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WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT:  
A FRAMEWORK FOR PROJECT ANALYSIS

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Development planning has failed to recognize fully or systematically women's contribution to the development process or, in turn, its effect on them. This failure has limited development efforts and effects. Economic growth, project efficiency and social justice call for a new approach to development which systematically includes women.

In her seminal work of 1970, Ester Boserup plainly articulated the state of neglect: "In the vast and ever-growing literature on economic development, reflections on the particular problems of women are few and far between." Over the last decade the issues regarding the integral involvement of women in national development processes have slowly crept onto the agendas of national and international development agencies. By 1980, many countries and international agencies had explicitly incorporated women's issues into their development plans and had set up special bureaus, offices, or even Ministries as the organizational focal point of these new concerns. Furthermore, the barren literature fields observed by Boserup had begun to produce intellectual harvests. By 1981 articles and books in the women in development area were appearing at a rapid rate.

Although there has been much activity, development planning efforts still fail to recognize fully women's actual and potential contribution to the development process or the effect of the development process on them. The imperatives for rectifying these inadequacies are based on both economic and equity concerns. Women are key actors in the economic system yet their neglect in development plans has left untapped a potentially large economic contribution. Women represent the majority of the population yet they are concentrated at the bottom of the ladder in terms of employment, education, income and status. Both economic growth and social justice call for increased attention to the integration of women into the development process. This paper proceeds from the basis that equity and economic growth are compatible objectives and must be pursued simultaneously.

Projects are among the primary vehicles used by governments and international agencies to channel resources in the development process.<sup>2</sup> One of the barriers<sup>3</sup> to translating research activity about women into effective and beneficial development programming has been the absence of an adequate analytical framework for integrating women into project analysis. Such integration of women<sup>4</sup> is essential for transforming policy concerns into practical realities. The purpose of this paper is to present an analytical framework which will facilitate this process.

## ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

What women do will have an impact on most projects whether or not women are considered explicitly in their design and implementation. Similarly, most projects will have an effect on women's lives. The framework we propose can improve the definition of general project objectives, assess how these relate to women's involvement with a project, and anticipate the effect of the project on women. The analysis which we introduce here is not intended to be limited in its application to projects which are directed only to women. This analysis is equally applicable, and probably more important, precisely for projects where women's roles and responsibilities have not been explicitly noted but are implicitly assumed in project design and implementation.

Development projects are vehicles for generating change. Project design and implementation, therefore, require an adequate data base. "Visibility" is the starting point for integrating women into development projects and visibility also comes through data. Thus, the cornerstone of the proposed framework is an adequate data base which considers what women do and why. The key challenge, however, is how to organize and present this information so as to facilitate its translation into project terms. The framework we propose uses four interrelated components: Activity Profile; Access and Control Profile; Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities; Access, and Control; and Project Cycle Analysis.

The first component, the Activity Profile is based on the concept of a gender based division of labor. The Activity Profile will delineate the economic activities of the population in the project area first by age and gender and then by ethnicity, social class, or other important distinguishing characteristics. In addition, it will indicate the amount of time spent by individuals to accomplish these activities. The second component, the Access and Control Profile, will identify what resources individuals can command to carry out their activities and the benefits which they derive from them.

Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities, Access, and Control focuses on the underlying factors which determine the gender division of labor and gender related control over resources and benefits. These analyses identify the factors which create differential opportunities or constraints for men's and women's participation in and benefits from projects. Because the work that men and women carry out shifts over time in response to the processes of change, an understanding of the underlying trends within the broader economic and cultural environment must be incorporated into this analysis.

The final component of the analytic framework, Project Cycle Analysis, consists of examining a project in light of the foregoing basic data and the trends that are likely to affect it and/or be generated by it. Together these four components provide a sufficient basis for designing and

implementing projects which can best benefit and be benefitted by women's participation.

### ACTIVITY PROFILE

To assess the interaction between women and projects, it is important to know what women do. How one categorizes activities conceptually is important. We suggest the following categories:

#### 1) Production of Goods and Services -

Too often planners have failed to recognize women's roles as producers. Specific productive activities carried out for all goods and services by men or women should be identified. It is not sufficient to identify only female activities. Male activities must also be specified because the interrelationships can affect or be affected by the project.

Specific delineation of activities is needed for each country and project setting because general typologies can be very misleading. Huntington's critique of the early Boserup work emphasized the difficulties of generalizing "...even if the classification and causal relationships of Boserup's conceptualization are pertinent to African societies, they do not hold elsewhere."<sup>5</sup> The work of Deere and Leon in Andean areas reinforces the problem with generalization..."Boserup's propositions...hold only for the middle and rich states of the peasantry..."<sup>6</sup>

The degree of specificity of the activity listing should depend on the nature of the project. Those areas most directly associated with a project should carry the greatest detail. For example, if the project concerns a new agricultural production technology, then the gender division of labor for each agricultural productive activity should be delineated, e.g. land clearance, preparation, seeding, weeding, processing, etc.

#### 2) Reproduction and Maintenance of the Human Resources -

Activities that are carried out to produce and care for the family members need to be specified according to who does them. They might include but are not limited to fuel and water collection, food preparation, birthing, child care, education, health care, and laundry. These activities are often viewed as noneconomic, generally carry no pecuniary remuneration, and usually are excluded from the national income accounts. In fact, these household maintenance tasks are essential economic functions which ensure the development and preservation of the human capital for the family and the nation. Galbraith observed "What is not counted is usually not noticed."<sup>7</sup> In project analyses not noticing a major activity can lead to defective project design.

Giving explicit attention to these functions is critical. Women's project involvement can depend on whether or how a project affects

reproduction and maintenance activities, the production of goods and services, and/or the interrelationship between these activities. The scarcest resource for most low income women is time. The design of projects which increase time requirements for particular activities must consider these requirements in relation to the time required for other necessary activities.

The activities listed in the above categories need to be further classified to increase their utility for the subsequent project analysis. Three parameters are suggested for describing the activities:

- (a) Gender and Age Denomination - identifies whether women, men, their children, or the elderly carry out an activity; reveals gender patterns in the work activities; and is the key to identifying subsequent gender effects.
- (b) Time Allocation - specifies what percentage of time is allocated to each activity and whether it is seasonal or daily;
- (c) Activity Locus - specifies where the activity is being performed - in the home, in the family field or shop or in the outside community; reveals female mobility; and carries implications for project delivery systems.

Table 1 provides an example of how information on activities can be summarized.

Most projects are not targeted to homogeneous population groups. The gender based division of labor as well as the access to and control over resources and benefits are likely to differ, often quite substantially, according to socio-economic class or ethnic affiliation. Therefore, it is essential to develop the activity profiles separately for each of the distinct population groups to whom the project is targeted.

#### ACCESS and CONTROL PROFILE

Identifying the gender specific activities in production, reproduction, and maintenance is a necessary, but not sufficient step in the data preparation for project design and implementation. The flow of resources and benefits are fundamental concepts in the analysis of how projects will affect and be affected by women. Of particular concern is the access that individuals have to resources for carrying out their activities and what command they have over the benefits that derive from these activities. Table 2 illustrates how this information can be usefully summarized.

Two points are important here. First, it is essential to differentiate between access and control. Access to resources does not necessarily imply the power to control them. To control a situation is to impose one's own definition upon the other actors in that situation.<sup>8</sup> In other words, access can be determined by others but control implies that one is the determining force.

Second, it is also important to differentiate between access to and control over the use of resources, on the one hand, and access to and control over the benefits derived from the mobilization of resources. Even where women have unrestrained use of resources they are not always able to realize the gains from their use. Huntington's observation on female-dominated African agriculture illustrates this situation. Men have power and control over the fruits of women's labor because "tradition gives men a position of authority over women...Men get their wealth, their livelihood and their leisure from women's labor."<sup>9</sup> By focusing on both resources and benefits, one obtains an accurate assessment of the relative power of members of a society/economy and can utilize this knowledge to analyze the probable interaction of women with a project and its likely effect on them.

#### ANALYSIS of FACTORS INFLUENCING ACTIVITIES, ACCESS, and CONTROL

The factors which determine who does what in any population subgroup and what access and control individuals will have to resources and benefits are broad and interrelated. They could be categorized in numerous ways. We suggest the following:

- (a) general economic conditions, such as poverty levels, inflation rates, income distribution, international terms of trade, infrastructure;
- (b) institutional structures, including the nature of government bureaucracies and arrangement for the generation and dissemination of knowledge, technology, and skills;
- (c) demographic factors;
- (d) community norms, such as familial norms and religious beliefs;
- (e) legal parameters;
- (f) training and education; and
- (g) political events, both internal and external.

The reason for specifying these determining factors is to identify which can facilitate or constrain a project. Some factors, if not most, will not be amenable to change by a project. Therefore, the task for project design and implementation is to assess the above factors in terms of whether and how they will have an effect on or be affected by a project.

In addition, it is important to identify the exogenous trends or dynamic forces which are already affecting change on what men and women actually do. Projects are not implemented and carried out within the static environment implied by the Activity and Access and Control Profiles. Dynamic forces--political, social, environmental, or physical--can either enhance the accomplishment of a project's objectives or seriously impede it.

The consideration of exogeneous trends and dynamic forces, while always important, is even more so in relation to women. There are a number of forces affecting women on a world-wide basis. Life-expectancy is rising, particularly for women. Availability of birth control information and techniques combined with declining infant mortality rates have the potential to change a fundamental determinant of women's activities; women may have fewer births and/or raise the same number or fewer children. Women are taking up productive activities previously undertaken by men as men migrate to cities or as women assume responsibilities as heads of their households. Women are increasingly entering wage labor occupations in order to survive or maintain a standard of living. Women are gaining increasing access to permanent wage labor in some areas.

In many areas, the number of women-headed households is increasing, although there tends to be a cultural lag in acknowledging this fact. Bangladesh provides an important case in point. The number of women who were left destitute, widowed, or abandoned after the war has had a significant effect on the Bangladesh cultural norm that all women should be under the care and protection of a man. Decreasing land availability is also challenging the norm that children are an asset. Children now cannot be absorbed onto family land, but must be educated in order to earn a living. Costs of education raise the costs of childrearing significantly. Decreasing land/human ratios also mean that it is more difficult for a man to support all the dependent female family members. The trend is towards an abdication of this traditional responsibility. While these forces have direct and important effects on women's lives and the activities they perform, they are part of a much larger dynamic process. The status of women and their involvement in work external to the household is changing in Bangladesh without anyone's having designed this process. Project design and implementation for Bangladesh must take these forces into account in order to understand the context in which a project will be working and the forces which will affect it.

While Bangladesh provides an example of broader trends within a nation which will influence projects, there are also a number of international trends which affect local circumstances. World-wide inflation,

international transfers of labor, the impact of technologies, international tensions including the Cold War, all change over time and can affect project outcomes. Events within a project may be better understood when these larger forces are explicitly noted and considered in project planning, implementation and evaluation.

### PROJECT CYCLE ANALYSIS

The remainder of the analytical framework consists of examining a project in light of the foregoing basic data. The process is to ask which activities the project will affect and how the issues of access and control relate to these activities. The factors which determine who undertakes particular activities and with what access and control are critical because they act as mediators for the project's effects on women. The analysis will help pinpoint areas of a project which have to be adjusted in order to achieve the desired outcome.

At the project identification stage, questions which relate to women as project clientele need to be addressed. This includes defining project objectives in terms of women, assuming the opportunities and or constraints for women's projects involvement, and, finally, identifying possible negative effects on women. In the design stage of the project, questions related to the impact on women's activities, access and control of resources and benefits need to be raised. For project implementation, questions regarding the relationship of women in the project area to project personnel, organizational structures, operations, logistics, etc. need to be considered. Finally data requirements for evaluating the project's effects on women must be addressed. Specific questions related to project cycle analysis are detailed in Annex 1.

The activity analysis and the access and control analysis applies to the project cycle analysis provide the basis for good project development. They guide project identification by revealing where women are and what they are doing. They assist project design by highlighting the problem areas and their causes. 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. Project implementation has to be considered in the design process and can benefit from the analytical data, too. It is important to recognize that no standard project design is possible. Each country's situation is unique and will require specific responses.

CROSS-CULTURAL USES OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework which we have provided here is a useful device for understanding the roles of men and women in a society, and the external forces which may affect project planning. The analysis is generalizable in that it is relevant in every context to determine the gender-based division of labor and to understand the forces which act as constraints on this division or which act to change it.

In applying any generalized analysis across project and across cultures, it is important to bear in mind its precise uses and its clear limits. When activity analysis shows that women are involved in certain productive tasks in one area and that these tasks have certain implications for the division of resources and of power in that context, it is unlikely that even this same division of labor will have exactly the same implications for the division of power in any other culture or project location. Traditions, customs, and political processes interact with economic and social activities differently in different settings. Transference of conclusions and interpretations across projects and cultures is unlikely to be accurate. Nonetheless there may be similarities in the mode of analysis which may be applied to understand these interactions. While the analytical framework suggested here raises questions that are applicable in all settings insofar as it is designed to gather critically relevant information for project design, one must apply it to specific project settings. Good project design requires actual data on what work women do and in what context, together with clear specification of the issues of prestige, power, access and control.

A decade has passed since...the Percy Amendment...required that U.S. bilateral assistance programs

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

This legislative mandate requires that women be cast as contributors and agents of economic development as well as its beneficiaries. Planners, therefore, must guard against the negative effects of their projects on women and focus on the need to enhance women's productivity, raise their income, and promote their access to economically productive resources as a means to achieving overall national economic growth.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing framework should be viewed as a flexible instrument rather than a rigid format for accomplishing this objective . It does not pretend to be a definitive work, but rather one upon which others can build. Only in that spirit can we continue to learn together, and that collective process is essential to the progress we pursue.

Table 1  
ACTIVITY PROFILE

Socioeconomic Activity	Gender/Age <sup>1</sup>						TIME <sup>2</sup>	LOCUS <sup>3</sup>
	FA	MA	FC	MC	FE	ME		
<u>I. Production of Goods and Services</u>								
a. Product/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2. Functional Activity								
3. Functional Activity								
b. Product/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2. Functional Activity								
3. Functional Activity								
<u>2. Reproduction &amp; Maintenance of Human Resources</u>								
a. Product/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2.								
3.								
b. Product/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2.								
3.								

## Code:

1/ FA = Female Adult; MA = Male Adult; FC = Female Child; MC = Male Child; FE = Female Elder; ME = Male Elder

2/ Percentage of time allocated to each activity; seasonal; daily

3/ Within home; family, field or shop; local community; beyond community

Table 2ACCESS AND CONTROL PROFILE

RESOURCES	ACCESS	CONTROL
	(M/F)	(M/F)
Land		
Equipment		
Labour		
Production		
Reproduction		
Capital		
Education/Training		
BENEFITS	ACCESS	CONTROL
	(M/F)	(M/F)
Outside Income		
Assets Ownership		
In-Kind goods		
(Food, clothing, shelter, etc.)		
Education		
Political Power/Prestige		
Other		

ANNEX 1

The following sets of questions are the key ones for each of the four main stages in the project cycle; identification, design, implementation, evaluation.

WOMEN'S DIMENSION IN PROJECT IDENTIFICATIONA. ASSESSING WOMEN'S NEEDS

1. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's productivity and/or production?
2. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's access to and control of resources?
3. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's access to and control of benefits?
4. How do these needs and opportunities relate to the country's other general and sectoral development needs and opportunities?
5. Have women been directly consulted in identifying such needs and opportunities?

B. DEFINING GENERAL PROJECT OBJECTIVES

1. Are project objectives explicitly related to women's needs?
2. Do these objectives adequately reflect women's needs?
3. Have women participated in setting those objectives?

C. IDENTIFYING POSSIBLE NEGATIVE EFFECTS

1. Might the project reduce women's access to or control of resources and benefits?
2. Might it adversely affect women's situation in some other way?
3. What will be the effects on women in the short and longer run?

WOMEN'S DIMENSION IN PROJECT DESIGNA. PROJECT IMPACT ON WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

1. Which of these activities (production, reproduction & maintenance, sociopolitical) does the project affect?

2. Is the planned component consistent with the current gender denomination for the activity?
3. If it plans to change the women's performance of that activity, is this feasible and what positive or negative effects would it have on women?
4. If it does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's roles in the development process?
5. If it plans to change the activity locus of that activity, is this feasible, and what positive or negative effects would it have on women?
6. If this does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's role in the development process?
7. If it plans to change the remunerative mode of that activity, is this feasible, and what positive or negative effects would it have on women?
8. If it does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's role in the development process?
9. If it plans to change the technology mode of that activity, is this feasible, and what positive or negative effects would it have on women?
10. If it does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's role in the development process?
11. How can the project design be adjusted to increase the above-mentioned positive effects, and reduce or eliminate the negative ones?

B. PROJECT IMPACT ON WOMEN'S ACCESS AND CONTROL

1. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the production of goods and services?
2. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the reproduction and maintenance of the human resources.
3. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the sociopolitical functions?

4. How can the project design be adjusted to increase women's access to and control of resources and benefits?

#### WOMEN'S DIMENSION IN PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

##### A. PERSONNEL

1. Are project personnel sufficiently aware of and sympathetic toward women's needs?
2. Are females used to deliver the goods or services to women beneficiaries?
3. Do personnel have the necessary skills to provide any special inputs required by women?
4. Are there appropriate opportunities for female participation in project management positions?

##### B. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

1. Does the organizational form enhance women's access to resources?
2. Does the organization have adequate power to obtain resources needed by women from other organizations?
3. Does the organization have the institutional capability to support and protect women during the change process?

##### C. OPERATIONS AND LOGISTICS

1. Are the organization's delivery channels accessible to women in terms of personnel, location and timing?
2. Do control procedures exist to ensure dependable delivery of the goods and services?
3. Are there mechanisms to ensure that the project resources or benefits are not usurped by males?

##### D. FINANCES

1. Do funding mechanisms exist to ensure program continuity? Afterwards?
2. Are funding levels adequate for proposed tasks?

3. Is preferential access to resources by males avoided?
4. Is it possible to trace funds for women from allocation to delivery with a fair degree of accuracy?

E. FLEXIBILITY

1. Does the project have a management information system which will allow it to detect the effects of the operation on women?
2. Does the organization have enough flexibility to adapt its structures and operations to meet the changing or new-found situations of women?

WOMEN'S DIMENSION IN PROJECT EVALUATION

A. DATA REQUIREMENTS

1. Does the project's monitoring and evaluation system explicitly measure the project's effects on women?
2. Does it also collect data to update the Activity Analysis and the Women's Access and Control Analysis?
3. Are women involved in designating the data requirements?

B. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

1. Are the data collected with sufficient frequency so that necessary project adjustments could be made during the project?
2. Are the data fed back to project personnel and beneficiaries in an understandable form and on a timely basis to allow project adjustments?
3. Are women involved in the collection and interpretation of data?
4. Are data analyzed so as to provide guidance to the design of other projects?
5. Are key areas for WID research identified?

FOOTNOTES

1. Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970).
2. This focus on "projects" rather than processes, institutions, and policies can inhibit rather than promote development if not managed appropriately (see Korten).  
Our attention to projects does not carry a normative judgement on this approach by rather reflects a concern on improving the existing modalities.
3. The perceptions or biases of "planners" concerning women constitute another barrier. See Barbara Rogers, The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1980).
4. See Gloria Scott, The Invisible Woman (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1980).
5. Sue Ellen Huntington, "Issues in Women's Role in Economic Development: Critique and Alternatives," Journal of Marriage and the Family, November 1975, p. 104.
6. C. Deere, and M. Leon de Leal, 1982, Women in Andean Agriculture: Peasant Production and Rural Wage Employment in Columbia and Peru (Geneva: ILO).
7. Kenneth Galbraith, "The Economics of the American Housewife," Atlantic Monthly Vol. 232, No. 2, August 1973, p. 79.
8. Alan Dawe, "The Two Sociologies," The British Journal of Sociology Vol. 21, 1970, p. 207; also cited in Rogers, op. cit.
9. Huntington, op. cit.