WID effort has been tried before. Earlier, women's groups were used to organize development projects, but these projects did often not empower women because they had a welfare orientation because women's groups did not have the expertise or resources to implement income-generating or larger, more integrated projects (Buvinic 1986; 656, 658). Women's organizations were unable to create large-scale sustainable projects for women and often maintained the traditional focus on women as mothers and homemakers. Buvinic calls this trend of a continued welfare focus the "misbehavior" of development projects.

The new partnership initiatives, however, can overcome these implementation barriers. Development institutions can provide the resources and expertise to women's organizations that will allow them to provide more than welfare projects for women. Women's organizations can provide the political motivation and the grassroots network to make these initiatives possible. This strategy combines the strengths of both partners to initiate development projects that empower women as participants in development rather than beneficiaries in the development process.

The future of Women In Development at AID and at other development institutions is really a combination of all three of these trends. Empowerment theory, gender analysis, and partnerships with NGOs together can create development programs that work with women and men to give them more power and more participation in the development process. It is really women's organizations that can open the door to these three approaches to development. Working with groups and providing them with resources is empowerment. Listening to women perspectives and creating programs that they want for

development is gender analysis. This partnership initiative at AID and at other institutions will allow women to become full participants in the development of development, and that will lead to a less gender-biased and more equitable society for all.

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