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# **Thematic Evaluation on the Integration of Women in Rural Development**

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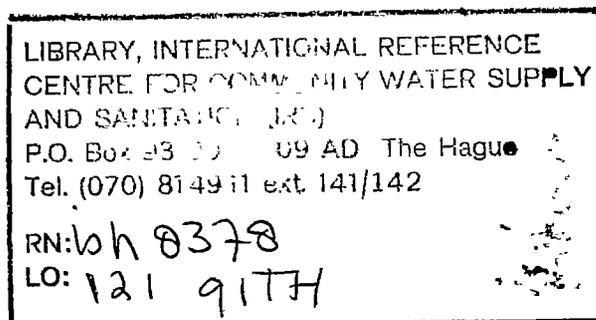
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# **Thematic Evaluation on the Integration of Women in Rural Development**

Evaluation of Nine Projects  
Financed by the European Development Fund  
in Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon,  
Kenya, Niger, Swaziland, Togo and Zambia

- Synthesis Report -



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Brussels, February 1991

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*Woman carrying water jars in Niger*

Photograph : Marianne Nugteren

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THEMATIC EVALUATION  
ON THE INTEGRATION  
OF WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Evaluation of Nine Projects  
Financed by the European Development Fund  
in Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon,  
Kenya, Niger, Swaziland, Togo and Zambia

- Synthesis Report -

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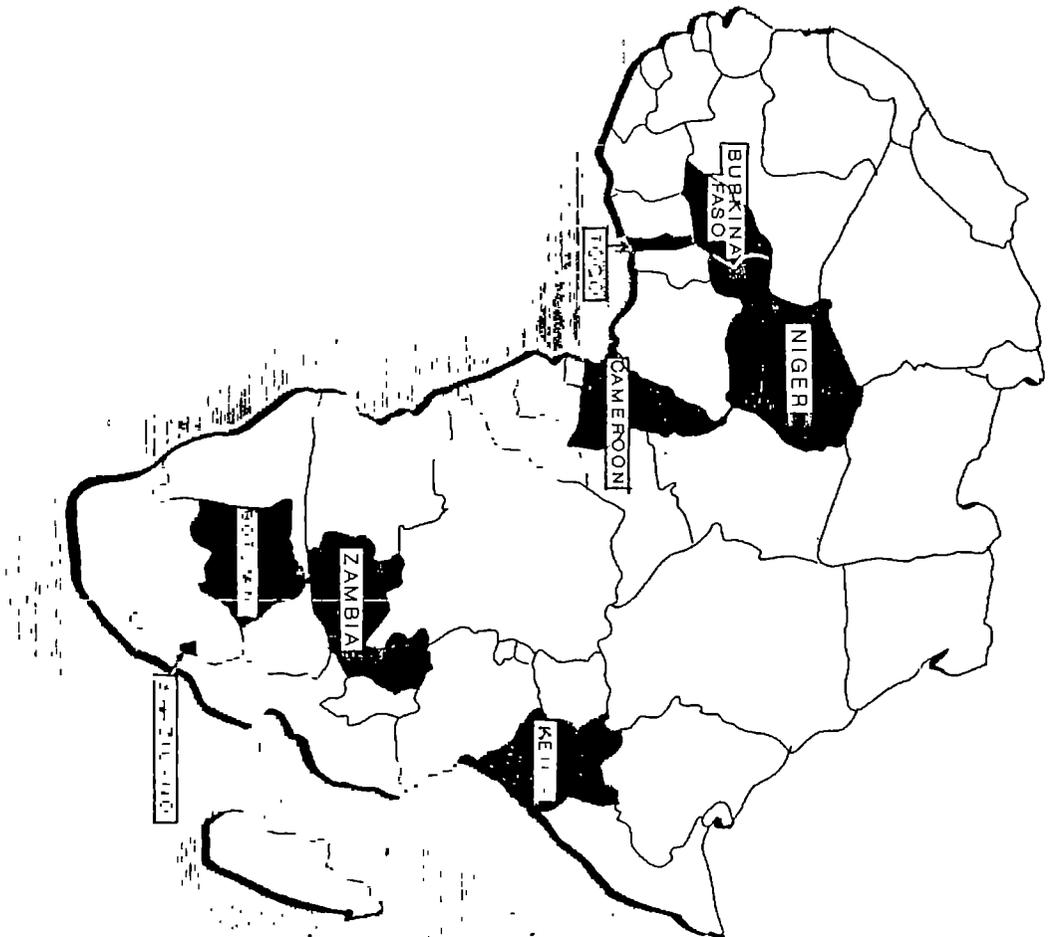
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Map Showing the Countries Covered by the Evaluation



## The Evaluated Projects

Country	Project Title	Starting Date	EC Funding (ECU)
✓ Botswana	Botswana Sheep and Goat Development Project	1978	2,790,000
Burkina Faso	Développement de la riziculture dans l'ORD de la Comoé	1979	2,968,000
Cameroon	Développement rural dans la vallée de la Bénoué	1973	50,100,000
✓ Kenya	Machakos Integrated Development Programme (MIDP)	1978	34,700,000
✓ Niger	Les aménagements hydro-agricoles FED	1974	26,700,000
✓ Niger	Hydraulique villageoise dans le département de Zinder	1983	4,900,000
✓ Swaziland	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme	1983	5,000,000
✓ Togo	Programme de développement rural dans la région des Savanes	1980	11,415,000
✓ Zambia	Maize Development Project in the Central Province	1982	5,500,000
			<hr/> 144,073,000

## Projects According to Sector

Agriculture	
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	Developpement de la riziculture dans l'ORD de la Comoe
<b>Niger</b>	Les aménagements hydro-agricoles FED
<b>Zambia</b>	Maize Development Project in the Central Province
<b>Cameroon</b>	Developpement rural dans la vallee de la Benoue
<b>Kenya</b>	Machakos Integrated Development Programme
<b>Togo</b>	Programme de developpement rural dans la region des Savanes

Livestock	
<b>Botswana</b>	Botswana Sheep and Goat Development Project
<b>Kenya</b>	Machakos Integrated Development Programme

Forestry	
<b>Cameroon</b>	Developpement rural dans la vallee de la Benoue
<b>Kenya</b>	Machakos Integrated Development Programme
<b>Togo</b>	Programme de developpement rural dans la region des Savanes

Water Supply	
<b>Niger</b>	Hydraulique villageoise dans le departement de Zinder
<b>Swaziland</b>	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme
<b>Kenya</b>	Machakos Integrated Development Programme

Project  
 Project component



## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ACP countries	- African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
CEC	- Commission of the European Community
EC	- European Community
EDF	- European Development Fund
FAO	- Food and Agriculture Organization
IMF	- International Monetary Fund
MIDP	- Machakos Integrated Development Programme (Kenya)
NGO	- Non-governmental organization
RDP	- Rural development project
T&V	- Training and Visit (extension management system)
WID	- Women in Development



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### 1. Objectives and Approach of the Study

This thematic evaluation on the integration of women in rural development covers a total of nine EDF-financed projects implemented in Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Kenya, Niger, Swaziland, Togo and Zambia. It concerns different sectors of rural development, namely agriculture, forestry and livestock, as well as rural water supply. Among the nine projects three are integrated rural development projects and six are mono-sector projects.

The main aims of this evaluation were to assess whether and how women had been taken into account during the project cycle and to what extent their integration, or lack thereof, had influenced a project's effectiveness in increasing rural production and improving standards of living of rural families. The ultimate objectives were to learn from past experience and to formulate general and specific recommendations aimed at integrating the women's dimension more fully and systematically in the project cycle of the European Communities' development assistance.

In order to do so nine WID evaluation missions were carried out. The missions tried to obtain an insight into the tasks, responsibilities and needs of men and women in the project areas, assessed the integration of women in the programming and appraisal phase of the projects and women's participation during project implementation. Furthermore, the effects of project interventions on women were assessed, as well as the consequences of women's integration or lack thereof for the effectiveness and sustainability of the projects. The findings of the missions have been presented in nine separate reports, and are summarized in a synthesis report, of which this summary presents an overview of the most important conclusions and recommendations.

### 2. Data Collection

The most important questions related to the WID issue which the study has assessed concerning the programming and appraisal phase of the projects, are whether gender-disaggregated baseline data on the population in the project areas were collected and to what extent this information was taken into account in the design of the projects. The implementation of such baseline surveys or rapid assessments of the socio-economic characteristics of the communities does not seem to be a common procedure in EDF-financed projects. Except for the rice project in Burkina Faso, hardly any baseline information could be found.

Men and women usually have different roles and responsibilities. Consequently, they do not have exactly the same needs and interests. In order to be able to take these differences into account in project planning and implementation, baseline data have to be disaggregated according to gender. Since few baseline data were available, an important task of the evaluation missions was to collect information which provided an insight into the tasks, responsibilities and workload of men and women in the sectors concerned. At the same time information about women's

most urgent needs and some of the constraints hampering their full involvement in development activities was collected.

### 3. Women in the Project Areas; Their Roles, Needs and Constraints

An important finding of all nine field missions was that women play a crucial role in the sectors concerned, either as crop and animal producers or as managers and collectors of water and fuel. In many project areas women's contribution to agricultural production in terms of labour input was found to be much higher than men's. Except for a few areas where the prescriptions of Islam keep women in 'purdah' (as is for instance the case among the Foulbe tribe in the Cameroon project area), women contribute to almost all the agricultural work. In livestock women play an important role in the everyday care of cattle and small stock and are often the owners of goats, sheep and chickens. Not only are women the main collectors and users of firewood, they are in some cases also involved in tree planting and management. Women are usually responsible for collecting water for domestic purposes as well as for use in personal economic activities, and they are traditionally the main decision-makers in matters related to water.

Women are not only the co-providers for the family, in many areas a great number of women are the sole breadwinners. Among the most urgent needs and priorities expressed by the different categories of women interviewed during the evaluation missions, the need for an increase of their own income was repeatedly mentioned. In all project areas women appear to contribute to a major extent to family subsistence and are increasingly taking over tasks and responsibilities of men. This is especially the case in the areas with a high degree of temporary or permanent male migration to the cities or to other countries. In Eastern and Southern Africa, in particular, the missions encountered very high rates of de facto and de jure female-headed households (up to 50%).

Practically everywhere women's workload is greater than men's as a result of women's multiple roles as producers, housekeepers and mothers. Their lack of time is an important constraint on the improvement of their productivity and income. In addition to women's heavy and increasing workload, the missions observed many other obstacles which affect women more than men, and which should be taken into account in project planning. These include women's high illiteracy rate, their weak representation in decision-making bodies, and the fact that they do not have easy access to production factors and services, such as land, labour, credit, technology, extension and training.

### 4. Participation of Women During Project Implementation

The participation of women in the nine evaluated projects was found to vary considerably. There does not appear to be a relation between the degree of participation of women and the sector of intervention.

In two of the nine projects (the rice project in Burkina Faso and the livestock project in Botswana) women participate to a fairly high degree in different activities such as extension, credit supply, local management and marketing. Furthermore, in two other projects (the maize development project in Zambia and the water supply project in Swaziland) women's participation has increased to a

moderate degree during project implementation. In this case, however, the level of women's participation is not yet commensurate with the importance of their role as agricultural producers and water collectors and managers. For example, in Zambia, a number of women have gained access to individual and group extension and credit, but they are still underrepresented among the pilot farmers (11%).

Positive factors affecting participation have been identified as a favourable socio-cultural and policy environment and project objectives which are particularly relevant for women because they concern their traditional domain. A certain flexibility in project implementation has also proved to be a positive factor for the integration of women. Other factors which in one or more of these projects have contributed to the relatively positive outcome are a qualified project and/or field staff capable of recognizing gender needs, the existence of an elaborated community participation methodology and measures to ensure that small farmers or women have access to the project activities. For example, in the Botswana project, women were found to participate to a high degree in project activities because, on the one hand, they are the traditional experts in the small stock sector and, on the other hand, they are part of a socio-cultural environment in which decision-making in mixed groups is customary. In addition, the open attitude of the field staff, who operate without gender bias, has been a crucial factor in the successful integration of women.

In five projects women were found to participate to a fairly low degree. The three integrated rural development projects in Cameroon, Kenya and Togo have not succeeded in offering women equal opportunities to participate, and in the water supply project and the irrigated rice project, both in Niger, women's participation was also insufficient. In the integrated projects women had limited access to the agricultural and livestock extension and services, with the exception of the agricultural component of the Machakos Integrated Development Programme (MIDP) in Kenya, where they had moderate access. In the forestry components women appeared to participate in the tree nursery and planting activities in Kenya, but in the Togo and Cameroon projects they were not involved. The participation of women in the water supply project in Niger and the water component of the MIDP in Kenya has been disappointing: women are informed about the project activities, but when decisions are made about siting, tariffs, financial management, operation and maintenance of the new water sources, women do not participate in a significant way. In the irrigated rice project in Niger, all women - including the minority who traditionally cultivate rice - have been bypassed in the distribution of land in the large irrigation schemes.

The low participation of women in the above-mentioned projects is due to a number of factors. Firstly, there are socio-cultural factors which have not been sufficiently taken into account in project planning and implementation. They concern, for instance, women's lack of land ownership and their insecure tenure rights, existing socio-cultural restrictions on women's mobility and communication with male extension workers, and women's low level of education and literacy. Such socio-cultural constraints could have been overcome by careful planning and specific measures or activities for women. Secondly, the institutional setting can also be a constraining factor, for instance, when technical extension workers are mainly men who are not able to analyse gender needs or cannot approach women on an individual basis. Thirdly, with respect to the project cycle the most

important constraints have been identified as the failure to collect gender-specific data in project planning and monitoring, and the absence of a community participation approach. Furthermore, the absence of a methodology for the participation of women and the lack of female staff and WID expertise in the technical assistance teams have contributed to the low participation level of women. Finally, it is regrettable that the EEC has maintained a rather passive attitude and has not proposed changes aimed at increasing women's participation.

## 5. Effects of the Projects on the Position of Women

The main lessons learned from this study are that agricultural, livestock and forestry projects and components often have unintended effects on women and that women do not automatically benefit from project interventions (see the case study at the end of the Executive Summary). In the cases where women have not been involved as active participants, agricultural and livestock projects and components have often led to an increase in women's workload without countervailing benefits. The introduction of oxen for ploughing - in itself a labour-saving technological innovation - has led in several projects (especially in the Cameroon and Togo projects) to a greater demand on women's labour. Since ploughing with oxen reduces the workload of the male farmers, it enables them to cultivate a larger area. This in turn increases the labour requirements for all subsequent operations, with the result that women have to do more work on the family fields than in the past. In addition, the improved cultivation techniques promoted by the projects require more frequent and careful weeding. Thus, women come under increased pressure, but do not receive direct benefits, since decisions on what to do with the produce from the family fields are taken by the men.

Women's workload is probably also increased by the introduction of improved cattle breeds in combination with the promotion of fodder-crop production. This is the case in e.g. the MIDP in Kenya. Because women are in charge of the everyday care of cattle, the extra labour input required to care for grade cattle (e.g. taking the animals for vaccinations and dipping) is usually provided by the women. Since fodder-crop production also relies heavily on their labour inputs, this innovation also has a negative effect for women. Men's workload may also increase, but the important difference is that they usually own the cattle and therefore economic returns accrue for the most part to them, whereas women benefit only indirectly.

In the water supply projects/components women have generally been able to benefit from a considerable reduction in time and energy needed for water collection. Time-savings of several hours a day have been reported. The time gained is often used for the collection of more water, as well as for the execution of productive activities. However, not all women served by the new water systems experience full benefits, because sometimes systems function irregularly or not at all. This was the case in the Niger water supply project, where 30% of the pumps visited by the mission were out of action. Furthermore, the use of the facilities appeared to be hampered by wrong siting decisions and water fees that tend to exclude the poorer groups of women.

Of the seven projects which aim at an increase in income for the rural population, three projects (Burkina Faso, Botswana and Zambia) have improved for an important group of women the access to land, credit, animal traction, extension, marketing or inputs. In the other four projects in this category (Kenya, Togo, Cameroon, and Niger) women's access to the goods and services of the projects has not improved, or much less than it has for men.

Most projects have not had a positive impact on women's social role, because women have not been offered the possibility to participate in the newly established management structures. For example, in the water supply projects women are scarcely represented in the water committees which are responsible for the management of the new water systems. Although the situation changed in the Swaziland project, the others have in fact resulted in a weakening of women's position, since women used to play an important informal role in the management of the traditional systems.

#### 6. Consequences of the (Non-)Integration of Women for Cost-Efficiency, Effectiveness and Sustainability of Projects

Women's participation in the projects and project components in the various sectors appears to be of direct importance for the cost-efficiency and effectiveness of the interventions. The success of projects which, for instance, aim at an increase of production and income of the rural farmers depends substantially on women's contribution, especially in subsectors which are traditionally women's domain. For instance, in the Burkina Faso project area women are the main rice producers. At the beginning of the project, the provision of land and credit and other project activities were geared to the male heads of households, and this bypassing of women resulted in bad maintenance of the irrigation works and a stagnation of the outputs. Only after women's participation in extension and credit schemes and their access to land had been guaranteed, was an increase in rice production and productivity achieved.

It appeared to be highly inefficient to direct interventions only at men when women do most of the actual work. This was for instance the case in the agricultural components of the Togo and Cameroon integrated rural development projects. In both project areas women form the most important agricultural potential. The fact that women barely have access to agricultural extension, technology and inputs most certainly reduces the projects' effectiveness. For example, the main constraint on the intensification of agricultural production is that weeding is still done by hand (by the women). The project in Cameroon has recently introduced cultivators to mechanize the weeding. However, those who have the most vested interest in adopting the new technology - the women - are not reached by the demonstration sessions. The distribution of cultivators would probably go much faster if women participated; this was the experience of another extension agency in the project area. Another consequence of the lack of integration in the above-mentioned rural development projects is that women have less time to cultivate their own fields, because more time is required for the intensified production on the husband's fields. Increased output on the husband's fields does not automatically improve the living conditions of the whole family, since the men often spend the extra income on consumer or luxury goods, whereas the outputs

of the women's fields are mainly used to satisfy basic family needs. The lack of integration of women may therefore also negatively affect the achievement of the projects' broader goal of improving general living conditions.

The sustainability of water supply projects also depends largely on women's participation. However, this participation should not be restricted to water use (women as beneficiaries), but should also concern planning, management, operation and maintenance (women as agents in development). In the Swaziland project, for instance, women have been instrumental in introducing a successful cost-recovery system and financial management system. The functioning and use of the new water facilities improved when women participated in the management committees.

In general, preconditions for achieving sustainable development are that women are enabled to express their needs and interests at the planning phase, that women participate in all activities which are relevant for them and get a fair share of the benefits, otherwise facilities will not be used or maintained by women, services will not match their needs and project results will not be optimal.

## 7. Recommendations

In order to integrate the women's dimension more fully and systematically in the project cycle of the European Communities' development assistance, the following recommendations can be made.

### **a. Policy Level**

It is recommended that the Commission prepare a medium-term plan of action to ensure the effective implementation of EC policy with regard to WID. The plan should set out objectives, strategies and measures to be taken, contain a schedule of activities and indicate procedures and responsibilities of the various departments.

As the Women and Development theme touches every area of development and has to be integrated in each area of policy and in each programme, it is necessary that all officials concerned are acquainted with it. It is considered of the utmost importance for an effective implementation of WID policy that training in WID is given to all professional Commission staff in Brussels and in the delegations. It is recommended that training sessions on the role of gender in development be organized for all desk officers, technical officers and responsible staff at the delegations. The training should be provided by professional trainers in gender and development.

The WID Desk should be the focal point for Women and Development. For a period of at least five years, two full-time posts should be created to enable the WID Desk to continue and enforce its important work in the provision of information to and training of staff, development of policy instruments as well as the provision of advice relating to project and programme preparation, implementation and evaluation. The Desk should be allocated its own budget for this purpose.

It is advised that the WID expertise at the delegations be strengthened and that the delegations establish regular contacts with national bodies involved in WID

and with women's organizations. The delegations should make more use of the existing facilities to contract short-term WID experts (local or expatriate) to advise them on the integration of WID in specific projects or sectors.

In order to recognize the important economic and productive role of rural women, it is recommended that the Commission's formats and manuals not only mention women as beneficiaries, but also include criteria for women's participation as agents of development.

Most of the above-mentioned recommendations require time and money. This investment, however, pays for itself because it will make development projects more efficient, effective and sustainable. The WID Desk should be allocated its own budget to finance specific studies, Commission staff training and other actions needed for the implementation of the WID policy, or the Desk should be able to finance the various activities under general budgets. Project-related WID activities should be financed through EDF facilities.

#### **b. Integration of Women in the Project Cycle**

All projects in the agricultural, livestock, forestry and water supply sectors should promote the participation of women and acknowledge the active role they play as full partners in rural production and social and economic development processes, which should enable them to contribute more to economic performance, poverty reduction, family welfare and cost recovery of public services. At the same time, however, projects should also offer women the opportunities and means to influence the course of the development process.

For this purpose gender issues will have to be integrated from the very beginning of project preparation. During project programming and appraisal, gender-specific baseline data will have to be collected and the preparatory studies should be appraised on WID aspects. On the basis of this appraisal, a financing proposal should be formulated in which women should be identified as a special target group. Furthermore, specific objectives should be formulated with respect to women, and an approach and activities which indicate how to overcome impediments to women's access to or enjoyment of services and production factors. Such an approach should be characterized by step-by-step planning, careful monitoring and the establishment of suitable indicators, for instance, the number of women participating in training. Other factors which positively influence women's integration in the project are the development of a community participation methodology, the availability of female field staff and the inclusion of WID expertise in the technical assistance team. While it is very important that the planned measures and activities to promote women's participation are reflected in the project's budget, the financial proposal should also mention the expected results for women, in order to allow gender-differentiated monitoring and evaluation.

The terms of reference for the technical assistance should underline the importance of the participation of women in the project and describe the role of the technical assistance in this respect. It must also be ensured that WID expertise is included in mission teams, and that the terms of reference for identification/

appraisal missions, feasibility studies and evaluation missions to rural development projects require that attention is paid to the collection and interpretation of gender-specific data.

### **c. Sector-Specific Recommendations**

In addition to the above-mentioned recommendations at the policy and project-cycle levels, a number of sector-specific recommendations can be made. Given the diversity of project types and environments on the one hand, and the variety of actors on the other hand, no sector-specific checklists have been drawn up. Instead, a number of issues are highlighted which have been found to be of crucial importance for women's participation as agents and beneficiaries in the different phases of agricultural, livestock, forestry and water supply projects. These issues are women's access to and control over land, labour, credit, extension and training, farm inputs and marketing facilities, technology and workload, organizations and information channels.

In agricultural, livestock and forestry projects women's access to and control over land will have to be ensured, because insecurity of tenure tends to prevent them from making long-term investments and from gaining access to credit for agricultural inputs.

Women's limited access to labour and credit appears to hamper their productivity substantially. When designing and implementing credit schemes in any type of rural development project, an approach should be developed which enables both men and women to participate. Special measures, for instance the requirement for a mutual guarantee instead of collateral, the lending of money to women's groups and the provision of credit facilities in smaller quantities, might improve women's access to credit.

Several measures can be taken to improve women's access to and use of extension and training services in agricultural, livestock, forestry and water supply projects. The most important are the recruitment and use of female extension workers, the training of extension staff in gender issues, the development of messages specifically geared towards women's tasks and the development of an extension methodology which indicates for each phase how and when women will participate.

Women's access to farm inputs and marketing facilities can be enhanced if improved seed, fertilizer and other inputs are made available in quantities which poor farmers (both men and women) can afford to buy and at a location close to the users. Informing women and adapting the type of inputs to women's needs are other important measures.

If new technology is introduced in agricultural/rural development projects, an investigation should be conducted in the planning phase to determine whether women will be confronted with an unacceptable increase in workload or a decrease in income. The introduction of labour-saving and/or productivity-enhancing technologies which are specifically directed at women's tasks and needs should be promoted.

The identification and strengthening of formal and informal women's groups and organizations are not only important steps towards a greater social self-reliance of women, but will also contribute to a project's efficiency and effectiveness.

While many of the above-mentioned recommendations should also be considered for water supply projects, women's participation in planning, extension, training and local management of water supply projects can in addition be improved by:

- the synchronization of technical performance and human resources development;
- the promotion of women's participation in local water committees in operation and maintenance functions;
- the development of health education activities;
- the integration of women in the monitoring and evaluation of the coverage, functioning and use of the facilities.

**Case Study:**

**The Increase of Farmers' Production and Income Does Not Necessarily Mean Improvement of Women's Position**

One of the evaluated rural development projects is situated in an area which is characterized by regular periods of drought, over-population and degradation of the environment. With EEC funds a development project has been initiated which aims at an increase of the income of the farmers and an improvement of agricultural production and productivity. For this purpose infrastructural facilities have been constructed (roads, clinics, wells, etc.), farmers' organizations have been created, agricultural research has been initiated and farmers are being informed and trained through the Training and Visit system. The introduction of animal traction is one of the improvements which is to result in higher yields.

The main crops in the area are millet, sorghum, beans, groundnuts, cotton, rice and maize. Except for ploughing, women perform almost all the agricultural work. They work on both the family fields and their own fields. On the family fields the men are responsible for the ploughing, and control the produce from the fields. Women perform most of the other cultivation operations, namely all the sowing, 75% of the weeding, 50% of the application of fertilizer, all of the harvesting and transportation, and all of the winnowing. On their own fields women are in charge of all the work, and are also able to control the outputs. Women use the produce from their fields and the money earned from it to contribute to the basic needs of their family (food, clothing, domestic utensils, etc.). During the pre-harvest gap they also regularly have to take over the household contributions of the men, which include the daily grain provision for the family, housing matters and, sometimes, the children's school fees.

Project interventions have increased the income of the male farmers considerably (they now earn four to five times more money than before). The control over this money is entirely in the hands of the men, heads of the household, who spend it for different purposes: repayments for the new technologies (i.a. animal traction), purchase of new agricultural equipment, housing improvements, purchase of beer, purchase of personal requirements and payment of the children's school fees. No real changes in responsibilities for family subsistence have occurred. Women's own income has not increased. On the contrary, due to enlargement of the family fields, the continued existence of their own fields - and thus of their own income - is increasingly threatened.

Women are directly affected by the project because of the important increase in their workload. The introduction of oxen for ploughing as a labour-saving technological innovation reduces the men's workload and

enables them to expand their cultivated area. This in turn increases the labour requirements for all subsequent operations, with the result that women have to do more work on the family fields than in the past. In addition, the improved cultivation techniques promoted by the project require more frequent and careful weeding. Since no technologies have been introduced for this part of the work, it has not only increased, but at the same time it still has to be done by hand. Furthermore, the felling of trees to obtain larger fields forces women to walk greater distances to collect firewood for domestic purposes.

The increased pressure on women's time can in turn lead to a reduction in family welfare. Since the priority work on the family fields will require extra time and energy inputs from women, they will be less able to carry out their other activities, namely food-crop cultivation on their own fields (to contribute to the basic needs of the family) and tasks as mother and caretaker of the family.

The project appears to have had an important social impact on the farming communities and households. While men have benefited from an increase in income, skills and organization, for women no such changes have taken place. In many households this inequality has resulted in family quarrels and a weakening of women's position.

When considering the negative impact of the project on women's lives and the widening of the gap between men and women, the project can hardly be called successful, in spite of the registered increase in income and crop production. At the same time the bypassing of women cannot but hamper the effectiveness and sustainability of the project, not only because of the growing inequality between men and women, but also because of the inefficient use of women's important contribution to agricultural production and productivity and to family subsistence.

This situation is a direct consequence of the fact that the roles and needs of women and the constraints on their participation were not taken into account during project preparation, design and implementation. If a careful analysis of the gender division of tasks, responsibilities and constraints had taken place, special measures and activities could have been introduced (for instance, the introduction of appropriate technologies in women's work, extension and training for women in their role as farmers) to enable both men and women to participate and benefit.

Fortunately, project staff became aware of the project's negative impact on women's lives and of the fact that their potential contribution to the development activities had not been sufficiently taken into account. During its second phase, therefore, it is planned to pay more attention to women, through i.a. the assignment of more female extension workers. A specific WID approach will also be necessary, focusing not only on women's needs and constraints, but also on the attitudes of extension workers and techniques used to reach women.



## 1. INTRODUCTION AND APPROACH

### 1.1 Introduction

As a result of the increasing preoccupation to integrate women as both agents and beneficiaries in the mainstream of development, BMB, Management Consulting for Development B.V., in association with FEMCONSULT, Consultants on Women and Development, were commissioned by the Evaluation Unit of the Commission of the European Communities to carry out a thematic evaluation on rural women and development. The evaluation covers nine projects implemented in eight African countries, concerning different sectors of rural development, namely agriculture, forestry and livestock, as well as rural water supply and sanitation (see Annex 1 for project data sheets). The total amount of money committed to these projects is 144,073,000 ECU (excluding phases which had not started at the beginning of the evaluation study).

The main aims of this evaluation were to assess whether and how women had been taken into account during the project cycle and to what extent their integration, or lack thereof, had influenced a project's effectiveness in increasing rural production and improving standards of living of rural families. The ultimate objectives were to learn from past experience and to formulate general and specific recommendations aimed at integrating the women's dimension more fully and systematically in the project cycle of the European Communities' development assistance.

#### **A Focus on Women**

In the last decade Women and Development (WID)\* has become an increasingly important development issue. Women's participation in development activities is promoted not only for reasons of equity, but also because there is a growing awareness that women constitute an important «economic potential».

Some of the lessons that have been learned during the past years are:

- The approach adopted to integrate women in development projects as beneficiaries has proved to be unsatisfactory, for both project results and the women themselves. Women in Third World countries have come into action and demanded to take part in development on their own terms, which means that they want to participate in all decisions concerning development activities; they want to be agents in development on their own conditions.
- Taking women's needs and interests into account has in practice not been as easy as was expected, especially for male planners and policy-makers. Special steps and measures appeared to be necessary, as well as a positive attitude towards an increased autonomy of women. In addition, factors like women's underrepresentation in statistics and in decision-making bodies, lack of an adequate institutional framework and insufficient knowledge among planners and policy-makers of the complex field of WID constituted a serious constraint for an effective WID approach.

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\* The abbreviation WID is derived from Women in Development, as the issue was originally called.

- It also appeared that insight into gender issues is a precondition for the successful integration of WID in development projects. Gender issues refer to the complex of arrangements between the sexes based on culture, social values and tradition. When incorporated in development activities, it means in practice that project planning and implementation take into account the different responsibilities men and women have in society, as well as the fact that men and women therefore often have different needs and sometimes conflicting interests. These distinctions between men and women play an important role in all sectors of development assistance.

Insight into gender issues is the more important because the traditional life-style of men and women in African villages, even in the most remote areas, is today undergoing rapid change. Economic recession and the debt crisis are contributing to the burden on and number of poor people. Male migration to the cities and other countries is leading to a rise in the number of female heads of households, and consequently roles and responsibilities in the household are changing, often to the disadvantage of women. The complementarity which characterized African subsistence production and from which women derived a certain autonomy, is disappearing fast. In addition, modern education, urban life and communication facilities are introducing new sets of values and tend to have different effects on men and women.

## 1.2 EEC WID Policy

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the European Commission, in response to resolutions of the European Parliament and demands from joint ACP-EEC institutions, has developed a specific policy focusing on Women in Development. Integrating women's concerns in the mainstream of development was in accordance with the central features of the Lomé III Convention, which gave priority to rural development, food security and measures to control desertification and drought in a number of Sahel countries. The WID policy is based on a growing realization that women's participation in these and other key areas is essential to economic and social development. In 1985 WID principles were embodied in the Lomé III Convention, in particular in Article 123, Title VIII, on social and cultural cooperation.

Between Lomé III and IV, a gradual shift in justifying principles of the WID policy can be observed, away from equity concerns to a recognition of the productive roles played by women and their contribution to economic growth. WID is considered an economic issue with long-term social, cultural and political effects. New and important is the underlying rationale of the Lomé IV Convention, that women should benefit from their efforts and «enjoy their rightful share of the results»\*.

### 1.2.1 Lomé IV Convention

Women do not only appear in an article on cultural and social cooperation but, more importantly, their participation is encouraged in Title II, Agricultural Cooperation, Food Security and Rural Development, and Title III, Development of Fisheries. Special measures, such as improved access for women to all factors and means of production (such as land, labour, credit, inputs and technology) as well

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\* *Women in Development in the Lomé IV Convention : A Work Programme*, WID Desk, CEC, 1990.

as future actions to relieve women of their multiple tasks, are recommended. Moreover, access to rural services (such as training and extension) and production groups should be promoted.

These recommendations are repeated in a special article on Women in Development. In addition to women's productive role in rural development, their crucial roles in the management of family health, nutrition and hygiene, natural resources and environmental protection are mentioned. Furthermore, the desirability is expressed of taking into account women's responsibilities, as well as providing opportunities for education and adjusting education systems where necessary.

A major new theme in the Convention is the support to structural adjustment programmes. It has been observed that structural adjustment reduces the real income and consumption of poverty groups and excludes them from the benefits of processes set in motion by adjustment\*. The Convention foresees a programme that should deal with the negative social effects which may result from adjustment efforts. Particular attention will be paid to the most vulnerable groups, among which women are mentioned. In recognizing women's important role as farmers and producers, they should be considered not only as a vulnerable group which may suffer from macro-economic policies, but also as key contributors to the achievement of economic goals.

The Lomé IV Convention was signed in December 1989. It covers a period of ten years; the Financial Protocol covers the first five years and is negotiable thereafter.

### 1.2.2 WID Structure

In order to elaborate and to implement the WID policy, in 1982 the Commission appointed a Women in Development officer in Directorate General VIII. This officer was to be responsible for the implementation of policy-supporting and operational activities. The WID Desk currently consists of two experts on temporary contracts, one of them detached by a member state.

The WID Desk is developing a systematic and concerted approach to implement the EEC's WID policy. The present evaluation is one of the activities launched in the framework of this approach and should contribute to the identification of the most appropriate and effective project strategies and activities to implement effectively EC policy in relation to WID.

### 1.3 Approach Adopted in the Evaluation

In most of the selected projects, which started in the late seventies and early eighties, special attention to women and to gender issues has not been an explicit objective. This thematic evaluation therefore implies a deviation from the «ordinary» evaluation methods, which assess actual project results against original objectives.

The evaluation was carried out in three phases. In the first phase, which lasted from 1 July to November 1988, the projects were selected, research questions were formulated and a checklist and the field approach for data collection were designed. The first phase also covered an account of the evaluation experiences

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\* L. Demery and T. Addison, *The Alleviation of Poverty Under Structural Adjustment*, World Bank, 1987.

of other donor agencies and an overview of the general and sector-specific EC policy with regard to women and development. In addition, this phase included writing the terms of reference for the second phase and establishing a uniform reporting format. The development of the most appropriate evaluation methodology was the most important and intellectually challenging task.

### *1.3.1 Research Questions*

Given the lack of clear WID objectives at the time when the projects were planned, it was necessary to formulate the following research questions:

1. To what extent are women participating in the project and how have women's roles, needs and interests been taken into account during the project cycle?
2. What are the actual or expected effects of the project on the position of women? (And what was the baseline situation of women?)
3. What are the consequences of the integration of women or lack thereof for the achievement of the general project goals?
4. What are the major constraints or positive factors in the effective integration of women as both beneficiaries and agents?

Furthermore, in order to be able to measure and evaluate effects on women, the different dimensions of the «position of women» had to be defined more precisely. In the study the following aspects are considered essential in the measurement of the positive or negative changes in the position of women:

- workload;
- income-earning capacities, with special attention to women's access to services and factors and means of production;
- social roles in the local community, with special attention to the extent of women's participation in decision-making and organization.

Furthermore, projects' effects on family welfare and general living conditions are also of importance for women.

There is a considerable degree of overlapping, interaction and interdependence between these aspects, and no single aspect is given overriding importance, as this will depend on women's needs and priorities in each specific situation.

The above-mentioned questions were developed into a checklist which served as an aid for the evaluation teams (see Annex 2). An extended version of the «master» checklist, with more sector-specific questions, was developed for rural water supply and sanitation (see Final Report on Phase I, Annex 3).

### *1.3.2 Selection of Projects*

In consultation with the EC WID officers and members of the Evaluation Unit, the principal criteria for selection were drawn up. It was decided that the projects should be EDF-funded mainstream projects in Africa in the sectors of agriculture, livestock, forestry and rural water supply, that they should have been in progress for at least three years or have recently terminated, and that they should not be

known as «bad» projects in terms of general performance. The total sample had to be representative of the four sectors concerned and, as far as possible, the socio-cultural and economic variety of countries in Africa should be reflected in the choice. The technical and geographical divisions provided a partial list of projects recommended for evaluation and the Consultants met with technical, geographical and policy officers to carry out the final project selection. It was realized that as a consequence of the selection method (interviewing EC officers instead of taking a random sample of projects), the sample would show a bias towards projects in which women do play a role. This was not considered a disadvantage since the purpose of the evaluation is to make useful recommendations on how to integrate women in the different phases of the project cycle. Finally, ten projects were selected for field evaluation.

Phase II consisted of field missions to the selected projects. The planned field mission to Sudan was cancelled by the EEC because of the security situation in the project area. Thus, nine projects have been evaluated (see page vi, The Evaluated Projects), including three rural development programmes which covered more than one sector. The division of projects according to sector is shown on page vii (see also Annex 1, Project Data).

The missions were carried out between March and August 1989, and lasted for two to three weeks each. The mission to the Machakos Integrated Development Programme in Kenya served as a pilot mission in order to check the approach and some organizational issues.

A list of the consultants who carried out the missions in the field is presented in Annex 5. Much to the Consultants' regret, the original plan for an ACP expert to participate in every mission could not be realized, for budgetary reasons.

Nine reports have been issued, six of which concern mono-sector projects in agriculture, livestock and water supply, and three concern integrated rural development projects.

### *1.3.3 Collection of Data*

The time allocated for this evaluation study did not permit the application of academic methods of data collection and measurement. This is, however, unnecessary for obtaining the information which will support the conclusions of a study such as this. The study is based on qualitative data which provide a wealth of detail. Although specific evaluation results vary along with the sector and the project concerned, general conclusions and recommendations converge.

Effects can only be assessed when the initial situation is known. The selected projects, however, did not produce such gender-specific data. Thus, through a reconstruction of baseline data, the evaluation teams have attempted to compare characteristics existing at the beginning of a project with data collected during its implementation. Evidence was gathered from in-depth interviews with people most involved in the project at the various levels of decision-making. This information was supplemented by background reading and direct observation. Furthermore, to obtain detailed information cross-cutting different class levels, women from different social levels were interviewed and a combination of planned and unplanned meetings with women and women's groups was adopted. In addition, the preliminary results were discussed with project and delegation staff as well as with Commission staff in Brussels.

The present synthesis report is the end result of the third phase. In this report the main findings on the participation of women in the evaluated projects are summarized and the effects of participation on the position of women and project effectiveness are discussed.

#### 1.4 Outline of the Report

The report is structured around the chronology of the project cycle. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the gender relations in the areas studied. Chapter 3 addresses the questions of whether and how attention has been paid to women in the projects' programming and appraisal phases. In Chapter 4 the actual participation of women during the implementation is discussed, and the positive and negative factors affecting participation are analysed. Although the findings are presented per sector, the recurrent themes are access to production factors and services, such as land, credit, improved breeds, seedlings, extension and training, and marketing. Furthermore, there is an examination of whether monitoring and evaluation are used to introduce changes in favour of women and what role the project staff, ACP counterparts and the EC delegations have played with respect to the integration of women in the projects. Chapter 5 presents the main findings regarding the effects of development activities on the position of women and the consequences of women's integration or lack thereof for the effectiveness and viability of the projects. The final chapters contain the Consultants' conclusions and general and specific recommendations.

## 2. WOMEN IN THE AREAS STUDIED AND NATIONAL POLICIES ON WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

### 2.1 Introduction

Development projects should be based on the needs and interests of the people who are expected to participate and benefit. Knowledge of the socio-cultural and economic situation of the target population is therefore required. Since men and women perform different roles and often have different needs and interests, data should be collected which are differentiated according to gender.

In most cases, such gender-specific data have not been collected in the preparation or implementation phases of the projects. Therefore, the Consultants paid considerable attention to the collection of WID baseline data in a «reconstructive way». Data were collected from relevant research studies conducted in the past, through interviews with men and women separately during field visits, and through discussions with women's bureaux and other institutions involved in WID. Thus, insight was gained into the gender division of tasks and workload, women's need for an income, their main sources of income and social position. The national policies on WID also received attention. The main findings are summarized in this chapter.

### 2.2 Division of Tasks, Responsibilities and Workload Between Men and Women

#### 2.2.1 *Agriculture*

In spite of the many differences in the situation of women in all the project areas considered, such as religion, age, class, income and ethnicity, there are many common features. Whereas political functions are mainly the domain of men, household-related responsibilities and the reproduction and maintenance of human resources are usually in women's hands. Women in Africa work more hours a day than men. It is increasingly recognized that many of women's working hours are spent on the production of goods and services and that in this way women play an important role in the family's survival. Responsibilities and tasks in work and in family support tend to be strictly separated between men and women, and although in times of hardship women tend to take over some of the men's responsibilities, the converse does not seem to be the case.

The latter phenomenon is clearly demonstrated in the project areas in Southern and Eastern Africa. An important common feature of these areas is the large number of female-headed households as a consequence of male migration, either temporarily to towns, or for long periods to other countries, such as South Africa. In the Zambia project area, for instance, about 22% of the households are female headed, and in Botswana, Swaziland and the Machakos District in Kenya this percentage may even be over 50%.

A direct consequence of this situation is that women's contribution to agricultural production is much higher than men's (in Swaziland women perform 70% of the agricultural work and men 30%) and many tasks that were traditionally performed by men are now executed by women. In Botswana, for instance, where women provide 80% of the labour in arable farming after ploughing, tasks such as land clearing, ploughing and planting and all work related to cattle used to be men's

work, but the absence of male labour in the rural areas has meant that women are increasingly involved in these tasks, in addition to their regular tasks of weeding and thinning, scaring birds away, harvesting, threshing, transporting and marketing of crops. On top of this, they also have other tasks such as collecting water and gathering firewood, preparing food, and cleaning and washing for the household.

Although in some cases the regular absence of men may increase women's decision-making power and control of the outputs, in general it can be said that the socio-economic situation of female-headed households is worse than that of other households. In practice female-headed households have very restricted access to resources such as land, labour, capital and agricultural services. Land is still considered male property and as such of no use to women in obtaining credit. Moreover, the agricultural extension services are traditionally used to dealing with men, and discontinue their visits if the male head of the household is away.

Religion is another feature that can influence the gender division of tasks and workload in agriculture. In many countries in Africa Islam plays an important role in prescribing gender roles and responsibilities. In areas and countries where Islam is fairly strictly followed, women's mobility is restricted. Therefore, they play a limited role in field agriculture. If necessary, they provide assistance in the family fields in sowing and harvesting and only occasionally in weeding and transport. In orthodox Islamic societies, for instance among the Foulbe in the project area in Cameroon, women are scarcely allowed to leave the house, but they may cultivate some vegetables and spices around the house. In the other - more common - situations women are, however, able to cultivate a field of their own over which they have user rights.

In areas where Islam is less strictly observed, women actively contribute to almost all the agricultural work on the family fields. This is the case, for instance, among the Toupouri and Mafa in the project area in Cameroon and among the Moba in Togo. Here women are responsible for all of the sowing and harvesting work and for transport and winnowing; they carry out 75% of weeding activities and half of the work involved in fertilizer application.

In spite of the different roles of women in the Islamic and non-Islamic context, a common feature in Africa is that (with the exception of the secluded women) most of the married women may have a piece of land of their own. Areas may vary from 0.25 ha to 0.75 ha (Togo) but can amount to 19% of the total surface cultivated (Burkina Faso). These lands are generally distributed to the women by their husbands and women only have user rights; the plots can easily be reclaimed if the situation requires. This is happening more often as a result of the scarcity of fertile land. Nevertheless, the women can decide by themselves what to cultivate and what to do with the output, as opposed to their work on the family fields, where the men decide what to do with the crops and with the income derived from them.

While men's productive work in agriculture only concerns work on the family fields, women have to divide their time and labour between their own fields and the family fields. Therefore, the organization of agricultural work is characterized not only by a division of labour between men and women on the family fields, but also by a division of women's labour between the family and their personal fields. In the Cameroon project area for instance, the women of most of the ethnic groups work two hours a day on their own fields and the rest of the day on the family fields, or one day a week on their own fields and the rest of the week on the family fields.

For any development project it is important to be aware of and well informed about this organization of work, because it may hamper or enhance development potential. In Burkina Faso, for instance, the agricultural calendar required work on the family fields and the women's rice fields at the same time. Because priority is usually given to family fields, women were forced to work there first, at the cost of cultivation improvements which the project was trying to promote on the women's rice fields.

The evaluated projects show that it is not always easy to draw a clear distinction between men's and women's crops. It is true that some crops continue to be considered typical women's crops, e.g. cassava and groundnuts in Zambia, and gombo, gourds and wanzou in West Africa. In addition to these crops, women are involved in staple crops. Staple crops such as millet, rice, sorghum and maize can be found in almost all the projects and women cultivate them on their fields both to earn their own money and to supplement the family's food supply. More and more, however, women are tending to play an active role in the production of cash crops such as cotton, groundnuts, sesame and maize in the Togo, Cameroon, Kenya and Zambia project areas. Here women's shift to cash crops is the consequence of an increased market orientation of the project areas and women's increased need for cash.

Among some ethnic groups in Burkina Faso, Niger and Togo, rice cultivation is the task of women. In the project area in Burkina Faso, rainfed rice cultivation in the lowlands is traditionally almost exclusively in women's hands. The number of days in the week that the women can work on their rice fields is, however, determined by their ethnic group and age. Under the age of 45, women have to contribute to the work on the family (husband's) fields and are only able to work on their rice fields for a few days a week.

Women's workload in agriculture appeared to be considerable and heavy in all projects. This is not only because women work on both the family and their own fields, but also because technologies have so far been mainly the domain of men. In most cases women's work thus appeared to be more arduous and time-consuming than men's.

In Burkina Faso, for example, women spend twice as many hours on agricultural production and distribution than men (6.17 versus 3.37). In Kenya a typical woman's working day is as long as 12-15 hours, which is about three hours more than men. In the peak season this may run to 14-16 hours a day. Of this working day (which of course also includes caring and household-related tasks and other productive activities), most time is spent on productive work in agriculture. As the mission report states (p. 23):

«Eighty-five per cent of adult women (above 17 years of age) work regularly on the family farm, as against only 54% of the men. Women perform more tasks than men, from planting to harvesting and marketing, on both food crops and cash crops. Women provide 75% of all the labour on smallholdings and 80% of the labour in food production - and food crops occupy 85% of the cultivated land.»

Whereas these tasks are of a primarily executing character, the tasks of men in agriculture are (with the exception of ploughing) more of a controlling nature (see mission report, p. 24):

«They build store-rooms, buy inputs and tools, look for outlets and decide on how the revenue from crop sales is used.»

It will be clear that women have no time left for supplementary labour inputs, and indeed they have frequently expressed their need for measures to alleviate their workload. However, their workload seems to increase instead of decrease.

### 2.2.2 *Livestock*

Men usually own cattle, and small stock is most frequently in women's hands. This question of property generally determines who benefits from the outputs of the animals and thus from livestock development activities. Ownership, on the contrary, does not determine who does the actual work. This distinction can, for instance, be made in the Machakos Integrated Development Programme (MIDP) in Kenya, where cattle are owned by men, but women are involved in the daily care of the cows (feeding, herding, milking and health care). When insemination services are available, it is the women who know when a cow is on heat, and who have to take the cow to the crush for insemination.

In the Kenyan setting women can own cattle. However, the high price of a cow forms a major constraint for women to do so. That they are nevertheless interested in acquiring cows is shown by the fact that nowadays some women's groups own a cow, an investment which the group itself can decide how to manage and what to do with the outputs.

Small stock such as sheep, goats and chickens are more often the property of women. Even in areas where such was traditionally not the case, as in the Machakos District in Kenya, it is becoming more and more common for women to buy a sheep or goat. The most important reasons why these animals are specifically of interest for women include:

- they are often the only capital asset women (can) have;
- because of the affordable prices small stock is relatively easy to buy and to sell;
- goats are important producers of milk and meat for domestic consumption;
- goats, sheep and chickens are useful presents for mutual aid and ceremonies.

As owners of small stock, women can dispose of the milk, the chicken eggs, the meat and the by-products, such as hides and wool, as they wish. In the two evaluated livestock projects women have a high degree of autonomy in this respect.

Nevertheless, small stock also need labour-intensive care and management because they are vulnerable and need permanent attention. The animals have to be kraaled every day and they need intensive health control against ticks and diseases. Other activities include herding, watering, selection of males for castration, checking on pregnant goats, fostering kids, milking and marketing. Women tend to incorporate these activities in their daily work. However, in both the Botswana and the MIDP Kenya projects all women interviewed complained that they were permanently short of time and labour resources to execute these tasks properly. In particular, the health- and reproduction-related tasks suffered from this lack of manpower.

### 2.2.3 *Forestry*

As main collectors and users of firewood and other tree products, women usually spend one or more hours a day on this work, sometimes up to 20 hours a week, as is the case in the Machakos District in Kenya. Wood and tree products are

needed not only for cooking but also for income-generating activities such as basket-making, dyeing and the preparation of local beer (*bil bil* in Cameroon, *chapalo* in Togo and *dolo* in Burkina Faso). Other tree products used or sold by women are fruits, nuts, leaves and medicines. As is the case in the MIDP in Kenya, women are usually also involved in tree planting and management. Consequently they have acquired a significant traditional knowledge not only of tree products and their potential, but also of other environmental issues, such as soil fertility, vulnerability of areas, etc.

The general degradation of the environment from which Sub-Saharan countries are increasingly suffering affects women directly. Not only do they have to walk farther to obtain firewood and tree products, if still available, they are also deprived of some of their income-generating activities. When women are finally forced to use materials such as crop residues and dung to make their cooking fires, as is already the case in the Togo project area, this is at the cost of the manuring of agricultural fields.

Women's interest in and knowledge of environmental issues make them potential partners in development activities in this sector. However, there are major constraints which hamper women's effective involvement. One of the major problems is that women are only interested in forestry development activities when they can have the rights to the outputs of their planting and tree management activities. Since land ownership tends to be a general problem and a women's problem in particular, control of the outputs cannot be realized without special measures. An inventory of possible steps to take will have to be part of the pre-project studies in the forestry and environmental sectors.

#### 2.2.4 *Drinking-Water Supply and Sanitation*

With the exception of the older women, who are usually no longer in charge of this activity, the collection of water is primarily a woman's task. Decision-making about where to collect water and for what use depends on such factors as quantity, quality and reliability of the water, the accessibility of the source and the time and effort needed. The women may be assisted by their children, but men seldom participate in this work. When men do collect water, it is mainly for their own interests, for example for livestock or commercial activities, and they tend to use wheelbarrows or carts. Women not only collect water for domestic purposes (drinking, cooking and washing), for them it also has a serious economic potential, as in the case of the MIDP in Kenya, where women use water in horticulture.

When supplies are scarce, only a minimum of water is collected. In the MIDP in Kenya, for instance, a woman with eight children collects about 5 *debes* (100 litres) a day for domestic purposes from the traditional source. This means about 11.5 litres per capita per day, while the norm is about 25 l/c/d.

Although the water collection task of women is generally recognized, their traditional responsibility in the management and maintenance of the public water sources is less well known. In the different project areas covered by this study women used to have their own organization system, mutual aid and other arrangements concerning the upkeep of the traditional sources and the choice of new ones. Since health-related matters also fall under women's responsibilities, it is not surprising that informal learning processes about water and sanitation issues also take place around the water sources.

Although improved drinking water and sanitation facilities might thus be of great interest for women, experience has shown that they do not automatically use the new facilities. A good insight into their daily water collection pattern and the

reasons for use and non-use of the water sources will therefore certainly increase the potential success of new water facilities. Furthermore, since the costs of traditional water supply can primarily be translated into time and labour, new contribution arrangements and tariff systems will have to be discussed with both men and women. It should not automatically be the women who have to pay for new water facilities, since the potential benefits in time saved will then be lost to the need to generate extra money.

### 2.2.5 Income

In most African societies men and women have separate financial responsibilities.

In all project areas visited, women appear to have an income of their own which they can spend as they choose. This income is derived from the sale of produce from the fields, such as maize, millet and groundnuts, and from trade in processed agricultural products, such as fritters, karite butter and cooking-oil. In Niger (Zinder), this kind of trade appears to be so lucrative that the women are not interested in the development of other income-generating activities. Other sources of women's income in the project areas include the brewing and sale of beer (Zambia, Cameroon, Togo and Burkina Faso), the sale of small stock (Botswana, Zambia), handicraft (Kenya, Swaziland) and the hiring-out of labour services (Zambia, Togo).

Men obtain an income from the outputs of the family fields, trade and off-farm employment. This money, which is often considered by development planners to be the family budget, is in practice managed by the husbands, who decide how money should be spent. Many examples show that men have a tendency to spend important parts of their incomes on themselves, their expenditures ranging from agricultural tools and travelling expenses to consumer and luxury goods. It should therefore not be taken for granted that the family budget is spent entirely on family needs.

In many of the project areas covered by the study, Islam exerts an influence on society: men are responsible for all expenses related to family subsistence, such as maintenance of the house, provision of food, education and health; women are usually in charge of supplementary food-related matters, such as spices and cooking utensils (Niger), social expenses, and the daughters' trousseaus (Togo).

Practically all the reconstructed baseline data indicate that these arrangements and the processes of intrahousehold resource allocation are undergoing changes. Women appear to be contributing more and more to the daily subsistence of the family and their own income is therefore of crucial and increasing importance for them. This is, for instance, the case in Botswana, where the ongoing change from a non-monetary system to a cash system appears to affect women more than men, because women have had a stronger tendency to maintain different forms of exchange of goods instead of money. The Botswana mission report states (p. 22):

«Whereas in the past it might have been possible to rely on assistance from relatives or fellow villagers, this is no longer the case. Existing systems of reciprocal aid (e.g. *majako*) are crumbling fast under the influence of labour migration. So are non-monetary methods of payment; women used to be able to get ploughing services in exchange for piecework, but nowadays everything has to be paid for in cash.»

The need for an income is also strongly felt by the growing group of women who are heads of a household as a consequence of male migration. Since they have

to take over more and more of the men's tasks and responsibilities, not only does their workload increase, but also their need for an income of their own. In Swaziland, for instance, women consider it an absolute necessity to dispose of their own reliable cash income to pay for the household's subsistence expenses, because of the unreliability of the remittances sent home by the male family members.

In the Togo project area, where the degradation of the environment negatively influences the availability and production capacity of land, women appear to have taken over some of the men's household responsibilities. Here an in-depth survey revealed that women contribute to family subsistence by spending 61% of their own income to purchase millet; this was traditionally a male task.

It is therefore not surprising that one of the women's major priorities and felt needs appears to be an increase of their own income. In order to achieve this, women's heavy workload should be taken into account, as well as other obstacles that affect women more than men. General findings of all the project missions were that there is a high illiteracy rate among women in the project areas, they are weakly represented in decision-making bodies and do not have easy access to services and means of production, such as land, labour, credit, technology, extension and training.

### 2.3 National Policies on Women and Development

With the beginning of the UN Decade for Women in 1975, governments, hitherto unaware of the difference in status between women and men, became in one way or another concerned with the issue. This resulted, before the close of the decade, in the establishment of a women's bureau - or even ministry - in the countries studied (with the exception of Swaziland). In most cases the organizational unit comes under a Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, thereby emphasizing women's nurturing role. In some countries a clear policy concerning the integration of women in the different sectors is still lacking. For instance, in Kenya the role of women as mothers, wives and food producers has been acknowledged in various official statements, but no specific policies have been designed to «integrate» women in the mainstream of development. However, in other countries, strategies have been developed to promote the participation of women in agriculture. In Togo, for example, women's economic concerns have been taken into account at both national and regional levels of administration.

In Zambia the need for women to have access to the full range of services available has been recognized, as has the need to plan specific programmes. As a consequence of this emphasis on policy operationalization, a WID Unit was established in 1986 at the National Commission of Development Planning. The Unit is responsible for planning, coordinating and monitoring the implementation by sectoral ministries and other relevant bodies of any plans, projects and programmes related to WID. Notwithstanding the Government's consciousness of the important role of women in development, a general awareness among the male population seems to be lacking. For example, only a small percentage of rural women have access to commercial or agricultural credit, since a wife needs her husband's signature and female heads of households are required to provide securities or cooperative membership titles.

In Togo and Burkina Faso a national women's organization has been chosen by the Governments to be either the strategic or the executive arm for women's programmes. However, a women's movement in terms of organizations which

promote women's interests does not seem to be particularly effective in any of the countries visited.

It can be concluded that, although government policies on WID in the countries studied are not yet sufficiently operational to integrate women fully in development activities, there is sufficient scope for cooperation agreements on WID between the EC and the ACP countries.

### 3. ATTENTION FOR WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE PROGRAMMING AND APPRAISAL PHASE

#### 3.1 Introduction

Project objectives, activities and approach should be based on the needs and interests expressed by the people concerned. Because women and men perform different roles and have different responsibilities and opportunities, their needs and interests will usually also differ. In order to ensure that projects fulfil the needs of men and women these differences have to be identified in the planning of the project and have to be taken into account in all subsequent project stages. The EEC policy on WID has in fact always underlined the importance of the integration *and* participation of women in all phases of the project cycle.

In this chapter we will summarize the findings of our evaluation studies with respect to the question of whether and how gender roles and the specific needs of women have been taken into account in the identification, preparation, appraisal and formulation of the evaluated projects.

#### 3.2 Identification and Preparation

The Indicative Programmes drawn up by the ACP countries contain the priority development objectives, the focal sector(s), the most appropriate measures and operations for attaining the objectives, and proposals for national and regional projects or programmes. They already define the main areas in which the financing available under the Lomé Convention will be used. They are followed by the further identification of projects and the preparation of dossiers, which have to contain all the information necessary for project appraisal. At this stage, feasibility studies are usually carried out. The identification and the preparation of the dossiers are the responsibility of the ACP country, but when requested, the European Community may provide technical assistance.

The most important questions related to the WID issue which the study has assessed in the identification and preparation phase are whether gender-disaggregated baseline data on the population in the project areas have been collected, and whether WID expertise has been involved. The feasibility/appraisal studies which were available on the evaluated projects did not contain significant information on women. This may be linked to the fact that no local or foreign experts on Women and Development were included in the identification/feasibility/appraisal missions. From the information obtained, it appears that local women have not been consulted in the preparation phase.

Our study also showed that the implementation of baseline surveys or rapid assessment of the socio-economic characteristics of the communities in the preparatory stage is not a common procedure in EDF-financed projects. Although in several projects it had originally been planned to carry out a baseline survey, only in the case of the project in Burkina Faso was a socio-economic study actually carried out prior to the start-up of the project. The study paid attention to some of the relevant WID aspects, and - an important point - underlined that women are the main rice cultivators in the project area. In two other cases, socio-economic surveys were carried out long after the commencement of the project, but the studies contained hardly any information on women. This stresses the need to require that data with a breakdown according to gender are collected, as this is apparently not done automatically.

The importance of such data for the definition of project approach and activities is illustrated by the following examples. In the water supply project in Niger, an in-depth socio-economic study would have revealed that women in the project area are not interested in horticulture around the new water source, because they can earn much more from their trade activities. In the case of the Swaziland project, such a study would have revealed that women are very interested in the use of water for economic activities such as horticulture and beer brewing, and that the project policy to discourage the use of the new water source for anything other than domestic purposes ignores women's need to earn an income. None of the water projects carried out an affordability study, which could have shown where and when women are responsible for paying the operation and maintenance costs. In this context, figures on the average incomes of households are not adequate, because they do not make a distinction between the incomes of men and women.

To conclude: in order to be able to formulate strategies and activities which produce the desired results, insight into the local situation should be gained at the earliest stage of the project concept. Several ways of collecting relevant gender-specific data exist, including rapid assessment methods which can be applied by the WID expert in the preparatory missions with the assistance of local teams. Implementation of baseline surveys with sampling techniques requires more manpower but may provide additional quantitative data.

In general, information is needed on the gender division of tasks, workload and income, the number of female-headed households, women's access to and control over production factors and services, women's influence on decision-making, the existence of local women's groups as well as the capacity of project institutions to deliver services to women. Proper indicators for the monitoring of women's participation should also be identified. It may be objected that the implementation of pre-project studies with gender-specific information will be too demanding in terms of time and money. However, it must be stressed that some of the information needed has often already been collected by other donors, research institutions and consultants. Moreover, since baseline studies facilitate detailed project planning and can forecast negative effects during implementation, they may eventually save money.

A positive plan of the EC with respect to the collection of data is to prepare a number of country profiles on women's position. These profiles will enable staff dealing with projects to focus quickly on the possible relations between a project and areas of concern for women.

### 3.3 Appraisal and Financing Proposal

The appraisal of the projects is undertaken in close cooperation between the EC and the ACP countries. The *Manual for Preparing and Appraising Project and Programme Dossiers* currently in use does pay some attention to WID matters, but the issue is not integrated in all sectors, and there are indications that the manual is not used often.

The conclusions of the appraisal are summarized in a financing proposal. The proposals are drawn up by the relevant departments of the EC. In the *General Format for Appraising Lomé III Programmes as a Basis for Writing a Financing Proposal*, women are mentioned, but only in parenthesis as an example in Chapter IV (Programme/Project Assessment) under the section Impact on Population and Institutions. This is not entirely satisfactory, because financing

proposals for rural development projects should, by definition, always pay attention to women, not only in connection with impact, but also with respect to the project's objectives, target groups and implementation details.

The financing proposal of a project describes the precise objectives and the target groups, as well as the project strategy, activities, staffing and budget which are needed to achieve the desired results. In this section it will be shown that the opportunities for women to participate in a project are to an important extent determined by the design of a project as laid down in the financing proposal. An investigation was made of whether and how women's roles and needs have been taken into account in the specification of the objectives and target groups, as well as of the project strategy and instruments.

### *3.3.1 Target Groups and Objectives*

All nine projects are aimed at either the rural population, farmers in general or a specific category of farmers (small-scale farmers, rice cultivators, farmers handling small stock). Because women are part of the rural population and are also farmers, they are in all cases implicitly included in the target group. However, implicit inclusion in the target group conceals the existence of possible conflicting interests between women and men, and the fact that women face more constraints which hamper their participation in what are supposed to be gender-neutral projects. Therefore, women should be identified as a specific target group within the total target group.

In our sample we encountered one positive example of a project which explicitly mentions women as a target group in the financing proposal. This is the rice irrigation project in Burkina Faso, which is aimed at the traditional rice cultivators in the project area, who were identified as being mainly women. The word «traditional» is essential, because it safeguards the interests of women versus newcomers (men) who are interested in a new profitable activity. The case of the maize project in Zambia, however, shows that not mentioning women as a specific target group may have negative consequences for women. The target group was defined as emergent as well as small-scale farmers, which without doubt implicitly includes female farmers, since most of them cultivate maize. The feasibility study for the project emphasized the objective of reducing maize imports as quickly as possible. According to the feasibility study, the most effective way to achieve this was to support farmers who have the capacity to produce considerable marketable surpluses, i.e. the better-off farmers. Since women are not well represented in this category, their importance in the target group was reduced during the planning of the project without being noticed. (Fortunately, implementation was geared towards the smaller farmers more than had been envisaged in the planning.)

It should be noted that none of the projects mentioned female-headed households as a special target group, although this group often has the most urgent needs of the total population and, in four project areas, is strongly represented, with between 20% and 50% female-headed households.

With respect to project objectives, it is important to examine whether they are in line with women's needs. The main objectives of the four mono-sector projects in the agricultural and livestock sectors, to increase income and agricultural/livestock production are in principle in line with women's needs: women are independent agricultural producers and increasing their own income is a priority for women.

However, in practice, the choice of a particular crop or livestock subsector determines to a major extent how beneficial the project will be for women. For example, the objectives of the projects in Botswana and Burkina Faso were found to be of great interest for women, because small-stock raising and rice production are traditionally women's domain and are their main source of income. On the other hand, the objectives of the irrigation project in Niger - to increase national rice production and the income of rice producers - are not of direct benefit to women, because the majority of women are traditionally not involved in rice cultivation. Women are active in the processing and sale of rice, but these aspects are not included in the project's objectives. Although women do cultivate maize in the Zambia project area, crops such as cassava, millet and sorghum and women's crops such as groundnuts might offer better possibilities for improvement of the production and benefits. It is important to note that in none of these cases was the improvement of women's position an explicit aim; whether or not the objectives are in line with the needs of poor women is thus more or less determined by chance.

The three rural development projects (RDPs) with agricultural, forestry and livestock components have broader goals than the above-mentioned projects. They have several objectives in common, such as the improvement of living conditions and food security in the project area, the increase of agricultural production, the protection of the environment and the ecological balance, and the increase of farmers' incomes. In addition, each RDP has its own objectives, e.g. a better population distribution, or integrated rural development through a decentralized approach. The objectives of the RDPs are, in principle, more in line with women's needs than those of agricultural mono-sector projects, because they cover more aspects of the economic and social activities of women. Of great importance for women, as the food and health providers of the family, are the objectives to improve the family's food security and to improve the water, health and firewood situation. It is a pity, though, that none of the projects has defined the improvement of the position of women as one of its objectives, since many studies have shown that women do not automatically benefit from projects that are geared to the rural population in general. One project (Togo) has realized this need, because according to the financing proposal for the second phase, special attention will be paid to the integration of women in the second phase.

The objective of the water supply projects (two projects and one RDP component) is to provide the rural population with safe water for domestic purposes (and in Kenya also for livestock needs) located within a reasonable distance of their homes. The ultimate goal is to improve the living conditions of the rural population and, particularly in the Swaziland project, to improve the health situation. In two of the three projects it is explicitly stated that women and children will benefit most, because they are responsible for fetching water from the traditional water source. The improved water supply system is expected to result in a time-saving for women, which is considered either of special importance in the agricultural peak season (Niger) or as an opportunity to carry out new productive activities (Swaziland).

These objectives are certainly of vital importance for women because the water situation in the project areas is a serious problem and women spend two to four hours a day fetching water. Improvement of family health is also of particular interest for women, because they are the main health providers in the household. However, women are mainly seen as beneficiaries and not as actors. Although the aim of all projects is to make the communities responsible for the management of the new water supply systems, women are not mentioned in this connection. It seems that women's role as principal water manager is overlooked: traditionally

women are in charge of selecting, carrying, storing and distributing drinking water and are responsible for the maintenance of water sources, waste disposal and other sanitary arrangements. In this way projects risk not making use of women's knowledge and experience, and for women potential benefits, such as greater social self-reliance as a result of successful involvement in local management groups, are lost.

### 3.3.2 *Project Strategy and Instruments*

With respect to strategies and instruments - that is, activities, staffing and budget - the most important questions are whether they offer sufficient possibilities for women to participate and whether the resources which the planned activities call for from women can be mobilized in view of women's workload and priorities.

In only one case (the project in Botswana) was it found that the choice of strategy and instruments did not seem to have a built-in gender bias. A number of elements in the project render it potentially suitable for and accessible to women: the choice of the subsector is completely in line with women's needs; the project has opted for a small-scale, village-based approach; the project places much of the responsibility for the management groups with the farmers themselves; there are no complicated procedures and no high-pitched requirements for participation (with the exception of the allocation system of subsidized rams/bucks); and the technology envisaged is simple.

In the other projects, planned strategies, activities, staffing and budget reservations did not offer sufficient possibilities for women to participate according to their productive and management roles. None of the projects had planned special measures to enhance the integration of women in the mainstream activities. That such measures or another choice of strategy would have increased the possibility for women to participate is illustrated by the following examples:

- In a situation where the agricultural extension workers are all male and socio-cultural barriers prevent male extension workers from working with women on an individual basis (Togo, Cameroon), women will only have access to extension and training if specific measures are taken to reach them, such as the recruitment of female extension workers and the training of male extension workers to work with women's groups.
- Since women experience more difficulties in gaining access to credit facilities, women are only able to participate in credit schemes if solutions are found to overcome these constraints, such as the problem of their lack of collateral (see also Section 4.2.3).
- In the case of the project in Burkina Faso, it was an omission that no land allocation strategy was developed. As implementation shows, women will usually be at a disadvantage when their rights are not established: land was initially allocated to the male heads of households and not to women, who are the traditional land users.
- In the water supply projects no measures had been envisaged to ensure that women would participate in the water committees, with the result that in practice mostly men were elected. In the financing proposal for the water project in Niger, the composition of the committee was laid down, allocating all

important management functions to men and mentioning women only as possible candidates for the cleaning and upkeep of the facilities. This reduced women's opportunities to participate in local management.

- None of the projects has planned to involve WID experts in any of the project phases. This appears to be a disadvantage for the implementation of WID policy, because project staff, being mainly male, generally lack expertise on gender issues.

As mentioned before, in the financing proposal for its second phase (1988), the Togo project has formulated the aim to pay special attention to women. An important measure which is planned in this respect (but at the time of the mission not yet executed) is the recruitment of several female extension workers. This will improve the possibilities of reaching women and increasing their participation in extension.

Not only were no specific measures planned in most projects to integrate women into activities, there were also no clear strategies for community participation and local management, which diminished the opportunities for women's participation. For example, in the project in Burkina Faso the technical work took place before the population was informed and consulted. Furthermore, the first phase of the water supply project in Swaziland was characterized by an emphasis on the technical work of designing and constructing water systems. The community participation strategy was limited to the mobilization of water committees for the provision of labour and cash, and there were no possibilities for participation in the design decisions. Training to prepare the community for the management of the systems was also not foreseen. However, the lack of attention for community participation was in most cases recognized during implementation, and in a new phase more emphasis was put on human resource development. This flexibility to change the project approach is important for women's participation. With the development of a community participation strategy, as in the Swaziland project, the possibility for women to participate has clearly increased.

Besides the question of whether the financing proposal offers possibilities for women to participate, it is important to know whether women's workload and the gender division of tasks have been taken into account in the choice of project strategies and instruments. As we have seen in Chapter 2, women have a heavy workload as a consequence of their multiple tasks. In many projects this was not taken into account.

An example of this is the strategy envisaged to increase agricultural production in the Machakos Integrated Development Programme in Kenya. The project dossier for the second phase presents two farm models which will lead to an increase of farm productivity over a five-year period if the recommended inputs and techniques are applied. In order to achieve this increase, an extra labour input of some 50 and 85 man-days per year are required. The models assume that the extra labour will come from the household's own resources. In the project area, where labour migration is high and casual labour is either not available or too expensive, this means that the extra labour input must be provided by women. Women already face serious time constraints which limit their capacity to provide more labour for agricultural work. The models, however, are presented without the slightest reservation about the feasibility of the recommended «improvements».

Another example was found in the proposal for the RDP in Togo. The project aims to intensify agricultural production through the use of animal traction for ploughing and the use of modern inputs. In the project area concerned, ploughing

is mainly the task of men, and therefore mechanization will lead to an alleviation of their workload. However, the use of modern techniques and an expansion of the cultivated area will mean that more time will be needed for sowing, weeding, harvesting and processing, tasks which are still done by hand and are mainly performed by women. This will mean not only an extra burden for women, but also that these activities will become a bottleneck in the process of increasing production, because the introduction of time-saving techniques for women's tasks has not been planned.

## 4. ATTENTION FOR WOMEN IN THE IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION PHASES

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the main findings of the nine evaluation studies regarding the participation of women in the projects and the attention paid to «women and development» in the monitoring and evaluation of the projects.

The word «participation» can be interpreted in different ways. In this study, participation is understood to mean the situation where the target groups concerned are actively involved in the preparation, implementation and monitoring of project activities and have the possibility to exert an influence on the project. Therefore, involvement of men or women as unskilled labourers in construction activities or as passive beneficiaries of facilities with no influence on project matters is not considered participation.

We have already seen that the majority of projects have not paid special attention to women in the programming and appraisal phase, and thus all depends on the way the projects are implemented. Women's participation is assessed in relation to the gender division of roles and labour in the project areas. As was sketched in Chapter 2, women play an important role in agricultural and livestock production and have key roles and primary interests in forestry and water supply and sanitation. In this chapter we investigate to what extent women's participation in the projects is commensurate to these important roles and which factors stimulate or hamper their participation (with the exception of the planning factors, which have already been discussed).

The findings on women's participation are presented per sector. The project activities are grouped around the following main issues: extension and training, local management, provision of inputs and services (credit, improved breeds, etc.) and remaining sector-specific activities (construction of water supply systems, tree nurseries, etc.).

In this report the notion of extension is used for a variety of activities which aim at awareness-raising, community development activities and/or the transfer of technical skills. It thus encompasses both the concept of *vulgarisation* (extension) and *animation* (community development), which are used in former French colonies to distinguish between technical extension done by *encadreurs* (trainers) and community development work executed by *animateurs* and *animatrices* (field workers).

Each section ends with a short paragraph which describes the results on balance. In the final sections, we investigate whether the instruments of monitoring and evaluation have been used to introduce changes in favour of women and what role the project staff, the ACP counterparts and the EC delegations have played with respect to the participation of women in the projects concerned.

### 4.2 Participation of Women in the Agricultural Projects

#### 4.2.1 Introduction

In the agricultural sector three agricultural projects and three rural development projects with an agricultural component have been evaluated (see page vii, Projects According to Sector). All of these projects aim at an increase of food and

cash crop production through intensification of the production. The broader objectives are to improve the income and living conditions of the farmers and, in some cases, to contribute to national food self-sufficiency.

In the two evaluated rice projects in Niger and Burkina Faso the installation of irrigation schemes is aimed at making the farmers less dependent on rainfall. The other projects are focused on rainfed cultivation and are introducing improved seeds and fertilizer as well as new technologies such as animal traction. The project in Cameroon aims in addition to settle migrants in an area relatively favourable to agriculture in order to relieve the over-populated areas in the extreme north. In projects where land distribution plays a role the projects also assist in the provision of land.

Concrete project activities concern the construction of infrastructure for irrigation (dikes, canals, etc.), the allocation of land, the provision of credits for improved seeds, fertilizer, animal traction, etc. and the strengthening of training and extension services. During their execution most projects have put more and more emphasis on training and extension and on the support and strengthening of farmers' organizations to ensure that management can be taken over by the population. Furthermore, the agricultural projects have secondary or supporting activities outside their main programme, for example the irrigation project in Niger finances small-scale activities in small stock, horticulture, processing technologies, etc. Rural development projects are by definition active in more than one sector.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, women play an important role in agricultural production in all project areas and perform most of the agricultural work. Therefore, it can in general be stated that their involvement in the above-mentioned activities is important, both for the women themselves and for project results. In this section we will assess the level of women's participation in the most important project activities: allocation of land, provision of credit, extension and training, and local management.

#### 4.2.2 *Allocation of Land*

In two projects (in Burkina Faso and Niger) the provision of land is the first step of the project activities and a condition sine qua non for the potential target groups to participate in and benefit from the project. In both projects the land is distributed for irrigated rice cultivation. (In Niger one irrigation scheme is allocated for horticulture.)

In both project areas women have traditionally been involved in rice cultivation, although to a different extent. In the project area in Burkina Faso the traditional rice cultivators are almost exclusively women, whereas in the area in Niger the women of only one of the many ethnic groups that live there - the Djerma - were involved in rice cultivation before the project started. In both areas the processing of rice is traditionally the work of the women.

The fact that women play such an important role in rice production in the project area in Burkina Faso was recognized in the preparation of the project, and women were explicitly mentioned as target group in the financial proposal. An interesting finding is that, although women were identified in the preparation phase as being the main beneficiaries of the project in Burkina Faso, the land was at first allocated to the male heads of the households. They distributed the land among their wives, but kept some for themselves. Thus, although still the main rice cultivators, women no longer had full control over the outputs of production. Apparently the

project did not pay attention to the local situation in which women had traditional rights to cultivate a rice plot allocated to them by the *chef de terre*\* and had complete control over the output. The result was that women were not motivated to work on the irrigation plots, were not willing to participate in maintenance activities and showed a general resistance to the project. As a consequence of women's opposition and thanks to the flexible attitude of the project management, the land has been redistributed and in the new schemes women have been given priority as being the principal rice cultivators. Now the percentage of women among the applicants is 87%, which corresponds to their role in rice cultivation. The total number of women who have rice plots has increased, but the plots are smaller than before.

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*The photographs on the opposite page, taken in Central Africa, show men and women clearing land for agriculture (top), and women cultivating rice (bottom).*

Photographs: Marianne Nugteren

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\* The chef de terre is traditionally responsible for land allocation.



The project in Niger did not mention women as a special category within the target group, nor did it give any specification of the target group. Here also, land was allocated to the male heads of households and the Djerma women who had traditional land use rights for rice production, lost these to men. Often women were not informed about the allocation procedures and when they wanted to apply for a plot the extension staff and the men discouraged them, saying that they would never be able to pay the rent. In this project no modifications were made during implementation. Only a group of about 50 widows have acquired the land after the death of their husbands and are now owners of rice plots. In the irrigation scheme destined for horticulture the situation is somewhat better. Thanks to the influence of a technical assistant, women were also able to apply for a plot. The reason why only 21 women out of a total of 230 received land is that most women are discouraged by the high rent that is required.

Several factors explain why the conditions of land allocation have been changed in favour of women in one project and not in the other. In the Burkina Faso area rice cultivation is the principal economic activity of the women, especially the older women, whereas in Niger a relatively small proportion of the female population in the project area cultivate rice. Secondly, the women in Burkina Faso showed a general resistance to the project and lacked motivation to participate in maintenance activities, since they were no longer able to control the outputs of production. This was not the case in Niger, where the women interviewed seem to accept the men becoming the new owners, because there is a shortage of land. In addition, in Burkina Faso the project management showed a flexible attitude in changing the allocation conditions and studies were carried out which paid attention to the role of women in rice production, whereas in Niger women's role in rice production has not been acknowledged.

Although in the project in Niger women have been bypassed in the distribution of rice land in the large irrigation schemes, in three schemes land adjacent to the irrigation schemes, usually not suitable for rice cultivation, has been distributed to women for horticulture. In this way 3,550 women have obtained small fields, which are irrigated in some areas by hand and in some areas with the use of animal traction and gravity. Women are very interested in horticultural production in the dry season. Part of their production (mainly onions) is used for home consumption and the remainder is sold in Niamey.

In the rural development project in Cameroon, which promotes migration of farmers into a new area to enable them to improve their living conditions, the new migrants have to arrange the acquisition of land themselves. In the first years after the migration, women often do not have access to land. However, when the first difficult years have passed, women are generally able to obtain a piece of land that they can cultivate and control themselves.

#### 4.2.3 *Access to Credit*

In all six projects or project components that are involved in agricultural development, credits for agricultural inputs are provided to enable the farmers to obtain improved seeds and fertilizer. In three projects short- and medium-term credits are also provided for animal traction to alleviate the work of ploughing and to enable the farmers to cultivate an additional area of land (Cameroon, Togo, Zambia). It is generally the task of the extension workers to provide the services, to train the farmers in the use and management of the new technologies and to monitor repayment. Oxen credit is provided to individual farmers, and in the case of Cameroon to two male farmers, whereas the credit for agricultural inputs is

sometimes provided to agricultural production groups or cooperatives and sometimes to individual farmers.

Since women are involved in crop production in all the project areas, it is obvious that the provision of credit for improved inputs and technologies is in principle of great interest for them. Yet the credit schemes of the three rural development projects more or less bypass women. In the project in Niger women do not have access to credit for rice cultivation, but women's groups have access to a small revolving fund for improved seeds. However, two projects show positive examples of the integration of women in credit schemes. These are the maize project in Zambia, where a relatively large group of women has been able to apply for oxen loans, and the rice project in Burkina Faso, where women are the main participants in the small credit scheme for improved seeds and fertilizer.

We will first examine the reasons why women do not participate fully in credit schemes in the majority of the projects.

The method of distributing the credits determines to a large extent whether or not women have access to them. In Kenya, where farm input credits for cotton are provided through the Cooperative Union, applicants have to be members of a cooperative society. This means that women are in practice excluded, because very few women are members of cooperatives (less than 5%). In Togo, where seasonal credits are available through village groups of agricultural producers, of which women are seldom members, women have little access to credits. Furthermore, since the extension services play such an important role in the provision of credit, the frequently encountered bias in extension towards male farmers will also be reflected in a bias towards male farmers in credit provision. This is demonstrated in the Cameroon project, where women are not able to obtain the seeds and fertilizer through the official channel because extension workers hardly reach female farmers. Women therefore try to obtain improved seeds and fertilizer through the intermediary of their husband or another male member of the family, or they purchase the remainder of the fertilizer of the men at the local market.

Women's access to the credit schemes is also influenced by the conditions set to qualify for loans. The requirement of a security such as a land title can not be fulfilled by women. Furthermore, selection criteria such as the number of hectares under cultivation and the number of people active on the farm are unfavourable for women farmers, because they are in general small farmers.

In the cases of Cameroon and Togo the package of the credit schemes, consisting of credit for oxen and implements, does not particularly suit women's needs, because individual women are generally not interested in the purchase of an animal traction unit on credit. In these areas there are few female-headed households and most husbands with oxen also plough the women's fields. The oxen credit may, however, be of interest for women's groups.

As stated earlier, the project in Burkina Faso is a positive example of a project which enables women to obtain small credits for agricultural inputs. The credits are provided to the rice producers' groups, which distribute the money among their members who provide collective security for repayment. Women's participation in the project is very high (87%) and thus also their access to credit. Amounts are small (FCFA 1,000 per producer) and the repayment rate is high: 90% in the 1988/89 season. The choice of the project to place the responsibility for the management of the credit funds with the producers' groups themselves

does, however, seem somewhat premature. The treasurers of the groups are often illiterate and insufficiently trained in accounting and book-keeping. In practice, therefore, the extension worker still plays an indispensable role in this field.

The maize project in Zambia offers another positive example of a more active participation of women in credit schemes, in this case for the purchase of oxen for animal traction. At present, women have a 15% share in the credit programme for oxen, which is higher than in many other credit schemes in Zambia and yet below the percentage of female heads of households in the area (22%).

There are several reasons for this relatively high participation of women. First of all, credit for oxen meets one of their needs. Many female heads of households and wives are independent producers of maize and other crops. Since lack of sufficient labour appears for many women to be an important constraint, animal traction provides a good solution in this respect. Secondly, in the socio-cultural context it is possible for women to possess oxen. Although women know less than men about cattle, they do not see this as an obstacle to obtaining oxen. Female heads of households often find children or male relatives to care for the animals and the plough. Finally, a positive factor for the integration of women was that the project has been executed very flexibly and activities have in fact been targeted towards smaller farmers more than originally planned. Although no special consideration has been given to women, the measures taken have eased their access to credit. The selection criteria to obtain loans have been changed so that they are more appropriate for smaller farmers and thus for women (e.g. minimum of 10 ha of maize cultivated was changed to between 2 and 5 ha) and the establishment of a guarantee fund at a commercial bank enabled smaller farmers, who otherwise would not have enough security to qualify for a loan, to get a loan. That the participation of women is not commensurate with their importance as independent producers is partly the result of the fact that women generally show a higher risk avoidance, which in the case of oxen is certainly a sensible attitude because of the high cattle mortality rate, and is probably also due to the fact that the project did not take special measures to increase women's participation in the credit programme.

It can be concluded that participation of women in agricultural credit schemes is in many cases not commensurate with their important roles in agricultural production, in spite of their general need for short- and medium-term credit and their universally high repayment ratios. Some of the main factors that have led to this situation are:

- many extension services hardly reach women (see below);
- in the case of individual credit some form of security is required, and women usually do not own land;
- conditions to obtain loans, such as membership of a cooperative and a certain number of hectares cultivated, tend to exclude women;
- the package of credit offered does not always suit the needs of women.

It is important that the project planners and executors are aware of factors which may limit women's access and take appropriate action. As the two more positive examples show, several of these constraints can be overcome by taking special measures such as making the selection criteria more appropriate for women, who are usually small farmers, establishing a guarantee fund and giving credit to women's groups or to producers' groups in which women are equal members. Setting targets saying that at least a certain percentage of the loans should go to women has in other projects proved to be an effective way of increasing women's

participation. It is also important that women are informed about the possibilities to obtain credit and receive the required training in bookkeeping, management, etc.

#### *4.2.4 Participation of Women in Agricultural Extension and Training*

It is the task of the extension workers to inform farmers about project activities, to help them improve and apply their knowledge and skills, and to assist them in acquiring inputs. Ideally, extension should be a two-way communication which not only enables the extension workers to inform the farmers, but also permits the farmers to inform the extension workers about their problems and needs. As a result of the increased attention for the sustainability of projects after external support is withdrawn, it is becoming gradually more and more the role of the extension workers to strengthen group formation of farmers in order to increase their self-reliance.

All of the agricultural projects examined include an extension component, and in most cases this forms an essential part of the project. Most projects follow a modified Training and Visit (T&V) system. The projects in Kenya (in the second phase), Togo, Cameroon and Burkina Faso have adopted a group approach. For example, in Togo the extension worker addresses a group of 20 heads of households in the field of one of the group members and after the group meeting he pays individual visits to the fields of the other group members. In Zambia a pilot-farmer approach is adopted and farmers are visited individually; in addition, general advice is given to groups of farmers. Two projects have set up specific extension and training services alongside the existing extension services (in Burkina Faso for rice cultivation and in Cameroon for non-cotton agriculture).

In four projects there are only male extension workers (with the exception of one female community development worker who is employed by the cooperative), one project has almost 20% female extension agents (Kenya), and in one project 7 of the 13 extension workers are women (Burkina Faso).

Our studies revealed that in three cases there is virtually no participation of women in extension activities, in two cases women participate to some extent but not according to the importance of their role and responsibilities, and in only one case women participate fully.

As could be expected from a project which has women as the main target group and has the largest percentage of female extension workers, women's participation in the rice project in Burkina Faso is high. The female farmers appear to have a good knowledge of the improved techniques which are advised.

In the maize development project in Zambia there is also an active participation of women in extension activities. Eleven per cent of the pilot farmers are women, including both female heads of households and wives. They have access to individual and group extension. The group sessions are also open to non-pilot farmers and in fact spouses frequently attend the meetings together. Extension workers are all men, but no barriers were observed for extension workers to work with female farmers, and women do not feel inhibited about participating in group meetings. Nevertheless, they are in general less active speakers in mixed meetings. The method of selection of pilot farmers (the first two are chosen by the village headman and then they are in charge of the selection of four more pilot farmers) explains why relatively many village headmen have been recruited and immigrants and women are underrepresented.

The project in Kenya is an example of a project where the participation of women has increased in the course of implementation thanks to a change in the extension and training strategy. In the first phase the project laid a great deal of emphasis on an individual extension approach, with farm visits and demonstration plots on the fields of contact farmers, and on residential training at the Machakos Farmer Training Centre. Extension officers seldom visited female farmers and they were hardly ever selected as contact farmers. The five-day training courses offered at the Centre were not readily accessible to women, because most women cannot leave their homes and farms for a week. Besides, courses are often inconveniently planned and coincide with periods of peak labour demand in agriculture. Furthermore, women often prefer to travel and work in groups, whereas recruitment took place only on the basis of individual course participation. In Phase II the approach has been changed: the extension service has shifted attention from an individual contact-farmer approach to a contact-group approach, and in training the emphasis has been shifted from residential courses to mobile courses. Women's groups have benefited greatly from this change. As group members, women have much easier access to agricultural information and the change to training sessions of short duration in the farmer's own environment has opened ways for women farmers to attend in large numbers. Another factor which has enhanced women's participation is the increase in the number of female extension workers in recent years.

In the other three projects, however, women's participation in the extension sessions has been noted to be very low to non-existent. Even in the Togo project, where project management endeavours to improve the integration of women in agricultural extension and stimulates extension workers to pay attention to women, extension activities largely bypass women. Women seldom attend the group meetings in the fields. Various factors have given rise to this situation. Firstly, being outside the information circuits, women are often unaware of the planned activities. Since women have a very busy workday the time of the meeting has to be adjusted to their time schedule; at present the time of the meetings is not very convenient for women. In the socio-cultural environment women have difficulties in joining a meeting of men. Even the female heads of households prefer to send their sons to the meetings instead of going themselves. Moreover, the male extension workers have not learned how they can reach female farmers. The extension workers remarked that it is easier to make contacts with women through women's groups. Clearly, in this case it is not easy to achieve full participation of women, but with specific actions, such as organizing separate meetings for women's groups at a time and location that suits them and the appointment of female extension workers, these problems can at least partly be overcome. Another action that can be taken is to train extension workers in methods and techniques to reach women.

In the Cameroon project, women have no access at all to agricultural extension, and the male extension workers do not see the importance of integrating women.

That women do not have access to the agricultural extension given in the irrigation project in Niger, is the consequence of the fact that women scarcely have access to the rice plots (see Subsection 4.2.2). A small number of the women active in horticulture have access to horticultural extension which is provided by one local technician and a young not professionally trained female field worker.

In summary, the main factors that influence the level of women's participation in extension and training activities are:

- women's socio-cultural position, in particular the (im)possibilities for women to participate actively in mixed group meetings and for male extension workers to work with (individual) women;

- the degree of knowledge or awareness among project staff of women's role in agricultural production and of the socio-cultural constraints that may hamper their participation;
- the choice of extension strategy and its suitability for reaching female farmers; for example, a group approach in extension usually facilitates women's participation, as was shown in Kenya;
- the choice of location, timing and duration of the extension and training sessions and their adaptation to women's needs;
- the choice of priorities, themes and messages in extension and their correspondence with women's roles and needs;
- the level of education and training of extension workers in general and more specifically in methods and techniques to involve women;
- the presence of female extension workers.

#### *4.2.5 Participation in Local Management*

All of the projects evaluated pay some attention to the creation of local management structures that can guarantee the future planning, organization, maintenance and management of the development activities. Projects stimulate the formation of formal and informal groups of producers or users and in some cases provide training to group leaders.

Women's participation in these activities corresponds to a large extent to their participation in extension, because it is often the task of the extension workers to organize and train the farmers in group formation. Thus, women's participation is highest in the rice producers' groups in Burkina Faso and lowest in the agricultural producers' groups in Togo and Cameroon.

In the project in Burkina Faso rice producers' groups are formed and trained with the aim of self-reliance, in order to set up collectively the maintenance of the infrastructure, to purchase inputs, to organize rice production according to the agricultural calendar, to commercialize production and to provide mutual security for credit. Of the total of 51 groups, 35 are mixed groups in which women form the majority and 16 are women's groups. Women's level of participation in the training for group leaders, which is given on site, is also high. An internal evaluation by the project mentions as one of the factors which hamper the smooth functioning of the mixed producers' groups the fact that women do not participate in discussions and decisions on an equal footing. Another important factor is that the information and mobilization sessions were started too late, with the result that the producers' groups are often seen by their members as being imposed upon them.

A positive finding in the project in Niger is that the female horticultural producers in two schemes are organized into producers' groups with common funds. These women have gained access to inputs and can make their own decisions. However, the groups are not represented in the cooperative structure which was set up to manage the irrigation schemes. Thus, ultimately, women are still dependent on the decisions taken by the male members of the cooperatives.

In the three rural development projects, local water committees have been formed. The participation of women in these committees is very limited. Women are also hardly represented in the producers' groups which are promoted in two of the

three evaluated RDPs (Togo and Cameroon). An important aim of the MIDP in Kenya is the decentralization of planning and implementation to the district level. Women have little direct influence on the decentralized planning process, since they are poorly represented in the development committees at different administrative levels which form the core of the process. The committees are composed of government officials, political leaders, local leaders, headmasters, etc., who are predominantly men. This shows how the planning of the composition of committees already determines women's chances of participation.

#### 4.2.6 *Other Project Activities*

As indicated before, the agricultural projects also have secondary or supporting activities outside the main programmes and the three rural development projects conduct activities in several different sectors. A brief overview of the activities undertaken to alleviate women's workload, and of the special women's programmes, is presented here.

The three evaluated RDPs and the irrigation project in Niger are also active in the field of water supply, an activity which can alleviate women's workload to an important extent (for results in Kenya, see Section 4.5).

Although in all projects women are involved in processing activities after the harvest, the introduction of processing technologies seems to be rather neglected. It is encouraging to see that the project in Niger has financed the distribution of some grain mills and husking machines. Management of these technologies appears to form a large problem, which is not very surprising since the project has given the responsibility for the management of the mills and machines to the cooperatives, of which women are not members.

Some projects also have specific women's programmes: the horticultural activities in Niger have already been mentioned and the MIDP in Kenya supports women's groups and a handicraft centre (in total 0.6% of budget Phase II) which is quite successful in achieving both its objectives of generating a cash income for women and strengthening the organization of women's groups. Also, adult education courses are supported in which women's participation is very high. The other rural development programmes do not have specific women's programmes; however, the project in Togo has recently started a family planning programme.

#### 4.2.7 *On Balance*

On the whole it can be concluded that in two of the six agricultural projects/ components women participate as both actors and beneficiaries. In Zambia the level of participation is not commensurate with women's active productive role, but in Burkina Faso women's autonomous involvement has continually increased.

In the case of Niger, women are to a limited extent involved in horticultural development, but those women who were traditionally the rice cultivators have lost their land and income. The women who actually own land for rice cultivation (about 50) do not participate in training and extension activities and are not involved in decision-making. In the agricultural component of

the MIDP in Kenya women's participation in extension and training has increased during implementation, but they have not obtained access to credit.

As far as the other two RDPs are concerned (Togo and Cameroon), women's important role in agriculture is in no way reflected in their level of participation in the different development activities. They do not participate in training and extension and have no access to the different credit schemes. Although in Togo the project management has shown a willingness towards women's integration, in the absence of a concrete strategy this has not had the desired results.

There are a number of reasons why women in the majority of projects do not participate to the degree that could be expected in view of their importance in the agricultural sector. These factors are partly located in the socio-cultural setting: in all areas there are to some extent socio-cultural restrictions which hamper women's integration in agricultural development activities. These include lack of legal ownership of land and other assets, women's lower social status, the restricted mobility of women, the fact that women are not able to participate on an equal footing in mixed meetings, and the higher illiteracy and lower level of education of women. Careful project design that takes these factors into account, and a flexible approach to implementation can in general overcome most of these constraints.

Furthermore, the policy environment is important. Although all ACP countries involved have a general policy with respect to women's integration in development, they often do not have an elaborated sectoral policy for WID. This may be a handicap for the government agencies which implement the projects.

Factors related to project design and implementation which hamper women's participation in agricultural projects include:

- the projects usually start without collection and interpretation of baseline information about the gender division of tasks and responsibilities;
- women are usually not identified as a specific part of the target group, requiring a specific approach;
- the design of the activities frequently shows a bias towards men; for example, the criteria to obtain loans in practice often exclude women, and the choice of location, timing and duration of the extension and training sessions are often inconvenient for women;
- lack of WID expertise among project staff prevents adaptation of the project during implementation; project staff - usually all men - often have insufficient knowledge of possible strategies to increase women's participation;
- lack of female extension workers forms an important constraint for extension to reach women; the male extension workers are not trained in methods and techniques to involve women;

- women's participation in decision-making and management of project activities is low in four of the six agricultural projects and thus women are not able to express their specific needs.

Although these factors are not always easy to handle, the experiences of the Zambia and Burkina Faso projects, where women participate in the project activities, show that - even when no clear strategy has been developed during project preparation to involve women in the development - willingness to modify the project approach on the basis of the findings and a good knowledge of the roles, responsibilities and needs of women can greatly influence improvements in women's participation, and consequently in project results.

### 4.3 Participation of Women in the Livestock Projects

#### 4.3.1 Introduction

In the livestock sector one project and one project component have been evaluated: the Sheep and Goat Development Project in Botswana and the livestock component of the Machakos Integrated Development Programme (MIDP) in Kenya. The projects aim at an improvement of the position of the target farmers through activities in breed improvement, extension and training, marketing and animal health control.

The Sheep and Goat Development Project in Botswana aims to raise the income of poor rural families through a better exploitation of their sheep and goat flocks. Improved sheep and goat production is to be brought about by improved management methods, better health care and increased marketing opportunities. Project activities include an investigation programme, an extension programme, a breed improvement programme, a marketing programme and a special programme in one region where breeders of Karakul sheep are receiving support.

In Kenya the MIDP's support to the livestock sector aims to raise the incomes of smallholder farm families through an increase in animal production and productivity, in particular of dairy cattle. Project activities include a dairy cattle programme which aims to increase the number of grade dairy cows, a range and forage improvement programme, a disease control programme and special programmes for the promotion of sheep and goat rearing, beekeeping and poultry rearing.

All project activities in the livestock sector directly concern women, because women play an important role in livestock production in the project areas. Thus, in Botswana women dominate the small stock sector, especially goats. Women undertake the full management of small stock, including herding, kraaling, selection, disease control, milking and marketing and they can purchase, own and sell the animals independently. In Kenya women are also involved in small stock and can own chickens, sheep and goats. Women are furthermore the main caretakers and managers of cattle owned by their husbands. Although all activities concern women, only the sheep and goat, poultry and beekeeping activities of the MIDP in Kenya (which were relatively small) are more explicitly, although not exclusively, aimed at women.

In this section we will assess the degree of women's participation in the two livestock projects by looking at the following project activities: extension and training, breed improvement, marketing, animal health improvement and local management.

#### *4.3.2 Participation in Extension and Training*

As in the agricultural sector, extension and training form the core of the livestock development projects. Training and extension officers have the task of promoting changes and improvements and motivating and advising farmers in better animal care and management. Furthermore, they organize health-care activities, like dipping and vaccinations, and provide marketing services. In the Botswana project, they also encourage the formation of local management groups for small stock. The different extension and training methods used are individual farmer visits, group visits, demonstrations, field days, displays at agricultural shows and the organization of seminars and training courses.

As we have seen before, women are involved in all the activities for which the extension workers are responsible. Advice on animal health care, management and, for instance, nutritional issues is not only in the interest of the women and their families, but at the same time increases project efficiency and effectiveness.

The example of Kenya shows that women have very little access to an extension strategy which is mainly based on visits to individual farmers and does not include special measures to increase women's participation. In the MIDP dairy farmers are visited individually in order to supervise the performance of the introduced high-quality cattle. While men own the high-quality cattle, their wives are often responsible for taking the cow to the crush for insemination, milking, marketing of the milk, feed and water provision, and animal health care. However, extension in dairy cattle management is not addressed to women. The main reason is that livestock extension workers, who are predominantly male, have a strong male bias: they make appointments with the men, address their messages to men, even adapting themselves to suit the latter's commuter schedules. They do not seem to realize that if they repeatedly meet only the wife on the farm, it might be more efficient to deliver the extension message to her, instead of waiting for the husband to return. Also the other favourite methods of extension staff-to-farmer communication, namely courses and agricultural shows at district level, are generally not suitable for women because of the distance, time and costs involved. In fact, the extension message of replacing local zebu cattle with more expensive, more demanding and labour-intensive dairy cows in itself shows a bias towards the richer, more progressive farmers, because few farmers can afford to do this. All this results in livestock staff rarely visiting individual female farmers. Only a few women's groups which have purchased an improved dairy cow together have gained access to extension.

Within group visits at village level we see, however, that women are more frequently involved. The methods of group approach, field demonstrations and courses on site are used for goat and poultry development and beekeeping, and have proved to be suitable for women.

In the livestock project in Botswana women have more access to extension and training than in the MIDP in Kenya. This is mainly the result of the project strategy to promote the formation of small stock groups. Not only do these small stock management groups have a high proportion of female members, but women in practice actively participate in the group activities. Through these groups women

have obtained better access to extension, because members of small stock groups have more regular contacts with the small stock officer and the agricultural field workers, and they receive more intense support. In addition, the types of courses offered are reasonably suitable for women and whenever specific small stock courses are offered, the women participants outnumber the men. Field courses are easily accessible to women. Residential courses are also accessible to women: there are no barriers of costs or transport as the Ministry takes care of these aspects; most training centres have separate accommodation for women and the others improvise; and domestic and social constraints do not seem to be prohibitive. The only problem is that none of the centres have accommodation for women with babies and some have a policy of actively «discouraging» women with babies. For women outside the small stock groups access to extension has not improved much.

Even in the project in Botswana it is a disadvantage for women that the overwhelming majority of the extension workers are men (84%). For example, female members of the small stock groups have an obvious need for more technical advice, but the only channel through which women farmers can voice their need for specific courses is the agricultural extension workers, who are not particularly sensitive to the problems of women farmers.

A general problem in both projects is that field staff tend to adopt a technical approach and concentrate on highly productive breeds and/or disease control, rather than on improved animal husbandry practices.

The example of the MIDP in Kenya demonstrates sufficiently why extension staff should have a thorough knowledge of the roles of women in livestock production. From the point of view of project management, it is clearly inefficient to address extension messages to any group other than that which is actually doing the work. Factors such as the male extension workers' preference to deal with men, their conception of women as mothers and housewives rather than producers and decision-makers are all constraints for an equal participation of women in extension activities. Projects should therefore pay attention to the training of extension workers in this field and to the elaboration of special steps in the extension approach (e.g. how to collect information, how and when to organize meetings with female farmers, etc.). Assigning more female extension workers may also help to tackle this problem.

The projects evaluated show that women are more frequently involved in group visits than in individual visits. The organization of women in groups appears to enhance their participation in extension. Other factors, such as women's role in local decision-making, the awareness among extension staff of women's roles and needs, the degree to which the subjects correspond to these roles and needs, and the timing, location and duration of the activities, determine to a large extent women's participation in extension and training.

#### *4.3.3 Access to Improved Breeds*

In both projects the procurement of improved high-quality breeds is a major activity. The Sheep and Goat Development Project in Botswana supplies subsidized rams and bucks, and the MIDP in Kenya provides highly productive grade cattle and supplies improved goats for milking and meat, breeding bucks and rams at subsidized prices. As major managers of small stock, women should form an important target group for these activities.

In the past the project in Botswana allocated the breeding rams and bucks to applicants on a first-come-first-served basis, but recently it has shifted to a ballot system. The number of female applicants and female beneficiaries of the ram subsidy scheme could not be ascertained because no records have been kept. From interviews with farmers, the impression was gained that, although some women have benefited from the scheme, men have received more than their proportional share. In one of the small stock groups met by the mission, consisting of 6 men and 38 women, 3 of the men and only 2 of the women had obtained breeding stock through the project. Allocations appeared to favour larger-scale male farmers and employees of the Ministry of Agriculture who are closest to the information source.

The MIDP in Kenya encourages the farmers to replace their local zebu cattle with highly productive grade cattle supplied by the project. Although intended for all smallholder farm families in the district, only the better-off, progressive male farmers in high-potential areas can afford to do this. Women's participation is limited to a few women's groups in high-potential areas which have purchased a dairy cow with group funds. Nevertheless, the consequences of the dairy cattle programme and related activities for the wives of the grade cattle owners are great. The wives are involved as caretakers of the cows, which in practice means that they have to provide supplementary labour to manage these more demanding and labour-intensive cows. The project also promotes the introduction of stall feeding and zero grazing. This pasture and fodder improvement programme, too, is only of interest to a relatively limited group of farmers, i.e. the 10% who have grade cattle. Again, although women do not participate in this programme, it relies heavily on their labour input. Women do most of the work in fodder crop production (planting, weeding, harvesting, chopping and cutting the grass) and feeding the animals.

In the MIDP's small stock activities women have more possibilities to participate in a way which is profitable for them. The project promotes and provides improved high-breed cockerels, milk and meat goats, and breeding bucks and rams to male and female farmers. Although no exact numbers are known, a relatively large number of women actively participate in these small stock and poultry activities. In theory, these activities could be highly beneficial to women, and could offer them a means to increase their own income, but in practice they have had little impact. On the one hand, the financial resources allocated to these activities are fairly insignificant (1.5% of the total livestock budget) and, on the other hand, the activities have been rather unsuccessful. Only 400 improved animals and a few goat shelters were delivered to farmers and groups, and when the subsidy was removed, interest in the improved small stock fell sharply. The cockerel exchange programme proved unsuitable for technical reasons (the crosses hatch badly, are sensitive to disease, and are easy victims for birds of prey). The improved beehives that were distributed to i.a. beekeeping women's groups in the district are not occupied by bees and hence little honey is actually produced.

The above examples show that women are interested in purchasing improved animals, especially if they are subsidized, if the investment is within their means and if they have control over the income derived from the investment. The allocation system determines to a large extent whether women have access to the provision of improved breeds. However, the success of the activities depends on the supporting activities such as training in technical, administrative and management skills.

#### *4.3.4 Access to Marketing*

The project in Botswana organizes marketing services for the small stock farmers. The sheep and goats which the small stock management groups want to sell are

collected by truck and payment is made in the form of cheques written out to individual group members. For women, who sell goats more often than men do, this marketing activity is an important project service that can offer them transport and marketing facilities and higher prices. It is therefore encouraging to see that women - female heads of households included - do take an active part in the marketing programme. The main reasons for this integration are that this activity focuses on the provision of a service to the existing small stock management groups, in which women usually form the majority, and that within the group all members have equal access to marketing facilities.

#### 4.3.5 *Animal Health Improvement*

Animal health improvement activities form an integral part of the two projects discussed here. It is generally the task of the extension workers or special veterinary staff to explain to the farmers the importance of good and regular animal health care. They also advise the farmers to build health facilities, such as dip tanks, crush pens and «treatment centres». Often the target-group farmers are expected to participate in the construction of the health facilities.

Women are often responsible for animal health care, even if the animals are not their own property, as is the case with dairy cattle in the Kenya project area. Given this responsibility, it is only logical that women participate in the animal health activities, for example by attending the demonstrations and treatment extension sessions.

In Botswana the disease control and animal health facilities mainly concern the approximately 100 small stock groups with 20-30 members. The procedure is that when a group is formed a demonstration is held, during which the advantages of good and regular health care for small stock are explained, and the animals are vaccinated and receive an anti-parasite treatment. From the fourth session onwards the group has to pay for the drugs. The groups can also apply for a grant to construct a «treatment centre», consisting of holding pens, crush, dip tanks and footbath. Women's participation in group activities is high: in most groups more than half the members are women. Group members have easy access to their own treatment facilities and therefore treat their stock more regularly. They also spend less on treatments because they buy the medicine jointly. The improved health care and extension have contributed to a much higher productivity of small stock and have therefore been very beneficial for the participating women.

In the project in Kenya health activities concern the provision of a vaccine against foot-and-mouth disease, the construction of 242 dip tanks and dip-side water tanks for tick control and the building of crush pens for vaccination and treatment purposes at various places. As members of community groups women have provided labour for the construction of facilities. They are also frequently responsible for taking the animals for vaccinations and dipping. No exact data were available on the coverage of tick control; estimates vary from 50% to 30%. Low dipping rates may be due to the large distances from farm to dip tank (up to 7 km in the region, even farther elsewhere), which is incompatible with women's workload. The fact that the local zebu has high resistance to tick-borne diseases is also a reason for the low dipping rates. It also implies that the dip tanks are mainly of use to owners of grade cattle, who are rarely women.

A positive element in the design of the animal health activities in Kenya is the inclusion of the construction of dip-side water tanks by contractors to ensure a year-round supply of water to fill the dip. In this way the project has guaranteed

that women's workload is not increased by the additional task of filling the dips with water, as has happened elsewhere in Kenya.

#### 4.3.6 *Participation in Local Management*

As we have seen, in the project in Botswana the local management structure consists of small stock management groups. The initiative to form such a group may come from the farmers themselves or from the extension workers. The groups are highly autonomous and can decide on the frequency of meetings, the membership fee, whether or not non-members are allowed to use the treatment centres, etc. It is therefore very positive that women participate actively in these groups (with the exception of one region) and that women hold positions in the group committees and take part in the decision-making.

It was found that there is a positive relation between groups with a large proportion of female members and the degree of success of the groups. For instance, construction of treatment centres by groups with a largely female membership went more smoothly.

The high degree of women's participation is, however, not the result of an active policy during the execution of the project, and no special effort was undertaken to achieve greater integration of women in the region with low participation levels. One of the factors that explains the high participation of women is the choice of the project sector, which is in line with women's needs because they are traditionally responsible for the management of the small stock and are able to own, control and sell goats independently. Also the socio-cultural context is favourable; for example it is common practice for women to participate in decision-making at village level and they are generally able to participate on an equal footing in mixed groups. Finally, the overall approach of the project is favourable towards target-group participation since it is small in scale and village based, and no major changes are introduced.

The MIDP in Kenya does not stimulate the formation of special management groups for cattle.

#### 4.3.7 *On Balance*

In summary, women's participation is high in the small stock project in Botswana and low in the livestock sector of the integrated rural development project in Kenya.

In Botswana women participate to a large degree in project activities, even though they were overlooked in the design of the project and received no specific attention during implementation. Factors that have contributed to the high level of participation are:

- the socio-cultural environment, in which women are able to participate in decision-making in mixed groups;
- the choice of the small stock sector is favourable for women because they are traditionally the small stock managers and can own and sell goats;

- the overall approach of the project is favourable towards target-group participation since it is small in scale, and addresses relevant problems with methods that are within the farmers' means;
- field staff have an open attitude towards farmers and operate without obvious gender bias.

However, in some activities, such as the allocation of breeding rams, the fact that women's interests have not been specifically taken into account has had negative consequences for their participation. Moreover, it should be noted that the number of women reached (1,250) is quite modest when compared with the total number of women small stock holders (about 220,000).

In the MIDP, Kenya, livestock component, on the other hand, women's overall participation appeared to be low, firstly because the choice of the project to concentrate activities on the promotion of improved dairy cattle rules out most of the women as possible beneficiaries. Investments in grade cows tend to be too high for individual women and women's groups and can in fact only be afforded by a small group of better-off farmers. Furthermore, the wives of the grade cattle owners, who often do most of the work in animal husbandry and are in more frequent contact with the animals than the men are, do not have access to extension. Technical advice and extension messages have consistently been addressed to male farmers, which is clearly inefficient. Since it is the wives of the grade-cattle owners who provide the extra labour input required to care for grade cattle, the effect of the cattle component is to increase the women's workload (see also Section 5.2).

Women do actively participate in the project's small stock activities, but these activities concern only a small part of the budget and are largely unsuccessful. This is partly because these secondary programmes were not consistently planned and received relatively little attention.

#### 4.4 Participation of Women in the Forestry Project Components

##### 4.4.1 Introduction

The participation of women in the forestry sector has been assessed in the three rural development projects in Kenya, Cameroon and Togo. All three projects have a forestry component because it is widely acknowledged that - against a background of rapid population growth and increasing agricultural development - the objective of raising people's living standards in the rural areas cannot be achieved without continuous attention to the protection of the environment. The general degradation of the eco-system is in (parts of) the project areas already demonstrated by an increased scarcity of forest and firewood. Project activities concentrate on the establishment and operation of tree nurseries and anti-erosion activities and to a lesser extent on training and extension. In some of the projects wood-stoves are also being distributed as an experimental activity and agro-forestry research activities are undertaken.

For women, activities in the forestry sector\* are of great interest and can offer them many potential benefits. As the main collectors and users of firewood, they suffer

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\* Forestry encompasses more than timber plantations : it includes any tree- or shrub-planting.

directly from scarcity in wood because they have to invest more time and energy in collecting firewood. Women collect firewood not only for domestic purposes, but also for income-generating activities, especially brewing beer. In some areas women are still able to earn income from selling firewood or making charcoal. Women are also the collectors of forest tree products such as leaves, fruits and nuts which are used for home consumption as well as for sale, sometimes after processing (e.g. making of karite butter). In addition, trees have many other uses which are of interest for women: they provide medicines, shade, animal food and are important in agro-forestry cultivation. If tree-planting takes place, women often play a role in the maintenance of the trees, e.g. watering the young plants in the dry season. Women may also be involved in the planting of trees (usually fruit trees), as in the project in Kenya.

Given the important role of women as users and managers of trees, it is interesting to analyse their participation in the forestry activities and the factors which have a positive or negative influence on their participation. We will assess women's participation in the following activities: tree nurseries and afforestation, extension and training, and anti-erosion activities. The pilot activity of the distribution of fuel-saving stoves in the project in Togo will also be briefly described.

#### *4.4.2 Participation in Tree Nurseries and Afforestation*

The establishment and/or operation of large-scale tree nurseries is an important activity in all three forestry components. The seedlings of the tree nurseries are distributed free of charge or sold at subsidized prices to individual farmers, used for afforestation in the form of village woodlands, demonstration woodlands and protective (anti-erosion) forests and for planting in public places and along roads. The production of seedlings varies enormously between the projects, with an annual production of 18,000 seedlings in Cameroon in 1988, compared with an average annual production of 660,000 seedlings in Kenya. All projects distribute seedlings of forest trees (in Kenya local and exotic) as well as of fruit trees. In addition to their activities in large-scale nurseries the projects in Togo and Kenya support the establishment and/or operation of tree nurseries at village level.

It was found that women hardly participate in the reafforestation activities in Togo and Cameroon, while they do participate to a certain extent in the project in Kenya.

In Cameroon, community participation in forestry activities in general has been minimal. It must be noted that in Cameroon the forestry component has remained the «poor relation» of the project and is quite small.

The project in Togo found that the village people in general are not very motivated to plant forest trees. Some important reasons for the lack of motivation to plant forest trees are that there is no tradition of planting trees and that the people are not aware of the necessity of reforestation. For women, the fact that they do not own land is also important: the owners of the land will not allow the people who rent or borrow it to plant trees, for fear of losing their ownership rights.

Women's role in the forestry activities in the Togo project is limited; they do not participate in the planting of trees on an individual or communal basis and their role is limited to watering the trees planted around the homestead in the dry season. Also women have not been able to participate in the project activity to promote the development of local tree nurseries. This activity concerns the training of local nurserymen, the provision of material to them and the purchasing of their production by the project. Only men have participated in this activity,

although their wives do most of the work of sowing, potting and watering in the nursery.

In the MIDP in Kenya women do participate in tree nursery and planting activities, although not fully. Activities in nurseries concern the establishment and operation of eight forest tree nurseries and support to six government fruit tree nurseries and 82 local fruit tree nurseries of self-help groups (the latter two activities fall under the agricultural sector).

Women expressed their interest in forest and fruit tree seedlings. Unlike many other societies, the Akamba culture imposes no restrictions on women planting trees, although here, too, the land is in most cases owned by the men. Some women do have access to the MIDP forest tree nurseries, which offer a variety of indigenous and exotic species of forest tree seedlings, most of them multi-purpose (timber, firewood, fencing, windbreaks, etc.), for sale at subsidized prices to individual farmers. In practice more men than women buy the seedlings. The main reasons for the underrepresentation of women as buyers appear to be that the nurseries are less accessible for women since they have no means of transport nor the money to pay for transport and less time than men. Support to the six government fruit tree nurseries, which produce citrus, mango, pawpaw, passion fruit and avocado, is less accessible for women, because this activity is mainly destined for farmers who want to grow fruit trees on a commercial basis. However, women do actively participate in the self-help fruit tree activity, which consists of support to local fruit tree nurseries through the provision of a package of inputs and tools to the self-help groups. The project activity is aimed at already existing self-help groups running a nursery, which are in most cases women's groups. The groups distribute the seedlings produced in their nursery among the members free of charge. Women are interested in the planting of fruit trees because the fruits can be a source of income and contribute to the family diet. Project support is well adapted to women's specific situation as they usually do not have the money to buy the more expensive tools and inputs. However, most groups also experience other, unresolved, problems such as the limited availability of water.

It is a positive finding that the MIDP nurseries employ women as casual labourers (16 out of 39) and that women receive the same payment as their male counterparts. It shows that this type of work is «open» for both men and women.

#### 4.4.3 *Participation in Extension and Training*

Forestry extension activities in the three RDPs are less developed than they should have been. Consequently, an assessment of women's participation in extension does not provide much information.

In the eight MIDP nurseries some technical advice on the uses of trees, tree planting methods and plant husbandry is given to the buyers of seedlings. Because there are fewer female clients, women do not have equal access to this advice. The advantage in Kenya is, however, that many men and women are already motivated to plant trees thanks to the National Government's campaigns and the work of churches and NGOs such as the Green Belt Movement. Their extension work has enhanced awareness of the dangers of deforestation and has stimulated (women's) groups to start their own nurseries. In Togo the situation is completely different and awareness-raising is needed more than ever. Regrettably, the project has stopped a pilot extension activity using slides and flannelboards.

As far as training activities are concerned, a positive finding is that the MIDP is going to start technical training activities at divisional level for individual farmers and leaders of women's groups. In the project in Togo training has been provided

to 10 local nurserymen in the villages. In spite of the fact that the wives carry out most of the planting and watering work, the training has been directed to their husbands.

The pilot activities involving fuel-saving stoves in Togo concern the training of a number of smiths in making metal stoves, and the distribution in two villages of fuel-saving clay stoves for brewing beer (*chapalo*). The latter activity in particular has important potential for women, since the brewing of beer requires considerable amounts of firewood, but at the same time is a source of important revenues. So far, only 15 stoves have been constructed.

#### 4.4.4 *Participation in Anti-Erosion Activities*

Erosion is being combatted through the planting of protective trees on sites that are vulnerable to erosion, such as hills and dam catchments. In addition, soil conservation activities such as the construction of low walls and terraces on steep land are carried out. All three projects promote or execute these kinds of activities. Only in the project in Kenya are women involved - as paid casual labourers who plant and water the seedlings and as unpaid community workers in the soil conservation activities. In Togo it is the men who construct the anti-erosion dams. Women are not involved, because they do not control the land and, moreover, this kind of work falls under the preparation of the soil, which is considered the task of the men.

Although participation of women in such activities can have many advantages, such as an income, the learning of the skills of tree planting and soil conservation, and the provision of tools, care should be taken that women are not used as a cheap labour force to carry out the conservation work. Therefore, women should participate in the planning of the activities, receive extension and training and, if they are not the main or exclusive beneficiaries of the work, some payment should be provided.

#### 4.4.5 *On Balance*

Being the principal users of forest products, women would have good reason to expect forest projects to involve them. However, our findings show that this is often not the case. In two projects community participation in forestry activities is in general weak, and women's participation is minimal, and in one project women participate in some of the activities.

The design of forestry programmes is partly responsible for the lack of community participation in general. Little attention is given to extension and training and to activities at a local level. Given the specific problems in reforestation activities, such as the novelty of the subject, the long-term planning aspect (the four to five years which elapse between planting and tree production, which causes a delay between investment and profits), unclear property and user rights with respect to the trees and the lack of well-trained forestry extension workers, research on these matters as well as the elaboration of an extension and training programme are of the utmost importance for the success of the project.

In addition, specific constraints often hamper the participation of women in forestry activities. The norms and values in a society determine whether the

planting of trees by women is culturally accepted. Of course these norms and values can be influenced, but this takes time. An important constraint for women is the fact that they do not own land and that planting of trees is often considered as claiming rights of ownership and is therefore not accepted. A possible solution to this problem is the planting of trees on communal fields of women's groups. In some areas, lack of ownership does not prevent women from planting trees, as was shown in Kenya.

Another constraint is that the projects have chosen a method of distributing seedlings that is biased towards men: women have less time, no means of transport and less money to pay for transport to go to regional nurseries to buy plants. In Kenya, the type of species offered is in line with women's needs, but whether this is the case in Togo and Cameroon is not known. Foresters and extension workers are mostly men and have more difficulty in identifying women's needs.

In view of the above, the projects should take special measures to increase women's participation. Experience has shown that community forestry programmes often fail because women's participation - so essential to project success - has been overlooked.

For example, in regions where men plant and women perform maintenance tasks, the trees which men agree to plant will certainly die if the women have no interest, time or perception of the real benefits to be accrued from their input. Enthusiastic participation in any project only comes from those who believe they have something at stake and who are committed to the project's success\*.

Women should be consulted in the planning of activities, i.a. the type of tree species that they want. The extension approach and set-up of other activities should be accessible for women. More attention should be given to extension (technical and awareness-raising) in general and methods to reach female farmers in particular.

#### 4.5 Participation of Women in the Drinking Water and Sanitation Projects

##### 4.5.1 Introduction

In the drinking water and sanitation sector two projects and one project component have been evaluated: the water supply project in Zinder in Niger, the water supply and sanitation project in Swaziland and the water component of the MIDP in Kenya. The projects aim at the supply of drinking water and sanitation systems by the digging of boreholes and installation of foot pumps (Niger), the construction of dams and pipelines, digging of boreholes, etc. with mainly public taps (Kenya) and the construction of piped water supply schemes with public and private taps and latrines (Swaziland). Project components concern activities in the construction of the facilities, training and extension, health education and the operation and maintenance of the systems. The population is expected to contribute through voluntary labour in the construction of the facilities and through a financial contribution towards the costs of operation and maintenance of the systems. In all projects the establishment of local management groups (water committees) is planned. These groups will take over responsibility for the financial management, daily operation and maintenance of the systems.

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\* M. Hoskuns, *Women in Forestry for Local Community Development*, Office of Women in Development and Agency for International Development, Washington, USA, 1979.

Women, traditionally responsible for the collection, use and management of water and for the maintenance of traditional water sources, have vested interests in the establishment of safe and reliable water supply and sanitation systems. These interests concern their health and that of their families, their productive use of water and waste, and the time and energy that may be freed for other activities. For the women in the three project areas drinking-water is a major priority. Given women's important role and experience in the drinking water and sanitation sector, the expectations with respect to women's participation in design and execution of project activities can only be high.

In this section we will assess women's participation in the implementation phase of the three projects. We will evaluate their degree of participation in the different project activities, construction and siting decisions, extension, local management, training, and operation and maintenance, and their access to and use of the facilities.

#### 4.5.2 *Participation in Construction*

In line with the policy of the governments concerned, all projects adopted the approach that the provision of free labour and material by the beneficiaries was a condition sine qua non for the realization of the water and sanitation facilities. Such a contribution reduces the costs and may also increase the feeling of ownership within the community. It is therefore important that women participate in construction, but in a reasonable way in view of their scarce available time. In the Niger water project this is in fact the case.

In the Swaziland project, participation of the community in the construction work was foreseen in the financial proposal but in practice did not take place (with the exception of the building of pit latrines) because the technical work was carried out by a contractor, who did not wish to bear the technical responsibility if the population were to be involved in construction work. In the third project, the MIDP in Kenya, however, women do almost all the work and are thus disproportionately burdened. Use is made of self-help groups in which women usually outnumber men by five to one. Communities and project tend to regard the community's labour contribution as women's work.

#### 4.5.3 *Participation in Extension*

The aim of extension activities is to inform, mobilize and organize the beneficiaries. It is therefore of the utmost importance that men *and* women participate so that they are all informed about the aims of the project and the set-up of the activities, can participate in decisions on the design and location of the facilities, be selected as water committee members and participate in decision-making on the operation and maintenance of the systems, e.g. the setting of water tariffs.

In the water supply projects in Niger and Swaziland, extension is the task of community development officers of the project and the National Water Board respectively. Both projects also organize health education activities to instruct the community about water- and sanitation-related diseases and ways to avoid them. In the case of the project in Kenya, the water engineer visits the villages to explain the purpose of the project and the expected role and responsibilities of the community; the project does not contain a health and hygiene component.

In all three projects women often appear to be present at the first community meetings, but the extent to which women can play an active role in these meetings

varies. In Kenya the meetings are organized by the Chief or Assistant Chief and extension takes place via male technical water officers. In a society where women generally do not take an active part in public meetings, this results in a low active participation of women. This in turn has consequences for the participation of women in the water committees which are elected during these meetings.

In the water project in Niger women's participation is somewhat better, thanks to the male expatriate sociologist, who took several steps to increase women's active participation during the information and health education sessions. It was proclaimed that half of the participants should be women, that women should be seated in front of the community development worker (and not, as was usually the case, far away at the side), female community development workers were employed and more attention was paid to two-way communication. As a result women now play an active role during the sessions, but only with respect to the information and health education sessions. As will be shown below, however, women are hardly able to participate in the subsequent campaign of community development, in which local planning decisions are made and the committee members are selected.

In Swaziland women's participation in extension activities was low until the recent change in the National Water Board's community participation strategy. The new strategy, which includes an increase in the number of community development workers (all male), more time for one community, a different approach involving a two-way exchange of information with the community and less working through local authorities, and improved training of community development field workers, has already had a positive impact on women's participation, although the strategy is not explicitly aimed at an increase in their involvement. Thus, in a community visited by the mission, it was observed that women take a very active part in the discussions with the design engineer about the technical choices in the design of the water supply scheme. In this case the fact that all field workers are men does not seem to be an important constraint on the participation of women.

In general, however, the presence of female community development staff could facilitate the participation of women. Factors which are important to the participation of the population in general, and therefore also for women's participation, are the presence of an elaborated community participation strategy and the quantity and quality of the field staff. Other relevant factors are the location and timing of the community meetings.

#### *4.5.4 Participation in Local Management*

All three water projects are involved in the establishment of local water committees which, as representatives of the community, have the task of setting up and maintaining a financial management system and ensuring correct operation and maintenance of the facilities.

It is very important that women have a say in all these matters. Their knowledge and experience in water management can prevent many problems and mistakes and, being the main users, they have a direct interest in the proper functioning of the facilities. A prerequisite for smooth functioning of the water and sanitation facilities is that women are fully informed and can actively participate in decision-making on operation and maintenance issues. Where women are responsible for the payment of the water fee, as is quite often the case, certainly when women are heads of the household, they are also directly concerned in the setting of water tariffs.

What we found was that in all three projects women are scarcely represented in the water committees. In the rural water supply project in Zinder, Niger, when women are represented they only have responsibility for hygiene-related aspects such as the cleaning and upkeep of the facilities. That women are not found in other management functions is partly due to the design of the project. In the financing proposal of the project the composition of a water committee was already defined, with women being mentioned as members of the group responsible for the upkeep and cleaning of the facilities.

In the MIDP, Kenya, women are also underrepresented in water committees, the ratio of women to men being one to five. As stated earlier, women do not have an important say in mixed meetings. The women who are elected onto committees tend to belong to the elite. When asked, women in the villages said that they were quite prepared to take up posts on water committees, and did not quote any of the objections or obstacles mentioned by men (women prefer to stay in the background, have too much work to do in the house, cannot travel freely, etc.).

In the first phase of the Swaziland project we also see a very low participation of women in the water committees. The process of selection of the water committee members favoured men over women. The chief appointed committee members and the community endorsed his decision. However, in the course of time the percentage of women water committee members increased substantially\*. This positive change was a consequence of a self-perceived need by several of the communities. They recognized that their water committees were inefficient in managing the maintenance fund (money disappeared, men left the village) and that they were unable to ensure reliable operation of the systems. The communities took the initiative to discuss these negative experiences with the community development workers and, with their assistance, they reorganized the committees, with women holding prominent management positions. This and other experiences brought about a change in the community participation strategy which has resulted in a greater number of field workers with increased communication skills. Once able to spend more time in the community and to become better acquainted with the characteristics and wishes of the population, they are able to facilitate the process of selection of more women onto the committees. Nowadays, committee members are elected in a more democratic way.

Since in all three project areas women expressed their interest in occupying management functions in the committees, it is interesting to analyse what factors have in practice limited their participation. They can be summarized as follows:

- a project design which limits women's involvement to functions in the sphere of housekeeping, such as cleaning and upkeep of facilities;
- socio-cultural constraints, such as lack of experience in speaking in public and limited freedom of movement explain why women do not automatically participate on an equal footing;
- the timing of meetings is not suited to women's needs;

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\* No exact figures were available, but a report of the Delegation mentions 50%-60% female chairpersons, secretaries and treasurers as the outcome of a quick survey in 1989.

- lack of female community development workers who can more easily reach women and persuade them to take on responsible functions;
- the selection of committee members takes place at an unsuitable location;
- lack of a community participation strategy which aims to involve the people concerned and not just the village leaders.

#### *4.5.5 Participation in Training*

In all three projects water committee members are trained to enable them to execute their tasks and to assume their responsibilities. The main functions in question are chairperson of the committee, secretary, treasurer (responsible for financial management), operation and/or maintenance officer (responsible for daily operation and small repairs) and *hygiéniste* (responsible for cleaning and upkeep of surroundings).

Since women in the Kenya and Niger projects are underrepresented in the water committees, their participation in training is also low. In the Niger project the only training in which women participate concerns water and health-related issues and the cleaning of the facilities (for the *hygiénistes*). In Kenya a small number of women participate in training courses, but the fact that the training courses and seminars are held at district level, requiring absence from home for one or two weeks, clearly poses an obstacle for them.

In the case of the Swaziland project the increase in female committee members is reflected in a relatively high participation of women in the training sessions. In the most recent training workshop in Swaziland about half of the participants were women. Even here women have stated that their participation could have been greater if the training had been organized closer to their communities.

#### *4.5.6 Participation in Operation and Maintenance*

Participation in the execution of the actual work in operation and maintenance is less important than participation in decision-making on these issues. In situations where the work is paid for, it might be of interest for women. In the Kenya project, where kiosk operators are in charge of the daily operation of the taps, it can be seen that more women than men execute this paid work. It was noticed that women usually receive a salary of K.Sh. 200-250 per month, whereas men receive K.Sh. 800 per month. That maintenance tends to be considered a man's job, is clearly demonstrated in all the projects. Only in the case of Phase II of the Swaziland project are women now involved in the daily management of the water taps. In the other projects women are not participating in maintenance.

#### *4.5.7 Access to and Use of the Facilities*

In accordance with government policy all three projects aim at the provision of safe drinking water (25-50 litres per capita per day) within a reasonable distance of the habitation ( $\pm$  500 m to 2 km). Villages can choose or reject a facility with fixed characteristics (wells, pumps, taps). In all three projects a cost-recovery system has recently been introduced following changed government policies in this field.

In Kenya this has caused some confusion among the population, who were used to the idea that water supply was a free service provided by the Government.

Besides possible health benefits, the main potential benefit of a drinking water supply for women is the alleviation of their water collection task by reducing the distance walked and the time and energy expended. The siting of the water supply, the convenience of use, the waiting time and sometimes the price of the water are among the main factors that influence women's access to and use of the new facilities.

Generally speaking, the new water facilities have improved women's access to cleaner and safer drinking water, increased the amount of water used, and reduced the time needed to fetch it. In Kenya 260,000 people (18% coverage) have benefited from a new supply, which is even more than foreseen, in Niger the coverage amounts to about 380 villages (250 or more inhabitants) and in Swaziland 11 communities, 17,000 inhabitants, were served in the first phase of the project. Although the women in Niger were not consulted on the choice of the facility, the foot pumps appear to meet their needs. Women said they preferred using the pump instead of traditional wells, because of the cleanliness of the water and the convenience.

However, in practice there are some factors that reduce women's access to the facilities and consequently the use they make of them. Firstly, the location of the water supply and number of taps may hamper optimal use. For instance, in Kenya, where project policy was to place the taps as much as possible in market places and at other trading areas, women who live in distant villages still have to walk for many hours. Furthermore, hotel-owners at times seemed to monopolize the water kiosks, filling dozens of 200-litre barrels for commercial use, and forcing women to spend more time queueing.

In other cases the price of water is an obstacle to the use of the facilities; this is the case in both Kenya and Swaziland. In particular the poorer groups of women, often the female heads of households, are not always (or never) able to pay the fees. The fact that the different projects have hardly worked out an appropriate financial management system plays an important role in this respect. In some cases the price of water is fixed by the water committee, which has a free hand in this respect (Kenya, Swaziland) and in others it is centrally organized (Niger) and does not appear to be automatically adopted by the beneficiaries.

Furthermore, the general policy in Swaziland is to discourage the use of water for economic purposes such as brewing beer and vegetable gardening. This hinders the women in earning extra money, which they need to pay i.a. water fees.

Last but not least, the fact that the water systems sometimes do not function at all, or irregularly, forms another constraint for optimal use. (In Niger, for instance, 30% of the pumps visited by the mission did not function.) The maintenance structure is not working well, with the result that spare parts are scarce. Furthermore, water committees are sometimes not functioning properly, especially as regards maintenance, and often nobody knows what to do when a system breaks down. The fact that women were not involved in the decision-making on and execution of the maintenance certainly plays a role. The recent changes in Swaziland show that much can be improved when the community - and the women in particular - becomes more involved in the financial management and the operation and maintenance (see also Section 5.4).

#### 4.5.8 *On Balance*

Summarizing, it can be said that, except in the case of Swaziland, women's participation in the drinking water and sanitation projects is less than one would expect considering their important role in the sector.

Women are informed about the project activities and are taught in two projects about the relationship between water and health, but when decisions are taken about siting, tariffs, financial management, operation and maintenance, women tend to no longer have any say. Furthermore, in cases where women outnumber men as active contributors, they are providing voluntary work as cleaners and upkeepers of the facilities (Niger), working as unpaid labourers in construction work (Kenya) and as paid kiosk operators for wages that are a quarter of those received by men. Scarcely represented on the village management water committee, women do not receive training in the relevant aspects of management and are consequently not able to obtain decision-making power in operation and maintenance of the systems. The exception is the project in Swaziland, where in the latter stages of the first phase, much more attention was paid both to community participation as a whole and to the participation of women in decision-making and committee functions in particular. Following negative experiences during the first phase of the Swaziland project and complaints made by the communities, counterpart staff and extension workers had the flexibility and open minds to change their approach.

One of the main factors which restricts the participation of women in the projects is that project planners and executing staff have considered women mainly as passive beneficiaries (i.e. consumers, potential users of the facilities, housewives, mothers and domestic water collectors) and not as active contributors and decision-makers in all project activities (i.e. site selection, construction, financial management, operation and maintenance of the supplies). Women's traditional roles and responsibilities have not been sufficiently recognized and taken into consideration and their needs and interests were not known well enough at the start of the project. Another constraint for participation of the population, and therefore also of women, is that human resources aspects have received less attention than the technical aspects, or synchronization of the two has been lacking. Only one project had a sociologist (male expatriate) in its team. Technical project staff tend to have insufficient knowledge in the field of WID and are not able to identify constraints on women's participation. One of the preconditions for a real participation of women is the use of an adequate number of well-trained extension workers, a high percentage of whom should be women.

A positive result of the projects is that women's access to and use of the water facilities have improved significantly. In many cases water use has increased, and the time and energy expended by the women in collecting water have been reduced. However, the results of the evaluation mission show clearly that women's access to and use of the facilities could have been greater if they had been involved in decisions on design and location and in management. In that case choice of locations, tariffs and organization of operation and maintenance could have been more appropriate to the local situation.

#### 4.6 Attention for Women in Monitoring and Evaluation

The instruments of monitoring and evaluation offer the possibility to gain insight into the participation of women in a project as well as into the unintended and intended effects of the project on women, and enable corrective adjustments to be made if necessary. In addition, lessons related to WID can be learned which may be useful in the planning of new projects. We investigated the extent to which these instruments have been used in the nine selected projects to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the WID policy.

Monitoring activities are being implemented in four of the nine projects, and mainly concern data collection on agricultural performance. Data are collected either by the project or by a monitoring and evaluation section of the implementing government agency. In one case (the project in Zambia) the data do permit gender-specific analysis to some extent, but the data on the performance of pilot farmers had not yet been analysed. The appointment of a monitoring and evaluation specialist, which is planned for the follow-up project, will certainly improve this situation. In the other three cases the monitoring data do not provide information on the role of women in agricultural production or on female-headed households. In one project the variable «female-headed household» was one of the variables used in the surveys, but was left out in the presentation of the data because it was considered to be discriminatory.

Almost all the separate mission reports recommend the elaboration of a gender-specific monitoring system as an instrument for the project management. Correctly applied, such a system supplies the relevant information to support both the intended policy and the coordination of its implementation. The system's main feature is a verification method which consists of checking predetermined annual targets and the indicators of change. Specific indicators should be chosen to measure women's access to project services and inputs, and changes in women's economic and social position. The choice of basic indicators should be both subsector- and project-specific. For example, for a water supply project, indicators should measure i.a. changes in water use, the level of participation of women in water committees, the use of the facilities by different categories of women and changes in women's knowledge and skills.

Techniques that can be used to keep track of male and female beneficiaries' attitudes and behaviour include establishing a regular schedule of surveys among a representative sample of the target population, interviewing key informants and conducting participation observation studies. If a survey is carried out for monitoring purposes and a sample of households is selected, it must be ensured that female-headed households are represented in the sample. Moreover, as we cannot assume that development benefits and losses accruing to a household are equally distributed among its members - be it food, income, information, credit or other things - monitoring should also include the collection of data on the impact on family members of both sexes and in different age groups. Preferably, the interviews with women should be conducted by female researchers or development workers.

With respect to the evaluation phase, it was investigated whether and how women's issues have been taken into account in evaluation missions to the nine projects. Eight projects have been evaluated - the older projects several times. General evaluations usually take place at the end of a phase and are combined with the appraisal of the next phase. A positive finding is that in the majority of

projects (five) there has been an evaluation mission which paid considerable attention to women in its report. Often these reports included recommendations with respect to the improvement of the participation of women. In two cases (the projects in Burkina Faso and Togo) the recommendations have been incorporated in the formulation of the new phase. In two other cases (the RDPs in Kenya and Cameroon) the fact that some of the evaluation missions made recommendations on the participation of women has had no visible impact on the projects' policies with regard to women. This is clearly a missed opportunity because, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the participation of women in both projects is rather unsatisfactory.

The terms of reference of the evaluation missions which took women's issues into account did not all mention women, and the presence of a woman in the evaluation team did not always lead to attention for women. This shows that to ensure that specific attention is paid to women in the evaluation of projects, the missions' terms of reference should mention WID and precisely define the questions that need to be answered. Furthermore, the use of WID expertise in evaluations is a precondition for a thorough assessment of the implementation of the WID policy. From the above it also follows that more attention should be paid to the follow-up of recommendations concerning WID.

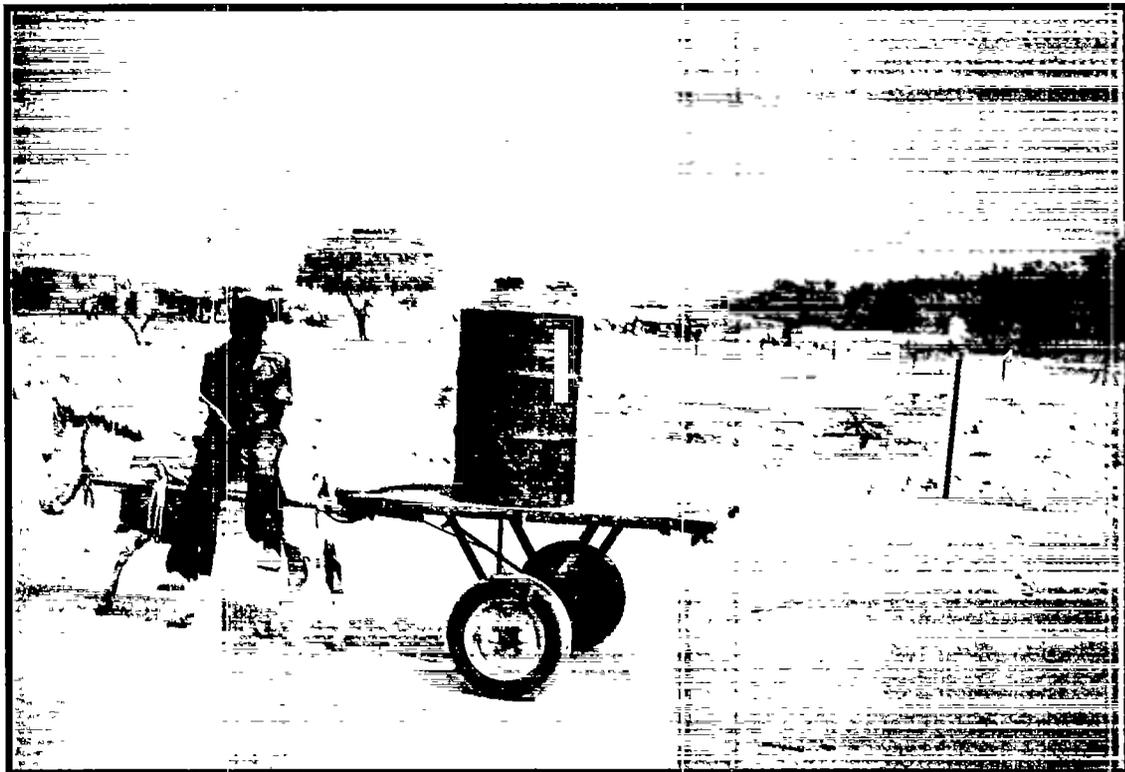
The EEC has recently renewed its *Format for Semi-Annual Reports Concerning Programmes/Projects Financed by the EEC («Early Warning System»)*. The new format is designed to help the DG VIII services and delegations to monitor systematically the implementation of the operations while ensuring their maxi-

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*The photographs on the opposite page show how, in Niger, water is carried by women (top) and men (bottom).*

Photographs: Jan Nugteren

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development effectiveness in ACPs and to take timely corrective action if their effectiveness appears doubtful (Circular Note, 23 December 1988). It is the responsibility of the delegates to ensure that semi-annual reports regularly cover all EEC-financed operations, and the responsibility of headquarters to give a reaction to each report. According to the new format, the global assessment of viability/sustainability\* is the most critical feature of the semi-annual reports. The format mentions several viability factors, one of them being socio-cultural acceptability. Under this heading the «role and status of women to be incorporated into the project cycle» is mentioned as an example.

With some adaptations, this new monitoring system may also be of use for the monitoring of women's integration in the projects. Women should not only be mentioned under viability, but also in the chapter on project implementation. In the chapter on project implementation, information should be added on the planned and reached target groups and, more specifically, the question of whether women are reached by project activities should be answered (both quantitatively and qualitatively). Moreover, it is advisable that each report provides information on the consequences of the (lack of) integration of women for the viability of the project as a separate viability factor, instead of mentioning it as one of many examples.

Women are also mentioned in the EEC's *General Criteria for Evaluation*. Under «Impact» the question is asked who does or does not benefit: women, the young, the poor, old people, etc. In this way, however, the important economic role of women as producers is ignored. It is therefore imperative that these criteria also refer to women's participation as agents and to possible adverse effects for women.

#### 4.7 Role of Project Staff

At the time of evaluation three projects were being run entirely by ACP staff following the withdrawal of all expatriate staff, and one project had terminated.

A striking finding is that, with the exception of one or two volunteers and a few nurses, no women were represented among the numerous expatriate technical assistants who are or have been employed in the nine projects. Although examples were found where male technical assistants played an active role in the promotion of the integration of women, experience shows that female technical assistants would pay greater attention to the role of women. However, it is not only the sex of the technical assistants which plays a role in their sensitiveness to the subject of Women and Development, their discipline will also have an influence. In the two cases where an expatriate has promoted the attention paid to women by the project, the expatriate was a rural sociologist.

In most projects extension staff are predominantly male. In the projects in Cameroon, Togo, Zambia and Niger all the agricultural extension workers are men, and in the water project in Swaziland the field staff are all men (although there are some women among the health workers). In three projects the percentage of female extension workers varies between 10% and 25%. Women are equally represented among the field staff in only one case: the project in Burkina Faso, where women are the main target group. The consequences of a predominantly male extension staff on the integration of women depend on several factors, such

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\* The definition of sustainability is taken from the OESO-DAC : "A development programme is sustainable when it is able to deliver an appropriate level of benefits for an extended period of time after major financial, managerial and technical assistance from an external donor is terminated." In addition, the avoidance of significant adverse effects is considered relevant.

as the sensitiveness of the male extension workers to the special roles and needs of women, which again depends on their training and the attitude of the cadre, the socio-cultural context and the extension approach (group or individual).

The attitude of the project cadre towards WID varies from one project to another. In general, the attitude seems to have become more positive. In the past the project cadres have not always shown interest in the subject, but today the positive attitude seems to dominate and some project managers are already promoting the integration of women or are willing to do so.

The national policy concerning the integration of women in the sectors concerned will determine to a certain extent the way in which project staff pay attention to women. All countries have a policy on Women and Development and have institutionalized units, bureaus, or even ministries or departments for women's affairs (with the exception of Swaziland). In some countries a clear policy concerning the integration of women in the different economic sectors is still lacking, whereas in other countries strategies have been developed to promote the participation of women in agriculture (see also Section 2.3).

#### 4.8 Role of the Delegations in the Implementation Phase

The general finding of the project missions was that the delegations have not played an active role in improving the integration of women in the projects. For the project in Burkina Faso no information was available, but intervention was not necessary here. In general, a more active monitoring by the delegation of the participation of women in the projects would have been useful. In one case (Togo) the counterpart was of the opinion that in the past «lack of support of the donor (EC)» had certainly been a constraint for the promotion of WID.

One delegation holds the principle that the values of the host country must be respected. If the government's standpoint is that men and women are equal before the law and no discrimination exists, the delegation is of the opinion that it cannot ignore this and follow its own ideas. The passive role of the other delegations is related more to lack of time, interest or expertise rather than being a conscious policy. The impression of several missions was that the delegations are willing to integrate WID in the project approach if they receive the technical advice they need.

## 5. EFFECTS ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN AND CONSEQUENCES FOR PROJECT EFFECTIVENESS

### 5.1 Introduction

Having considered the participation of women in the projects, the next question is what effect the EDF-financed projects have on the position of women. Even when women's participation is low, projects may have important effects on their socio-economic position. As it is the aim of the EEC to ensure that the benefits of its assistance are shared more equally between women and men (Council of Ministers, 1982), it is interesting to examine to what extent this objective has been achieved. In fact, since the majority of women belong to the poorest segment of the rural population, any project aimed at reducing poverty should also be judged on its benefits for women. Furthermore, as women are so deeply involved in crop and animal production, it is important to determine the factors that affect their functioning, not only for reasons of equity, but also for the sake of efficiency.

In our evaluation study the following aspects are considered essential in the measurement of a positive or negative change in the position of women: women's workload, income and social role in the local community. Clearly, there is a considerable degree of interaction and interdependence between these aspects, but dealing with them separately may help to clarify the complex situation. Moreover, projects' effects on family welfare and general living conditions are also of importance for women.

In what follows we will discuss each of the three aspects and give the essence of our observations. These observations are mainly of a qualitative nature because baseline and monitoring data were often lacking and where they had been collected, they did not contain information on women. What must be kept in mind is that the assessment of effects is always a complicated process: not only can we distinguish short-term results and long-term effects, but also the effects may differ from one group of women to another and different project components may have contrary effects.

Finally, we will consider the consequences of the integration of women (or lack thereof) for the efficiency and effectiveness of the projects in achieving their goals and for the sustainability of the projects.

### 5.2 Workload

In every society or ethnic community there exists a gender division of tasks and responsibilities which is determined by a complex of socio-cultural and economic factors. Although many variations exist, the general picture in the areas concerned is that women play a major part in the growing of crops, particularly in the case of food crops and vegetables destined for family consumption or the market, and in the raising of small stock. Men are also involved in agriculture, but have more access to mechanization than women. Generally, women have more manual tasks and spend much more time on agricultural work than men. In some areas women are also productive in sectors outside agriculture, such as handicraft and trade, and everywhere women perform time-consuming reproductive tasks such as bearing and bringing up children, fetching water and fuel, cleaning, food processing and preparation, maintaining the home, and looking after the sick.

In nearly all cases, the women's working day is longer than the men's because of this combination of productive and reproductive tasks. For example, in Kenya women work typically 12-15 hours per day - and even more in the peak season - which is on average two and a half to three hours more than men. Women explain that they have almost no time to rest except when cooking at lunchtime or while knitting school sweaters in the evening.

Moreover, the tendency is that the workload of rural women is still increasing. The deterioration of the natural environment, commercialization and the migration (especially of men) to the cities in search of work all play a role in this. For instance, the degradation of the environment forces women to walk farther to collect firewood, and they have to take over male tasks in agriculture and livestock as men become more engaged in off-farm work and migrate temporarily or permanently to the cities. Male absence from the village means that men spend less time on cultivation and on cattle, consequently requiring women to invest more time in cultivating family fields and in cattle management.

Project interventions can bring about changes in the workload of women and men, and these changes will most probably differ from each other. It is important to realize that chain effects can occur which indirectly influence the workload of women. In our study we came across several examples of intentional and unintentional effects on women's workload.

We will first discuss some project interventions which have increased women's workload, and this without sufficient rewards, because the economic benefits of the activities for the most part have accrued to men.

In several projects the introduction of oxen for ploughing - in itself a labour-saving technological innovation - has in fact led to a greater demand on women's labour. In the Togo project, for example, the ploughing work is done by men, but women perform all of the sowing activity, 75% of the weeding, 50% of the application of fertilizer, all of the harvesting and transportation, and all of the winnowing work on the family fields. The introduction of oxen therefore decreases the men's workload and enables them to expand the area they cultivate. This in turn increases the labour requirements for all consecutive operations with the result that women have to do more work on the family fields than in the past. In addition, the propagated improved cultivation techniques require more frequent and careful weeding. The increased pressure on women's time can in turn lead to reduction of family welfare, because women may have less time to cultivate food crops on their own fields. If such effects had been foreseen, the projects could have developed and introduced labour-saving technologies for the production and processing tasks performed by women.

The introduction of improved cattle breed in combination with the promotion of fodder-crop production in the project in Kenya has increased women's workload. Because women are often in charge of the everyday care of cattle, the extra labour input required for the care of grade cattle (e.g. feeding, milking and taking the animals for vaccinations and dipping) will often be provided by women. Furthermore, fodder-crop production relies heavily on women's labour inputs, although time needed for herding may be reduced when stall feeding takes place. Men's workload may also increase, but the important difference is that they usually own the cattle and therefore economic returns accrue for the most part to them, whereas women will only benefit indirectly, if at all.

The allocation of rice land to men in a situation where women are the traditional cultivators of the land results in an increase of women's workload without countervailing benefits. The example of the Burkina Faso project shows that women will not always accept such a situation. The project distributed the rice

fields to which women traditionally had user rights to male heads of households. Women remained the main cultivators of the land, but now as unpaid labourers for their husbands. As a result women lost their motivation for the work and resisted cooperation with the project. More or less forced by bad results, the project changed its policy and gave priority to the women in land distribution.

Some project activities have led to a temporary increase in women's workload. This occurred where women supplied much of the voluntary labour required in activities such as the construction of water and sanitation facilities and dip tanks. The provision of free labour may have the advantages of increasing the feeling of ownership and reducing the costs. If it concerns a one-off effort with direct benefits for the people who provide the labour, the increase in workload is clearly acceptable. This is the case in Botswana, where women considered the convenience gained by the construction of dip tanks and crush pens well worth the required labour input. The example of the MIDP in Kenya, on the other hand, shows that care has to be taken not to overburden women. In this project «community contribution» was required in many activities, such as soil conservation activities, water projects and dip-tank construction, and in all cases it was mostly women who provided the labour and this in a situation where women already have very little time (see above) and almost half of the households are female headed.

Positive changes in the women's workload have also occurred. These were in most cases foreseen and intended, e.g. in the water supply projects, which have resulted in a considerable reduction in the time and energy expended by women in water collection. Time-savings of 2-3 hours in one case and 1-2 hours in another are of the utmost importance to women, because reduction of the heavy workload is in these areas one of their priorities. The time gained is often used to collect more water and for productive activities. As was pointed out in Section 4.5, not all women served by new water systems will experience full benefits due to factors such as the price of the water, which the poorest women are not (always) able to pay, and the fact that the water systems do not always function.

In the projects in the sectors of agriculture, livestock and forestry, only a few activities were encountered which are aimed at reducing the workload of women. These are the supply of grain mills and husking machines in Niger, an experiment with fuel-saving stoves in Togo and the construction of dip-side water tanks in Kenya. The latter activity avoided imposing extra work on women, because women would otherwise have to collect the water to fill the dip tanks. The impact of the introduction of time-saving technology in Niger has been limited: at the time of evaluation only eight mills and machines had been installed, half of which were not functioning.

Not an explicit aim, but still an effect of the small stock project in Botswana was that women's workload was reduced. Women feel that their work in small stock raising is made easier because drugs have become more widely available, animals are healthier, marketing transport has become easier and group members can assist each other, while the participation in project activities such as disease control, extension sessions and marketing are not perceived as time-consuming and incompatible with other tasks.

Finally, there are activities which in the short term lead to an increase in the workload of women, but in the long term might lead to a reduction in their workload. For example, the short-term effect of the afforestation activities in the Kenya project is that women take on additional tasks, namely the planting and watering of tree seedlings, but one of the long-term effects of planting forest trees may be that women spend less time collecting firewood. This ultimate impact on

women's workload will depend i.a. on the survival rates of the seedlings, which in years of drought and in drier areas are sometimes low, and on the decision-making within the household, i.e. who will decide on how the trees are used.

### 5.3 Income

In many regions of Sub-Saharan Africa women have separate financial responsibilities within the household as the household income is not pooled. It is customary for women to control the income they earn. Moreover, many women are heads of households and thereby the sole providers for the family. Since women spend more of their income on daily household welfare and nutrition than men do, an increase in the income of women is beneficial for the whole family.

Factors such as the migration of the husbands to the cities, diminishing income from the family fields due to lower yields or market prices, and the spending pattern of men, which is more geared to personal consumption, all contribute to the phenomenon that women's share in the household expenses is increasing, in spite of the fact that their income is substantially lower than that of men. Women interviewed in the project area in Kenya explained how they were paying for their children's education, although traditionally this has always been the father's responsibility. Deterioration of the macro-economic situation and the resulting programmes of structural adjustment of the IMF and the World Bank have in many cases worsened the income position of women.

From our study, and many others, the conclusion can be drawn that there exists a growing imbalance between women's access to land, capital, labour, services and inputs on the one hand and their productive tasks and need for an own income on the other hand. In all project areas women have limited access to and control over production factors and services. This forms a major obstacle to increased productivity and income.

What changes have the projects brought about? Of the seven projects which aim at an increase in income for the rural population, three have improved women's access to production factors and services, three have not (or in any case much less than for men) and one has worsened the access to land for one group of women.

Two of the three projects (Burkina Faso, Botswana, Zambia) which have improved women's access to production factors and services have almost certainly led to an increased income for women. In Botswana the participating women have probably experienced an increase in income, because the flocks of the small stock groups have increased in size thanks to lower mortality rates, the value of the stock has increased through better health care and breed improvement and the marketing opportunities have grown. The women interviewed said they could now sell their goats more regularly than before. The extra income is used to buy food for the family and to pay for school uniforms and other necessities for the children who go to school. Small stock is also exchanged for labour and ploughing services, thus improving arable production opportunities.

The project in Zambia has increased the income-earning capacity of women through improved access to agricultural extension, marketing, credit, seeds and fertilizer, oxen and veterinary treatments. Better farming methods and the introduction of oxen may well have led to an increase in production and income for female heads of households, although some women with oxen on credit may have suffered from the high cattle mortality. Although wives can increase income from their own plots, the impact of oxen owned by the husbands depends largely

on the distribution of income within the family, which shows a great variation. In the project in Burkina Faso women maintained their traditional right to land suitable for rice cultivation, and more women have gained access to land. For the new rice cultivators, who prior to the project did not have rice plots ( $\pm 1,000$ ), the project has led to an extra source of income. For the majority of women who already had rice plots, the project has, however, not yet resulted in more income. Yields per hectare have not increased enough to compensate for the fact that the plots are smaller. Reasons for the disappointing results include the facts that women have to give priority to the work on the family's fields over work on their own rice fields and that some of the proposed techniques are not appropriate for all women or do not correspond with their scale of production.

Another project has led to a direct decrease in income for a specific group of women because the project distributed the irrigated land only to male heads of households. This is the rice project in Niger where the Djermas women lost their access to land and thus their income from rice cultivation, which amounted to approximately FCFA 48,000 per harvest. At the same time the project has increased the income-earning capacity of other women through the provision of small plots for horticulture. Women use the plots mainly for the cultivation of onions, which are used both for consumption and for sale.

In three cases (Togo, Cameroon, Kenya) no direct effect on women's income could be ascertained, but the outlook for the future is not too bright since women's access to credit for oxen, extension, training, improved seeds, fertilizer, etc. has not been improved at all, or much less than men's, as a result of the low degree of women's participation in these projects. Only the Kenya project has increased the income-earning capacity of certain groups of women through specific activities (e.g. support to the handicraft centre and assistance to women's groups) and the assistance to self-help groups which have established fruit tree nurseries. The other two integrated projects have clearly missed all opportunities to improve women's incomes. Being the sole or co-providers of the family, women's need to increase income is in no way less urgent than men's. One could argue that the projects in Togo and Cameroon have succeeded in increasing «family» income and thus improve women's situation. However, the reality is that the benefits that accrue to women are minimal because men decide how money is spent. For example, in the project area in Cameroon women of non-Moslem or less strict Moslem households participate for 25%-50% in the cultivation of cotton on the family fields. It is the male head of the unit of production who has full control of the income from the cotton production and who decides what reward the women will get for their work. Women usually receive FCFA 5,000, which is 3%-10% of the total earnings, and sometimes they only get a new *pagne*. In view of their labour input this is not much. The problem is that women have to contribute more and more to the payment of family expenses. Some of the women interviewed complained that their husbands spend too much money on beer and other personal matters. One migrant woman remarked: «They go to visit family in the north, and come back when the money runs out.»

Although not aimed at an increase in income, water supply projects also affect the incomes of women and men. On the one hand, the population has to pay for the new water source. This is sometimes the responsibility of men, sometimes of women (including the female heads of households) and sometimes it is a joint responsibility. It was found in Swaziland that poor women were not able to pay the water fee the whole year round. This situation will become worse when, as planned, more costs are reflected in the price. On the other hand, the time saved can be used productively, provided that there are possibilities to earn an income. In Niger these possibilities exist and women spend part of the time saved by the

new water supply system on productive activities which generate extra income. In Swaziland women also use the time saved by the proximity of an improved water source to spend more time on their traditional income-generating activities such as handicrafts. These activities, however, are not very profitable. The possibilities of starting new types of productive activities without external support in the form of extension, training, credit and inputs are small and are even limited by the project and government policy itself, because it discourages the use of the water for economic purposes such as horticulture and beer brewing.

#### 5.4 Social Role in the Local Community

In general, the social position of women is weaker than that of men: they have lower status, are poorly represented in local, regional and national decision-making bodies and have a lower level of education. Women's invisibility is one of the reasons why they do not automatically participate on an equal footing with men in development projects. When women attend public meetings they will often not be able to speak up. Furthermore, women are often not properly informed about meetings, training and other project activities, and their lack of education means that they are not always aware of their rights. Special measures are often required to ensure that women are able to participate in decision-making in the more formal structures that projects create. This may have a positive impact on women's social position. The mere fact that attention is paid to women will sometimes be sufficient to enhance their status.

Intentional or unintentional effects on women's social position are, however, very difficult to assess during a short mission, in particular when baseline data on indicators are lacking. We can therefore only give some impressions of changes in women's participation in decision-making at the community level and in their capacity for organization.

Many of the projects evaluated aim at the development of new organizational structures at village level, such as water committees, cooperatives and producers' groups, which can take over the future organization and management of project activities or work with existing management and producers' groups. The extent to which women participate and have a say in these groups is an important factor in the effects that the projects have on women's decision-making power in the community.

Women's social role loses importance when they are not given the opportunity to participate in the new structures. Women often used to have informal maintenance and management roles, but projects which address women only as beneficiaries and consumers tend to overlook these roles. This is most clearly shown in the case of the water supply projects. These projects have established water committees to manage the new schemes in which women are scarcely represented and when there are female members their task is often limited to cleaning. Since women used to have an important role in the informal management of traditional water supply systems, this clearly means a weakening of their position. In Swaziland the situation changed in favour of women over a period of time. Many water committees were not functioning well and maintenance funds were not properly managed. When the communities realized that this had something to do with the kind of people they had elected to the committees, they took the initiative, supported by the extension workers, to get more women on the committees. Now a much larger number of the chairpersons, secretaries and treasurers are women. Furthermore, training is given to female and male committee members in

problem-solving, book-keeping, etc. under USAID funding. The fact that women hold responsible functions in the community together with the training enhances their self-esteem and self-reliance. In general, public recognition of women's important role in the community can help to strengthen their position. Ceremonies which for example celebrate the introduction of a new water supply system are excellent ways of placing women at the centre of attention.

The two projects (Burkina Faso, Botswana) in which women are participating in local management groups to an extent commensurate with their role are strengthening their social position. Women's participation as group members and leaders in the new rice producers' groups set up by the irrigation project in Burkina Faso enhances their self-reliance and leadership qualities. The training given also contributes to the reinforcement of their position. Yet several factors hamper an optimal functioning of the groups, such as the high level of illiteracy among the women and the fact that the groups were rather imposed on the population.

The project in Burkina Faso also shows that mixed groups may limit women's influence on decision-making. Although women are in the majority in these mixed groups, they are less able to make themselves heard when men are present. In Botswana this problem does not appear to exist (with the exception of one region). Here women are generally able to participate on an equal basis in mixed groups and they take an active part in the discussions and decisions of the small stock management groups that are supported by the project. It is common for women to be members of the group committees, and it is not unusual to find women as chairpersons. This gives them esteem in the village community and enhances their leadership qualities.

Where the cultural environment is not favourable to women's active participation in mixed groups, the strengthening of women's own organizations will be more effective. Many examples were found where women had more access to extension, training and other inputs when they were organized in women-only groups. Two projects have to a limited extent increased women's capacity for organization. The creation of cooperatives for the women who are involved in horticulture on land adjacent to the rice irrigation schemes in the project in Niger was in line with women's needs. Women were highly motivated to form their own organizations, because they are not able to speak freely in a mixed audience. The expected results through group formation could, however, have been more effective if the recognition of some typical WID constraints had led to special measures. A major constraint is that women's organizations are not represented at the higher level decision-making body, which implies that they are not able to participate in decision-making on infrastructure and irrigation matters which concern them. Furthermore, in the same project, not enough attention has been paid to training in skills of problem-solving, book-keeping, management and leadership and to the level of illiteracy of the group leaders, issues which must be tackled as a prerequisite for successful functioning of the groups.

The project in Kenya has one successful example of activities which support women's groups. This is the handicraft development activity, which provides marketing assistance to women's groups and came about at the request of the women themselves. The activity appears to be quite successful and has strengthened the self-reliance of the participating women.

Finally, the migration project in Cameroon has influenced women's social lives enormously. Women migrants have lost their social network, which is so important for them. They arrive in an environment which is often hostile (conflicting interests between newcomers and indigenous people) and they can no longer benefit from the mutual aid structures and support of the extended family.

## 5.5 Consequences of the (Non-)Integration of Women for the Cost-Efficiency, Effectiveness and Sustainability of the Projects

It is obvious that, as women are important agricultural producers, small-stock holders and tenders of cattle, they are instrumental in the achievement of the intended increase in production in the agricultural and livestock projects. The participation of women is also of direct importance for the achievement of the objectives of forestry and water supply projects. The integration of women in these projects is therefore a matter of cost-efficiency.

Besides, when women's increased productivity also leads to increases in their personal income (in kind or in cash), it will also lead to improved standards of living, given the existence of separate purses and the gender-differentiated responsibilities for meeting family needs. Thus, integrating women in activities such as extension, training and credit will increase their chances of improving their production and income, and thus the effectiveness of the projects.

Preconditions for achieving sustainable development are that it has been possible for women to express their needs and interests at the planning phase, that they are able to participate in activities and local management and that they are guaranteed a fair share of the benefits, otherwise services will not be in line with women's needs or will not be accessible to them and therefore not used optimally. Furthermore, women will only be motivated to participate if they have a say in project matters and can expect a profit or other benefit from the project.

In the two agricultural and livestock projects which have a high participation of women, women have clearly contributed to the achievement of the project goals. In the Sheep and Goat Development Project in Botswana women are crucial to the achievement of the intended production increase. The report (p. 61) states:

«Women are the experts in small stock husbandry. They are the ones who know all about the management of goats and sheep, who do all the work, and who are most interested in upgrading production. Women also derive direct benefits from milk, meat and the sale of small stock. As a result women are naturally motivated to participate in project activities. ... The higher kidding rates and the reduced mortality rates that have been observed are mainly due to the management efforts of women. ... Male farmers are not as involved in small stock as women. They are less knowledgeable and also less interested. Men seem to be less willing to make an effort: the less successful small stock groups usually turn out to have a larger number of male members than the successful groups, who have more women members.»

Participation of women has also increased the efficiency and effectiveness of the rice project in Burkina Faso. As women are the main rice producers, their participation in extension and training, credit schemes and cooperative groups appeared to be essential to achieve the target of an increase in rice production. At the beginning of the project the non-integration of women led to a stagnation of outputs and poor maintenance of the irrigation works. Women were not motivated to invest their time and efforts in the activity when the project initially distributed the rice plots to the husbands.

It is highly inefficient to direct interventions only at men when women do most of the actual work. This holds true for the agricultural components in the rural development projects in Togo and Cameroon. In both project areas women form

the most important agricultural potential. The fact that women barely have access to agricultural extension, technology and inputs most certainly reduces the projects' effectiveness. For example, the main constraint on the intensification of agricultural production is that weeding is still done by hand (by the women). The project in Cameroon has recently introduced cultivators to mechanize the weeding. However, those who have the most vested interest in adopting the new technology - the women - are not reached by the demonstration sessions. The distribution of cultivators would probably go much faster if women participated; this was the experience of another extension agency in the project area. Another consequence of the lack of integration in the above-mentioned rural development projects is that women have less time to cultivate their own fields, because more time is required for the intensified production on the husband's fields. Increased output on the husband's fields does not automatically improve the living conditions of the whole family, since the men often spend the extra income on consumer or luxury goods, whereas the outputs of the women's fields are mainly used to satisfy basic family needs. The lack of integration of women may therefore also negatively affect the achievement of the projects' broader goal of improving general living conditions.

Being the principal collectors and users of forest products women have acquired substantial knowledge in forestry matters. This can be of huge value for project achievements. Moreover, women represent a great human resource potential when they are willing to perform planting and maintenance tasks in forestry activities at community level. Using this potential increases a project's efficiency and effectiveness. The high participation of women in self-help tree nurseries in Kenya shows women's high motivation for raising seedlings and planting trees. Moreover, the undertaking of a successful common activity enhanced the self-reliance of the women's groups, which in turn will have a positive impact on the sustainability of the activity.

One of the most significant consequences of the non-integration of women as equal partners in the water supply projects is the negative impact this has had on the effectiveness and sustainability of the projects. For example, in the project in Swaziland the lack of women's participation in decision-making regarding the community's tariff and water-use policies has resulted in the adoption of policies and regulations which ignore the interests of women. The evaluation report states (p. 152):

«The consequences of these decisions have been counterproductive to the achievement of the project's objectives. In some cases, coverage is not achieved, in others women are obliged to continue using the traditional contaminated water sources to obtain part of the water for their domestic water needs. ... When women have, at a later stage in the project, become actively involved and have held a large number of prominent positions in the water committees they have been instrumental in introducing a successful cost-recovery system and financial management system. ... Together, the measures introduced by the women have contributed to a higher rate of functioning and an improved level of reliability of the water supplies.»

Water committees in which women play a dominant role function better because women have a high vested interest in managing the communal water supply and they have useful knowledge and experience in water management. For example, a recently reorganized water committee which was entirely composed of women revised the financial management scheme so that, after a long history of operating

intermittently, the water supply system now functions without interruption. The effectiveness of the projects in Kenya and Niger, where pumps are often not functioning, would have been greater if women had participated in design, training and management. The results of projects financed by other donors, such as the Kwale District Water Supply and Sanitation Project mentioned in the Kenya mission report, substantiate this conclusion. A consequence of the irregular functioning of improved water supplies is not only that time-saving is reduced, but also that the health benefits are lower than expected, because water again has to be collected from the old contaminated sources.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

1. In spite of the fact that women in the project areas play a crucial role in all sectors concerned, either as crop and animal producers or as managers and collectors of water and fuel, their participation in five of the nine evaluated projects appears to be unsatisfactory. In the other four projects women were found to participate to a high degree (projects in Burkina Faso and Botswana) or to a moderate degree (projects in Zambia and Swaziland).
2. Overall, the economic and social benefits of the evaluated projects for women have not been very impressive considering the costs of investment (EEC funding of 144,073,000 ECU). Where women have not been involved as active participants in the agricultural, livestock and forestry projects and components, they have not benefited from the projects at all, or much less than men. Many examples were found, especially in the integrated rural development projects, where project activities have led to an increase in the workload of women, while most of the economic benefits have accrued to their husbands. Lack of full participation of women in planning, management, operation and maintenance of water supply projects has negatively affected the use and functioning of the water facilities, and consequently the time-saving and economic benefits for women have been less than expected.
3. The participation of women appears to improve the cost-efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of projects. In the water supply project in Swaziland women have been instrumental in introducing a successful cost-recovery system and financial management system, whereas in the rice project in Burkina Faso the participation of women in project activities has proved to be a requirement for an increase in production and for the maintenance of the irrigation works.
4. It can be concluded that most projects did not pay explicit attention to women's roles and needs in the programming and appraisal phase, in spite of the fact that this phase has a decisive influence on the integration of women in the projects. With the exception of one project, no gender-specific baseline data were collected and the different needs and interests of women and men as well as the specific constraints on participation faced by women were not identified. As a result none of the projects had planned special measures to overcome constraints on women's participation in mainstream activities, while these generally would have been needed to guarantee the equal participation of women.
5. Because no gender-disaggregated data were collected during the implementation of the projects, existing inequalities in terms of access and benefits have remained invisible.
6. Setting objectives for a target population in which women are *implicitly* included, e.g. «farmers» or «the rural population», appears to be no guarantee that women will benefit from project interventions. This is shown by the integrated rural development projects, which are targeted at the entire rural population, but in practice largely bypass women.
7. A certain flexibility in project implementation has proved to be a positive factor for the integration of women. This was shown by the project in Swaziland where, between Phases I and II, strategies were modified to increase community participation, and by the project in Burkina Faso where corrective actions were taken to ensure that women (the traditional rice cultivators) could actually participate in the project.

8. In the majority of the evaluated projects women's access to extension and training was limited. Since extension and training form the core of the projects, this has far-reaching consequences for women's participation in and benefits from the project. The fact that extension workers are mainly men has been identified as an important constraint, particularly in situations where women cannot speak out freely in mixed meetings and male extension workers cannot approach individual women for cultural reasons. Also, extension workers are usually not trained in methods and techniques to involve women. In addition, the choice of the extension methodology and messages as well as the location, timing and duration of the extension and training sessions were often not (entirely) suited to the needs of women. A group approach in extension seems to facilitate women's participation.
9. Technical assistance in the projects was found to play only an incidental role in the promotion of the participation of women. This is not surprising, since a) with the exception of a few volunteers and a few nurses, technical assistants were all men, b) no WID expertise was involved, c) the need for technical assistance in the field of human resources development has in several projects been underestimated, and d) attention is not usually paid to WID in the terms of reference for technical assistance.
10. Given the fact that most ACP countries concerned have a WID policy and that a WID policy is included in the Lomé III and IV Conventions, there is sufficient scope for EEC-ACP cooperation designed to benefit women. However, for effective implementation, this policy would have to be incorporated in sector policies and operational measures would have to be elaborated.
11. One of the underlying factors which restricts the participation of women in the evaluated projects is the fact that EEC project planners tend to consider women as passive beneficiaries and not as agents (i.e. producers and decision-makers). This is reflected in the EEC formats for the financing proposal and the «early warning system», which do not pay attention to women's potential contribution to project success.

## 7. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The general recommendations indicate ways in which the policy on Women and Development can be more systematically and consistently integrated in the EEC's development assistance in rural Africa. Recommendations 1 to 8 concern policy, instruments, procedures and institutional structures, and are specially intended for the Commission. The remaining recommendations concern the different phases of the project cycle and are of value for all actors: the ACP governments, project staff and counterparts, the delegation staff in the respective countries as well as the Commission staff in Brussels.

### 7.1 Recommendations at Policy Level

#### 1. Plan of Action

As soon as possible, the Commission should prepare a medium-term plan of action to ensure the effective implementation of EC policy with regard to WID. The plan should set out objectives, strategies and measures to be taken, such as providing financial resources, training officials, drafting guidelines and adapting procedures. It should contain a schedule of activities, an identification of the responsibilities for the various departments as well as an elaboration of procedures. In the light of existing capabilities, realistic priorities for action should be defined. The plan should be made by the WID Desk in cooperation with all the divisions concerned, and should be supported by the Director General.

#### 2. Training of Commission Staff

As the WID theme touches every area of development and has to be integrated in each area of policy and in each programme, it is necessary that all officials concerned are acquainted with it. It is considered of the utmost importance for an effective implementation of WID policy that training on WID is given to all professional Commission staff in Brussels and in the delegations.

It is recommended that training sessions on the role of gender in development be organized for all desk officers, technical officers and responsible staff at the delegations. The training should be provided by professional trainers in gender and development.

#### 3. WID Desk

The WID Desk should be the focal point for Women and Development. It should continue its very important work in the provision of information to and training of staff, development of policy instruments as well as the provision of advice relating to project and programme preparation, implementation and evaluation. However, the existing staff situation - one WID expert who is temporarily financed by a member state and one WID expert who works on short-term contracts - is not satisfactory. As it is obvious that the full integration of women as agents and beneficiaries in development will not be realized over a short period, a more permanent structure should be sought.

It is recommended that at least two full-time posts for WID experts (or an equivalent number of posts for part-time experts) be created for a period of at least five years.

In addition, the WID Desk should be enabled to make use of external WID expertise in case of time constraints or when specialized knowledge is required.

#### **4. WID Expertise at the Delegations**

It is advised to strengthen the WID expertise\* at the delegations. As stated under point 2, it is recommended that the staff of the delegations receive training in the role of gender in development cooperation.

It should be investigated whether it is possible to post associate experts specialized in WID to the delegations.

The delegations should contract local or expatriate consultants to advise them on the integration of WID in specific projects or sectors.

Within the delegations, one staff member should be designated as «focal point» for WID. He or she should act as contact person on WID matters.

#### **5. Consultations with ACP Countries, NGOs and Donors**

It is recommended that the delegations have contacts with national bodies concerned with WID and women's organizations so that ideas and experience can be exchanged and possible measures to stimulate the integration of women in the EDF-funded programmes can be discussed.

Each delegation should therefore establish contacts with the official WID department or unit in the country and with women's organizations which represent the interests of poor women.

The delegations should take part in meetings between government, donors and NGOs in which information on WID is exchanged. Where such meetings do not take place, the delegation should support the institutionalization of «clearing house» meetings of representatives of government and non-governmental organizations in which successful methods of reaching women can be discussed.

The WID Desk should continue to maintain regular contacts with bilateral and multilateral development agencies and ACP countries in order to exchange information and coordinate actions on WID.

#### **6. Database on WID**

The Commission has assigned external experts to draw up a number of «country profiles» on the position of women. These are considered to be particularly useful for a preliminary definition of development projects and programmes.

It is recommended that more country profiles be drawn up, giving priority to the countries on which little information on gender issues is available and for which other donors have not written country strategy papers.

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\* In short, WID expertise is the ability to analyse gender needs and the factors which either restrain or stimulate women's participation in and benefits from development activities on their own terms, and the ability to formulate solutions to remove constraints.

To ensure that these country profiles are a practical instrument in the planning of EDF projects, it is recommended that the profiles concentrate on the role of women in the focal sectors and regions of ACP-EEC cooperation, and contain strategies and practical recommendations for action in the focal sectors and/or regional programmes.

All data collected and used for policy planning (whether sectoral, regional or occupational) and project preparation should be disaggregated by sex.

## **7. Commission's Formats and Manual for the Project Cycle**

The formats for the financing proposal and for the semi-annual reports and the general criteria for evaluation mention women, but only in the margins and mainly as possible beneficiaries of development. It is recommended that more emphasis on women's participation as agents be given in these formats. Although the gender issue is better integrated in the *Manual for Preparing and Appraising Project and Programme Dossiers*, efforts should be made to include WID more systematically in all the different sections when a general revision of the Manual takes place.

Priority should be given to adapting the *General Format for Writing a Financing Proposal* in order to include information on the participation of women and the expected impact on their lives. If this is for any reason not possible, a supplement to the Format should be drawn up and distributed. The financing proposal should i.a. provide the information needed to determine whether the project is a WID-integrated or a WID-specific project, according to the DAC criteria. (The DAC criteria for WID are attached in Annex 4.)

It must be realized, however, that mentioning women in formats and manuals is no guarantee for their integration in projects. Neither are standard checklists the solution, as every situation is different and the checklists are only useful if used flexibly by people who are familiar with the subject. The training of staff and the consultation of the WID Desk or the involvement of external WID experts in the different phases of the project cycle are more important measures to accomplish the implementation of the WID policy.

## **8. Funds**

Most of above-mentioned recommendations require time and money. This investment, however, pays for itself because it will make development projects more efficient, effective and sustainable.

The WID Desk should be allocated its own budget to finance specific studies, Commission staff training and other actions needed for the implementation of the WID policy, or the Desk should be able to finance the various activities under general budgets.

The delegations should make more use of the existing facilities to contract short-term WID experts to advise on the integration of WID in specific projects or sectors.

Project-related WID activities should be financed through EDF facilities.

## 7.2 Recommendations on the Integration of Women in the Project Cycle

All projects in the agricultural, livestock, forestry and water supply sectors should promote the participation of women and acknowledge the active role they play as full partners in rural production and social and economic development processes. The economic rationale for efforts to increase women's participation is clear: improving women's productivity and income-earning potential enables them to contribute more to economic performance, poverty reduction, family welfare and cost recovery of public services. Economic «integration» of women in the development process is, however, not enough. Projects should also offer women the opportunities and means to influence the course of the development process.

### 1. Gender-Specific Programming and Appraisal of Rural Development Projects

#### 1.1 Gender-Specific Data Collection

To ensure that gender issues are integrated in project programming and appraisal it is vital that gender-specific baseline data are collected.

In the preparatory phase of all projects data should be collected on:

- the gender division of tasks related to the scope of the project;
- the total workload of women (and of men and children);
- the number of female-headed households;
- women's access to and control over factors and means of production and services, such as land, labour, credit, extension services, technology, education and training;
- the division of responsibilities within the household and women's main sources of income;
- women's influence in decision-making at community level;
- the existence of local women's groups in the project area which might serve as vehicles for project activities;
- the capacity of the project institutions to deliver services to women.

There are several ways to collect the above-mentioned data. Rapid field assessments or community analysis can be carried out when the time and resources available are limited. UNIFEM has developed a useful manual for the implementation of such studies\*. These studies can be carried out by the local or foreign WID expert in the identification/feasibility mission with the assistance of a local team. If a more extensive baseline survey is carried out, it must be ensured that gender-specific data at all levels are collected and that female interviewers interview the women. In any case, all preparatory missions should consult local women and key informants and contact national bodies concerned with WID.

#### 1.2 Appraisal and Financing Proposal

The preparatory studies should be appraised on WID aspects. A checklist for the appraisal of WID in rural development projects is presented in Annex 3.

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\* UNIFEM Project Manual, II.B. Community Analysts, New York, USA, 1988

On the basis of this appraisal, a financing proposal should be formulated which pays attention to the different needs and interests of men and women. Objectives and target group, strategies and activities, budget, staffing and expected results should all be precisely defined and specified according to gender.

- a) Women should be identified as a specific target group within the total target population, to ensure that their interests are not overlooked. Specification of the target group «women» is often needed as women do not form a homogeneous group. Female heads of households should be distinguished as an important category within the female target population.
- b) Specific objectives should be formulated with respect to women, or it should be indicated which general objectives are in line with the needs of women.
- c) The financing proposal and the project work plan should formulate strategies and activities to overcome impediments to women's access to or enjoyment of factors and means of production, services and facilities, where these exist.

Projects should adopt a flexible approach to make timely adjustments possible. Step-by-step planning, careful monitoring and possible re-planning or re-directing of ongoing activities is necessary. For this purpose suitable indicators should be established to monitor women's integration in the project (e.g. the number of women participating in training) and the project's impact on their lives (e.g. the increase in agricultural production on women's fields).

A community participation methodology and, more specifically, a methodology for the participation of women should be developed. The implementation of the physical work should be carefully synchronized with the social and institutional components.

It will often be advisable to work with women's groups, since these groups provide an effective way of channelling services to and communicating with women.

- d) Agreements should be reached with the ACP countries on the availability of female field staff. Counterpart funds could be used to pay the possible extra costs for recruitment or training of female counterpart staff.

Particularly in rural development programmes, an expatriate or local WID expert should be included in the project team.

Activities should be planned to strengthen the capabilities of the counterpart agencies to analyse the priorities of women.

- e) It is very important that the planned measures and activities to promote women's participation are reflected in the project's budget.
- f) The financial proposal should mention the expected results for women, where possible in measurable terms. Negative impacts on women's income, workload or social position should be avoided.

## **2. Terms of Reference for the Technical Assistance**

The terms of reference for the technical assistance should underline the importance of the participation of women in the project and describe the role of the technical assistance in this respect.

It is recommended that one or more female social scientists/WID experts be included in the project team and that the terms of reference of the various team members include the task of paying attention to women.

### **3. Implementation and Monitoring of WID in Rural Development Projects**

Project documents, such as work plans and reports, should indicate operational measures to increase women's access to and control over project services. For example, the extension calendar should be elaborated so that it suits the schedule of women, rather than that of the extension workers (see further Chapter 8).

Crucial to the effectiveness of the integration of women in mainstream projects is the cooperation of male staff of the executing agencies, the village leaders and husbands. The projects should elaborate a methodology to make the men aware of women's multiple roles and of their right to participate in mainstream activities on their own terms.

It is recommended that a gender-differentiated monitoring (information and management) system be set up which includes the collection of data on women's access to and use of services, the performance and the impact on women's social and economic position. The system's main feature is a verification method which consists of checking predetermined annual targets and indicators of change.

It is advised that the gender issue be included in the monitoring system of the Commission. This means that information on the participation of women and the estimated impact of the project on women's position should be included in the semi-annual reports («early warning system») concerning all EDF-financed rural development projects.

### **4. Missions**

The terms of reference for identification/appraisal missions, feasibility studies and evaluation missions to rural development projects (in different sectors) should require that attention is paid to the collection and interpretation of gender-specific data.

It must be ensured that WID expertise is included in the mission teams.

## 8. SECTOR-SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RURAL PROJECTS IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Several donors have designed checklists or manuals which are also globally applicable to EDF projects, e.g. the recently published World Bank paper on agricultural extension for women farmers in Africa (1990), the sector papers on Women and Agriculture, Women and Water and Sanitation, Women and Health, Women and Energy (1989), and Forestry and Environment of the Netherlands Directorate General for International Cooperation, and DANIDA's Sector Plan (1988).

It must be noted, however, that checklists are only useful if the users have a thorough knowledge of the subject and are able to use the checklist flexibly. Although checklists for WID are easily readable for an outsider in comparison with checklists for technical issues, their application requires the same thorough knowledge of the subject as the technical ones. Training of staff at all levels is therefore a requirement for an effective use of guidelines or checklists.

Given the diversity of project types and environments on the one hand, and the variety of actors on the other hand, it is not feasible to draw up short well-ordered checklists per sector. What can be done, however, is to centre more specific recommendations for the agriculture, livestock and forestry sectors on a number of issues which have been found to be crucial for women's participation as agents and beneficiaries in these sectors. The issues highlighted are: women's access to and control over land, labour, credit, extension and training, farm inputs and marketing facilities, technology (and women's workload), organizations and information channels. The table overleaf shows how these issues are integrated in the project cycle.

The recommendations presented in this section are based on the findings of the nine field missions as well as on a literature study of the evaluation reports of other donors and of micro-studies. Since slightly different issues play a role in women's integration in the water supply sector, specific recommendations for this sector are presented separately in Subsection 8.2.

### 8.1 Specific Recommendations for Agricultural, Livestock and Forestry Projects

#### 1. Access to and Control Over Land

Land availability and tenure are problems for women. Women receive land of inferior quality, land which is fragmented, or simply smaller plots than men. Most important is that women tend to have less secure tenure. This prevents women from making long-term investments in agriculture and, since security of tenure is often linked to the availability of credit, it also reduces women's access to credit for agricultural inputs. The insecurity of tenure therefore negatively affects women's production. Women's rights with respect to the use and ownership of trees are also often insecure.

Two ongoing processes pose a further threat to women's access to land. Firstly, privatization of land in areas of customary tenure endangers women's traditional user rights because land titles are usually made out to the men (e.g. Kenya project). Secondly, in many areas the increasing scarcity of land as a result of the increase in population and the expansion of cash-crop cultivation has a negative impact on women's access to land (e.g. Togo project).

## Overview of WID Checkpoints for Project Planning

Project Cycle Sector (DACON)	Identification/ Formulation (Assessment of Initial Situation)	Appraisal	Implementation	Evaluation
Agriculture and Rural Development	<p>Analysis of gender data on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- predominant production systems</li> <li>- division of tasks; workload</li> <li>- male/female activities in crop production (food vs. cash, field vs. homestead crops)</li> <li>- off-farm activities</li> <li>- land tenure, produce ownership and labour patterns</li> </ul>	<p>Access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- land</li> <li>- technology and research</li> <li>- labour</li> <li>- credit</li> <li>- organizations</li> <li>- management</li> <li>- extension and training</li> <li>- transport, distribution and markets</li> </ul> <p>Establishment of monitoring indicators</p>	<p>On positive decision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- incorporation of specific activities into project's mainstream</li> <li>- WID expertise reflected in staff</li> <li>- budget reservations</li> <li>- checking of monitoring indicators and making adjustments</li> </ul>	<p>Evaluation of impact/objectives; improvement or deterioration of women's access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- land</li> <li>- technology and research</li> <li>- labour</li> <li>- credit</li> <li>- organizations</li> <li>- management</li> <li>- extension and training</li> <li>- transport, distribution and markets</li> </ul> <p>Review of involvement of women in different project phases and activities; constraints and positive factors</p>
Livestock	<p>Analysis of gender data on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- male/female activities in animal husbandry and dairy</li> <li>- division of management tasks in cattle or small stock; ownership patterns; workload</li> <li>- economic and socio-economic functions of cattle (e.g. dowry)</li> </ul>	<p>Access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- improved breeds and animal health control</li> <li>- fodder, pasture and water</li> <li>- organizations</li> <li>- management</li> <li>- extension and training</li> <li>- transport, distribution and markets</li> </ul> <p>Establishment of monitoring indicators</p>	<p>On positive decision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- incorporation of specific activities into project's mainstream</li> <li>- WID expertise reflected in staff</li> <li>- budget reservations</li> <li>- checking of monitoring indicators/making adjustments</li> </ul>	<p>Evaluation of impact/objectives; improvement or deterioration of women's access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- improved breeds and animal health control</li> <li>- fodder, pasture and water</li> <li>- organizations</li> <li>- management</li> <li>- extension and training</li> <li>- transport, distribution and markets</li> </ul> <p>Review of involvement of women in different project phases and activities; constraints and positive factors</p>

Project Cycle Sector (DACON)	Identification/ Formulation (Assessment of Initial Situation)	Appraisal	Implementation	Evaluation
Forestry and Energy	<p>Analysis of gender data on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- time constraints, taboos and tasks with respect to collection or preparation of fuel and care of trees</li> <li>- indigenous knowledge of (medicinal, nutritious) value of forest products; customary rights to trees and land</li> <li>- needs and sources of fuel for household production and consumption</li> <li>- price policies of government and (parastatal) organizations; their understanding of affordability problems</li> </ul>	<p>Access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- seedlings, land</li> <li>- fuel-saving and other technology</li> <li>- reforestation plans</li> <li>- extension and training</li> <li>- modern soil conservation practices</li> <li>- alternative sources of fuel at reasonable prices</li> <li>- management</li> </ul> <p>Establishment of monitoring indicators</p>	<p>On positive decision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- incorporation of specific activities into project's mainstream</li> <li>- WID expertise reflected in staff</li> <li>- budget reservations</li> <li>- checking of monitoring indicators/making adjustments</li> </ul>	<p>Evaluation of impact/objectives; improvement or deterioration of women's access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- seedlings, land</li> <li>- fuel-saving and other technology</li> <li>- reforestation plans</li> <li>- extension and training</li> <li>- modern soil conservation practices</li> <li>- alternative sources of fuel at reasonable prices</li> <li>- management</li> </ul> <p>Review of involvement of women in different project phases and activities; constraints and positive factors</p>
Rural Water Supply/ Sanitation	<p>Analysis of gender data on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- relative time currently spent on water collection</li> <li>- needs and sources (quantity and quality) of water for production and consumption</li> <li>- division of responsibilities for management, maintenance and upkeep of (improved) water point</li> <li>- water tariff policy and affordability problems</li> </ul>	<p>Access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- siting, design and maintenance decisions</li> <li>- training, extension and health education</li> <li>- water committees</li> <li>- cash-earning possibilities</li> </ul> <p>Establishment of monitoring indicators</p>	<p>On positive decision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- incorporation of specific activities into project's mainstream</li> <li>- WID expertise reflected in staff</li> <li>- budget reservations</li> <li>- checking of monitoring indicators/making adjustments</li> </ul>	<p>Evaluation of impact/objectives; improvement or deterioration of women's access to and control over:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- siting, design and maintenance decisions</li> <li>- training, extension and health education</li> <li>- water committees</li> <li>- cash-earning possibilities</li> </ul> <p>Review of involvement of women in different project phases and activities; constraints and positive factors</p>

- a) In irrigation projects and settlement schemes women's traditional rights to land should always be secured. All too often it is assumed that households are homogeneous units, and plots are distributed to the male heads of households, although the women are the traditional cultivators (Burkina Faso project). Plots should be distributed direct to women when they have traditional rights to the land, and women should have equal rights when new land becomes available. This is not easy to accomplish, because improved land means a more profitable undertaking, and men usually try to take over women's activities when they become profitable.
- b) Although most rainfed agricultural projects do not intervene directly in land tenure regulations, it is recommended that, wherever possible, efforts to improve women's access to land are supported. The following steps should be taken:
- Where modern legislation offers the possibility for women to own and inherit land but women are unaware of this or lack the power to obtain their rights, projects could support women by informing them about changes in legislation with respect to land ownership and inheritance (this is one of the recommendations in the Kenya mission report) and by assisting them to obtain their legal rights.
  - In areas where women have short-term customary rights to land, the project could negotiate long-term leases for the fields of women's groups (e.g. 3, 6 or 9 years) in order to improve the women's security of cultivation; this could form the basis for discussion on the introduction of long-term user rights for women's individual fields (this was recommended in the Togo mission report).
- c) Forestry projects should in the programming phase study the problems of ownership and user rights of trees (and land). Since women are very interested in growing trees (especially fruit trees), solutions should be formulated to overcome the problem of women's insecure rights, such as supporting women in obtaining a communal field on which to plant trees.

## **2. Access to and Control Over Labour**

Women have less access to labour than men. Traditionally, men claim their wives' labour on men's or family fields. Only wealthy women can afford to hire labour, and poor women only have their children as helpers.

It is important that projects take account of women's limited access to labour and offer credit to hire labour as well as labour-saving techniques and implements (see recommendation 6).

## **3. Access to Credit**

Women have limited access to formal credit systems for a number of reasons: they do not have collateral (usually a land title), have lower levels of literacy and education and cannot fill in application forms without assistance, are not informed about the possibilities to obtain credit and often ask for small amounts which are considered too costly by the banking and financing institutions. Yet women are in general a better credit risk than men as their repayment rates are much higher. Women have a great need for credit

facilities. Depending on the situation, women may be interested in seasonal loans for agricultural inputs and hired labour, credit for implements and animal traction, processing technology, working capital to set up a business, purchase of cattle, small stock or poultry, etc.

When designing and implementing credit schemes *in any type of rural development project* approaches should be developed that overcome the above-mentioned constraints, e.g.:

- Rather than requiring collateral, a mutual guarantee would suffice for obtaining credit. Furthermore, a security or guarantee fund could be established to reduce the credit risk to the banks.
- Selection criteria for loan applicants and requirements should be fixed in such a way that women have equal access.
- A solution to the problem of lending small amounts of money may be to give the credit to women's groups, whose members take individual responsibility. Another advantage of lending to groups is that it reduces the chance that the husbands think that they are entitled to the money.
- To stimulate project and extension staff to integrate women in the credit activities and to permit monitoring, targets should be set concerning the percentage of loans that should go to women.
- The type and size of credit facilities offered should be in line with women's needs. For example, if the loan is supplied in kind, smaller quantities of fertilizer or seeds should be available, and the type of credit should suit women's specific needs, such as the need to obtain credit to hire labour.
- Mobility and time problems faced by women could be overcome by e.g. the use of mobile banking units and flexible operating hours.
- Funds should be reserved to inform women about the possibilities and procedures to obtain credit, and the repayment regulations. Field staff should reach female farmers and entrepreneurs.
- Women should receive assistance in filling in loan applications.
- Training programmes in management and book-keeping skills should be established.
- The supply of credit to women may be combined with saving initiatives.
- Money should be lent at market rates of interest.

#### **4. Access to Extension Services and Skill Training**

The present study - and many others - found that female farmers often have limited access to extension and training in agriculture, livestock and forestry. Several factors explain women's low participation in extension and training, including the fact that extension agents are predominantly men and tend to ignore rural women. In some areas socio-cultural factors inhibit male extension agents from communicating with individual women and make it difficult for women to speak up in mixed public meetings. The

location, time and duration of training sessions in particular are often not adapted to women's working schedule. Moreover, the approach and methods used to reach the farmers are often unfavourable for women. For example, the selection of contact farmers often shows a bias against women. Given women's lower level of basic education, they are also less able than men to respond to written material.

Furthermore, the message itself is more in the interests of men than of women (see Zambia mission report, p. 37):

«The historical negligence of women's crops, such as groundnuts, millet and sorghum, and the lack of improved technologies for these crops and for low-input production techniques together with the lack of labour-saving devices for the most time-consuming tasks ... are major constraints to increasing women's production.»

To improve women's access to and use of the extension and training services in agricultural, forestry and livestock projects the following measures, among others, should be considered:

- A precondition for equal access of women to extension services will in many cases be the recruitment and use of female extension workers who are technically qualified in agriculture, livestock or forestry. As such staff are usually not available, efforts should be made to train female extension workers. For example, female field workers or home economists could be trained in agricultural subjects.
- To improve contact between male extension workers and female farmers, the extension agents need to be trained in gender issues. The training should inform them of the important productive role of women farmers, teach them how to identify women's specific needs and constraints, and instruct them in techniques to reach women.
- Extension messages need to be developed and disseminated which deal with women's crops and livestock (e.g. food crops, small stock and fruit trees). Research topics should be more linked to women's tasks.
- Training courses should be organized to improve women's productive skills: specific technical training as well as management, book-keeping, marketing and entrepreneurial training.
- An extension methodology should be elaborated in which, for each phase of the extension work, measures, approaches or steps are indicated which have to be followed to enable women to participate in extension and training courses.
- The methodology should pay attention to the fact that women are often illiterate. Functional education which combines practical information on, for example, improved cultivation practices and training in numeracy or literacy, should be encouraged. The use of oral and audio-visual aids in extension should also be considered.
- The schedule of extension meetings and training sessions should suit women's daily and seasonal work schedules. As women are less mobile than men, training should take place as close to villages as possible to ensure equal access for women. The use of mobile extension units should be stimulated (Kenya), as should the provision of accommodation for women and facilities for babies at training centres.

- A group approach (working with contact groups) often facilitates the participation of women and in addition reduces the costs. Women's groups are usually a better channel than mixed groups to reach women. Extension in the form of dialogue (participatory extension methods) should be promoted.
- It is important that budget reservations are made for the above-mentioned measures.

## **5. Access to Farm Inputs and Marketing Facilities**

Very often women do not have access to farm inputs such as improved seed, tree seedlings, fertilizer and veterinary drugs, either because they do not have access to extension and credit or because the type or quantities of the inputs offered do not meet their needs. In addition, women usually have no means of transport and do not have the time to purchase farm inputs far from their home. Awareness of marketing channels and access to marketing facilities becomes important for women when they are producing on a more commercial basis. While village marketing and production can easily be combined, increased mobility and additional skills are required for marketing products at regional markets or towns. The following recommendations can therefore be made:

- Improved seed, tree seedlings, fertilizer and veterinary drugs should be made available in quantities which poor farmers (men *and* women) can afford to buy and at a location close to the users.
- Women need to gain access to credit to obtain farm inputs *and* means of transport.
- The type of inputs offered should be appropriate for male and female farmers. For example, in forestry projects, species of tree seedlings should be offered which are in line with the needs of men and women. This will often mean that both forest tree and fruit tree seedlings need to be supplied.
- It should be ensured that both men and women have access to marketing channels. Women should be supported to organize the marketing of their produce in a cost-efficient way. The division of production and marketing tasks among women should be encouraged.

## **6. Technology and Workload**

Women in Africa are in great need of appropriate farm and household technology to improve production and save labour. In general the technological developments, especially in varietal improvements and implements, have tended to benefit «men's» tasks and crops more than «women's». There is a lack of technology that could enable women to save time and to enhance productivity, for instance labour-saving machines for the processing of agricultural produce\*.

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\* An initiative worth noting to promote the widespread diffusion of appropriate technologies to improve women's labour productivity is the UNIFEM project, which consists of various publications in the series "Food Cycle Technology", ITDG, UK.

Women spend a considerable amount of time and energy on household tasks, such as fetching water, collecting firewood and preparing food. If no attention is paid to the alleviation of their workload, the possibilities for them to undertake new activities and participate in project activities will be limited. Moreover, when men's tasks are mechanized and women's are not, women have to invest more time to perform their labour-intensive tasks on the men's fields (as has happened following the introduction of animal traction for ploughing in Togo and Cameroon).

In the field of technology the following recommendations are made:

- If new technology is introduced, in the planning phase an investigation should be conducted to see whether women will be confronted with an unacceptable increase in workload or decrease in income.
- Research should be promoted on post-harvest operations and crops and livestock which are usually the responsibility of women.
- Labour-saving and productivity-enhancing tools, equipment and techniques which are adapted to match women's tasks and circumstances should be developed and made available to them.
- The choice of technology in projects should suit the roles and needs of both female and male small farmers. Women should be consulted.

With respect to the workload of women the following recommendations are made:

- Agricultural/rural development projects should take into account the heavy workload of women in the rural areas and introduce labour-saving techniques and implements for women's household and productive tasks.
- No projects should be planned which will lead to an increase in workload for women in a situation where women do not have control over the products of their labour.
- If projects expect women in particular to provide labour for community activities (construction work, anti-erosion activities), a payment in money or kind should be considered.
- Since experience with the introduction of labour-saving and productivity-enhancing technology for women is still limited, it is recommended that projects start such an introduction on a trial and error basis, also known as an action-research basis. A special project component could for instance be added to the project which focuses on women's most energy-consuming tasks, e.g. transport of water and fuel, weeding and harvest processing activities.

## **7. Access to and Control Over Organizations**

Women are often organized in informal groups of different types, while men usually dominate formal organizations. Although women's groups offer a great potential for rural development, they are often overlooked in project planning and implementation. A problem for women is that, unless specific measures are taken, they are usually not able to participate on an equal footing with men in the committees or groups at village or district level which are formed or supported by development projects.

To encourage women's participation in formal community organizations and the formation of women's groups, the following measures should be considered:

- Measures should be taken to enable women to participate in the committees which are responsible for the planning and management of project activities, such as water committees, producers' groups and local planning committees. Women's participation in these committees should be actively promoted to ensure that women have a say in decision-making on matters that directly concern them. Possible measures are: providing extra training and education for women, organizing a campaign to make men and women conscious of the importance of women's participation, setting targets for the participation of women in the committees and making the time and location of preparatory meetings convenient for women.
- Projects should identify formal and informal women's groups and the possibilities to cooperate with them. Care must be taken that women's groups, which often fall under ministries other than agriculture, livestock and forestry, are not isolated from mainstream inputs and services.
- The formation of women's organizations should be strengthened as this can be an important step towards greater social self-reliance. Training should be provided in group management, problem-solving skills, planning, monitoring, book-keeping, etc.
- The efforts of urban and national women's organizations with respect to promoting awareness of women's legal rights and titles to property should be encouraged. Customary law elements from which women derive power and security should be codified.

## **8. Access to Information Channels**

Women often have a low awareness of resources and types of assistance available because they are outside the formal information circuits. Any programme or project that wants to offer equal opportunities to women should develop a methodology to inform women about its activities.

### **8.2 Specific Recommendations for Water Supply Projects and Components**

Women in Africa spend a great deal of time and energy collecting and carrying water. Improving the water supply offers an important potential to reduce this workload. The degree to which women are actively involved in the planning and implementation of the supplies will to a major extent determine the correct use and functioning of the new facilities.

Community responsibility is an underlying principle in EDF-funded rural water supply projects. The organization of sustainable local water management committees is therefore of strategic importance to project success. In the evaluated water supply projects, women were mainly considered as beneficiaries rather than active agents. No special methodology had been developed to integrate women in project planning and implementation, nor had it been investigated which member of the household would be responsible for paying the water fees or whether poor women could afford to pay the new fees. As a result the new facilities did not fully match women's needs, did not function optimally and were not used

as had been expected. The Swaziland project and other experiences have shown that the active participation of women in decisions concerning the design and siting of new water facilities and in the establishment of an efficient management system will improve the functioning and use of the new facilities and, therefore, the positive impact of the project.

To improve women's participation in planning, extension, training and local management of water supply activities, the following recommendations should be considered:

1. The collection of baseline data is of major importance in water supply, not only to be able to create facilities that will be used, but also to be able to develop an appropriate approach for the active participation of women. Furthermore, baseline data will facilitate monitoring and evaluation. The following baseline data should be collected:
  - the gender division of tasks, responsibilities and decision-making in collection, use, management and maintenance of traditional water sources;
  - time spent on water collection;
  - available sources, and needs of men and women for water for production activities and consumption (quantity and quality);
  - affordability; who within the household is traditionally responsible for paying water fees, and who will be responsible for paying the operation and maintenance fees of the new facilities;
  - if it appears that important groups of women cannot afford to pay the water fees, what income-earning capacities could be strengthened, in collaboration with other projects;
  - community organization in general and women's participation and organization in particular;
  - health situation with respect to water and sanitation, hygiene in personal and water matters;
  - demographic and socio-economic data, e.g. poverty level, income distribution, social organization, tribes and religions, habitat, composition of households, migration patterns and proportion of female-headed households, birth and mortality figures and population growth;
  - levels of literacy and available skills.
2. During project planning women should be consulted on design (e.g. the choice between pumps and wells), on the siting of water sources and sanitary facilities and on additional provisions for washing, bathing, etc. Project staff should inform women adequately on the various options and take their wishes into account.
3. The recruitment of female staff should be encouraged because they facilitate the participation of women. They can reach women more easily and persuade them to take up functions in the water committees.
4. Male and female extension and training staff in rural water and sanitation projects should receive special training in gender issues and in the use of participatory extension methods.

5. An extension/community development approach should be developed which aims at the participation of the whole community. The methodology should not only synchronize technical performance and human resources development, but it should also indicate how women are to be involved in each of the different stages of extension. For example, the number of women to be present at the first information sessions can be specified; seating can be arranged so that women do not sit at the back out of hearing range; separate meetings can be organized with women; the time and location of the most important meetings should suit women's opportunities and work schedule.
6. Measures should be taken to enable women to participate in the local water committees, which are responsible for the financial management, operation and maintenance of the facilities. Women's participation in these committees should be actively promoted to ensure that women have a say in decision-making on matters that directly concern them. Field staff should make the committee members aware of women's actual and potential contribution to water supply activities. The staff should encourage women to occupy management functions. The meetings in which the committee members are selected should be held at a time and place which suit women. It may prove useful to set targets for the participation of women in the committees.
7. The transfer of skills and the training of water committee members, repairmen and women and water supply attendants is of strategic importance for project success. It should be ensured that women can actually participate in and benefit from training in management, leadership and book-keeping skills as well as technical training in maintenance and repair. To make training sessions more accessible for women, the training should be organized at locations near the communities, or the transport and accommodation problems should be solved. The duration and timing of the workshops should be convenient for women, and the training methods and the curriculum should be adjusted to their abilities and needs.
8. If possible, health education activities should be an integral part of the extension/community development strategy and should be developed and executed in close cooperation with health officials and local health workers. The development of health education activities should be based on an analysis of the collected baseline data and existing traditional knowledge. Since women are usually the main target group for health education matters, attention should also be paid to involving men in the activities. The use of audio-visual equipment can be useful, but participatory communication techniques should also receive full attention. Furthermore, theoretical information about the relation between health and water and the importance of personal and water hygiene should be complemented by practical examples of changes in daily practices (e.g. transport, storage and use of water). Regular refresher courses, and careful monitoring and evaluation should make it possible not only to register changes in knowledge, attitude and practices, but also eventually to measure the impact of the project on health.
9. As part of the extension/community development methodology, a monitoring and evaluation system should be set up which covers the four dimensions of a water supply and sanitation project, namely coverage, functioning, use and impact on health. Because of their thorough knowledge of the community and water matters, and their almost constant presence in the

village, it is recommended that women be involved as much as possible in monitoring and evaluation activities. This can be done, for instance, by training the water committee members in monitoring and evaluation, and making one woman responsible for it. She should be actively supported by the extension staff, who themselves will probably also need training in this field. Ample attention would have to be paid to the development of problem-solving capacities. Existing monitoring and evaluation checklists could be used (e.g. the MEP guidelines of the WHO), but disaggregation according to gender would have to be ensured.



## **ANNEXES**



**ANNEX 1**

**PROJECT DATA**



<b>Country:</b>	<b>BOTSWANA</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>SHEEP AND GOAT DEVELOPMENT PROJECT</b>
Duration:	Phase I: 1978-March 1984; Phase II: 1984-1989; follow-up project (probably): Livestock Marketing Development Project (1990-1993).
EC Contribution:	Phase I: 1,190,000 ECU; Phase II: 1,600,000 ECU.
Sector(s):	Mono-sector project: livestock.
Objectives:	To improve the incomes of the rural poor through better management of their sheep and goat flocks and to increase the production and sale of meat for internal consumption as well as for sale to the export market.
Project Activities:	Introduction of high breed rams and bucks. Research. Marketing programme. Technical extension and group training. Animal health improvement. Kgalagadi Development Programme, i.a. promotion of Karakul sheep.
Target Group:	Poor rural families throughout the country.
Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:	Women dominate the small stock sector, especially goats. They undertake the full management of small stock, including herding, kraaling, selection, disease control, milking and marketing. Goats are important not only as producers of milk and meat for domestic consumption, but also as a source of income for women.
Participation of Women in the Project:	Women represent more than 50% of the group members in the small stock management groups and they actively participate in the group activities. Through these groups many women participate in and benefit from the project activities such as disease control, extension sessions and marketing. However, Kgalagadi Development Programme and the introduction of high breed rams and bucks - both activities to which most of the project funds are directed - bypass women because they are geared towards the better-off farmers. Overall, the project can be said to have a positive effect on the income of the participating women.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>BURKINA FASO</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA RIZICULTURE DANS L'ORD DE LA COMOE</b>
<b>Duration:</b>	Phase I: 1979-1984; intermediate phase: 1984-1989; Phase II: not yet started (probable duration five years).
<b>EC Contribution:</b>	2,968,000 ECU.
<b>Sector(s):</b>	Mono-sector project: irrigated rice production.
<b>Objectives:</b>	To increase the production of rice in order to achieve food self-sufficiency by the development of 1,000 ha of lowland, the settlement of 4,000 rice-growers, their organization and training. During Phase II, community organization will be reinforced, 1,300 ha of lowland will be developed and new follow-up activities will be carried out (mills, water supply).
<b>Project Activities:</b>	Development of 860 ha of lowland. Provision of land to 4,435 rice-growers. Agricultural extension and organization of the farmers into groups.
<b>Target Group:</b>	Traditional rice cultivators, who are mainly women.
<b>Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:</b>	In the project area, rice cultivation is traditionally a female occupation, and is their main source of income. Before the project, production techniques were traditional and the output was low.
<b>Participation of Women in the Project:</b>	On the whole, women's participation in the project is commensurate with their important roles in rice cultivation. The project activities and the redistribution of the rice plots to women have led to an increase in the total number of women who receive land, although the plots are smaller than before (87% of those who have received plots are women). Women have easier access to extension activities, credit and input supplies than before the project. Production techniques and outputs have improved. However, the rice producers' groups do not function well, partly because no attention was paid to informing and motivating ( <i>sensibilisation</i> ) the target group in the project activities.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>CAMEROON</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>DEVELOPPEMENT RURAL DANS LA VALLEE DE LA BENOUE</b>
<b>Duration:</b>	Phase I: 1973- 1978; Phase II and intermediate phase: 1978-1982; Phase III: 1982-1987; Phase IV: 1988-1991.
<b>EC Contribution:</b>	Phases I to III: 25, 100,000 ECU; Phase IV: 25,000,000 ECU.
<b>Sector(s):</b>	Multi-sectoral project: the two sectors evaluated were agriculture and forestry.
<b>Objectives:</b>	Promotion of migration from the over-populated areas in the extreme north-west of the country to the Bénoué valley in order to achieve a better population distribution in the region. Improvement of living conditions and food security; intensification and diversification of agricultural production; development of fisheries potential.
<b>Project Activities:</b>	Planned settlement of 40,000 migrants and spontaneous migration of another 40,000. Extension activities for cotton and food-crop cultivation. Setting-up and training of village farmers' groups. Provision of infrastructure: roads, schools, health centres, water supplies. Fisheries component. Horticultural and reforestation activities. Monitoring.
<b>Target Group:</b>	Migrants and autochthons. Total population in 1989: 170,000 inhabitants, of which 80,000 migrants.
<b>Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:</b>	The migrant women (non-Moslem) in particular play an important role in agricultural production: they contribute 25%-50% of the total agricultural work on the family fields and have their own plots on which they grow food and cash crops. Migrant women are in charge of collecting firewood, whereas in the indigenous (Moslem) families men are responsible for this task.
<b>Participation of Women in the Project:</b>	In the planning and implementation of the different phases of the project, no specific measures were taken to include women in the activities, with the result that their participation in the project is small and not commensurate with their roles in the sectors concerned. Women have hardly been involved in agricultural training and extension. They have not benefited from the provision of agricultural inputs, forestry activities and the provision of agricultural credit. Consequently, a considerable number of fields are excluded from the agricultural intensification and improvement activities.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>KENYA</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>MACHAKOS INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (MIDP)</b>
<b>Duration:</b>	Phase I: 1978-1984; Phase II: 1984-1989.
<b>EC Contribution:</b>	34,700,000 ECU.
<b>Sector(s):</b>	Multi-sectoral project: the four sectors evaluated were livestock, agriculture, rural water supply, and forestry.
<b>Objectives:</b>	To achieve a sustainable increase in living standards in the district, an ASAL (arid and semi-arid lands) area. Decentralization of planning and implementation.
<b>Project Activities:</b>	Improvement of rural water supply (small wells, subsurface dams and medium-sized dams that will serve up to 20,000 people). Improvement of the agricultural extension service, soil conservation work, improvement of implements and seed development and multiplication. Cooperative development, i.a. creation of a revolving fund for farm input credits. Livestock development (mainly breed improvement and animal disease control). Establishment and operation of tree nurseries. Construction of rural workshop centres. Provision of a revolving fund to assist rural entrepreneurs. Social services support, i.a. assistance to women's groups and to the Machakos Handicraft Centre. Adult literacy programme.
<b>Target Group:</b>	Poorer farmers and their families in the Machakos District. Total population: 1,500,000.
<b>Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:</b>	Women are actively involved in the sectors covered by the project activities. In agriculture women do all the work in food-crop cultivation and most of the work in cash-crop cultivation. In livestock they play an important role in feeding, herding and milking cattle and keeping small ruminants and poultry. The same holds true for the water supply and forestry sectors, where women are the main managers, collectors and consumers of drinking water and firewood.
<b>Participation of Women in the Project:</b>	On the whole, women's participation is not commensurate with the important roles they play in the various sectors. Moreover, many of them have provided unpaid labour for project activities. Neither in the design nor during implementation has specific attention been paid to the participation of women in the mainstream activities. During Phase I women's participation in agricultural extension and training

activities was very low. The adoption of a new system of agricultural extension with more emphasis on a group approach and mobile courses, in combination with an increased number of female extension agents, improved women's access to extension in Phase II. Only 3% of people receiving loans under the project's credit scheme for cotton development are women. Extension work in dairy cattle management was not addressed to them. Unlike the cattle programme, the goat and sheep, poultry and beekeeping subsectors were more explicitly aimed at women, and their participation is very high. In the forestry sector, although women's involvement in the planting and management of trees is considerable, more men than women go to the nurseries to buy seedlings. Women's participation in the self-help fruit tree nurseries which receive project support is, however, very high. In the water sector, women are underrepresented on the water committees and very few participate in the operation and maintenance training courses.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>NIGER</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>LES AMENAGEMENTS HYDRO-AGRICOLES FED</b>
Duration:	1974-1990. Extension under the 6th EDF, from 1990.
EC Contribution:	26,700,000 ECU. A contribution of 63,000,000 ECU will be allocated within the framework of the 6th EDF.
Sector(s):	Mono-sector project: irrigated agriculture.
Objectives:	Improvement of food security by increasing rice and horticultural production; irrigation development to ensure complete control of water supplies and to permit the cultivation of two crops per year. Integrated rural development through supporting activities.
Project Activities:	1,400 ha of lowlands have been developed into irrigated areas, of which 6 have been allocated for irrigated rice and 1 for horticulture. Plots of 0.5 ha have been distributed to between 400 and 700 people per irrigated area. Activities include paddy cultivation and supporting activities such as off-season crops by small-scale irrigation, livestock, water supply activities, organization of cooperatives and provision of millet mills and rice-husking machines.
Target Group:	Rural population.
Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:	The participation of women in rainfed rice cultivation depends on their ethnic group. Djerma women are traditionally rice-growers, and obtain an income from this activity. Women from other ethnic groups participate only in rice processing.
Participation of Women in the Project:	Rice plots have been distributed to the men. Among the people who now have rice plots there are only 50 women, mainly widows, and more than 3,000 men. No plots were allocated to Djerma women, who thus have lost their rice plots, which has negatively affected their income. A positive finding is that 3,500 women have received plots for horticulture (around the irrigated areas). The women have shown a clear interest in this remunerative activity, but the attention paid by the project to extension and training is minimal.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>NIGER</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>HYDRAULIQUE VILLAGEOISE DANS LE DEPARTEMENT DE ZINDER</b>
<b>Duration:</b>	Phase I: 1983-1985; Phase II: 1986; Phase III and extension: 1987-June 1989.
<b>EC Contribution:</b>	4,900,000 ECU.
<b>Sector(s):</b>	Mono-sector project: rural water supply.
<b>Objectives:</b>	To provide the rural population with an adequate supply of safe drinking water and a sufficient number of water points. To achieve sustainability of water points by putting into place a self-sufficient village-level operation and maintenance system based on development of village water committees and artisan repairers.
<b>Project Activities:</b>	Drilling of 471 boreholes and installation of 566 hand pumps. Organization of the training and extension activities (water committees and health education). Setting up the maintenance structure. Tree plantation and horticulture.
<b>Target Group:</b>	Rural population, especially women and children, who are traditionally in charge of collecting water, in 381 villages with a minimum of 250 inhabitants each.
<b>Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:</b>	Collecting water is traditionally a female occupation, except when the water is intended for cattle.
<b>Participation of Women in the Project:</b>	Women actively participated in the training on health and water. However, their participation in the project activities is not commensurate with their responsibilities in the sector. Although they are traditionally responsible for resolving water problems, they have not received management training on the maintenance of water points. In the water committees, they are only responsible for cleaning the area around the pump. They are not able to repair the pumps or to organize themselves when the pumps break down, which happens quite often. Moreover, the water committees are not operational because the main functions (President, Treasurer, Artisan Repairer) were allocated to men, who do not feel concerned by water problems.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>SWAZILAND</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>RURAL WATER SUPPLY AND SANITATION PROGRAMME</b>
<b>Duration:</b>	Phase I: 1983-1988; Phase II: 1988-1991.
<b>EC Contribution:</b>	Phases I and II: 5,000,000 ECU.
<b>Sector(s):</b>	Mono-sector project: water supply and sanitation.
<b>Objectives:</b>	To improve the health and living conditions of the population in rural areas. Provision of sufficient and safe water (30 litres per capita per day) within a reasonable distance of the homestead and provision of improved sanitation in 23 communities.
<b>Project Activities:</b>	Drilling of boreholes and construction of reticulated pipeline water schemes. In Phase I, 11 schemes were constructed. Self-help community construction of latrines. Community development extension. Training in management, operation and maintenance. Health education.
<b>Target Group:</b>	Rural population of 23 communities spread out over the country. Total population: 35,000. Women and children are expected to benefit most from the time savings.
<b>Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:</b>	Women are the main managers, collectors and consumers of domestic water supply. Before the introduction of improved supplies, women usually spent four hours a day walking long distances (up to 4-6 km) to collect water.
<b>Participation of Women in the Project:</b>	During the initial stages of Phase I, women's participation in project activities was rather low: women were scarcely involved in planning and design of water supply schemes and were largely underrepresented in the local water committees. There has been a progressive increase in the level of women's participation, following changes in the project design and approach. More attention is given to the preparation, organization and education of the community and to the training of water committee members. However, women's participation in planning, design and management is not yet commensurate with their important roles in this sector because no active policy to promote the participation of women has been adopted. This has a negative impact on the utilization and functioning of the systems and reduces the project's sustainability.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>TOGO</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>PROGRAMME DE DEVELOPPEMENT RURAL DANS LA REGION DES SAVANES</b>
Duration:	Phase I: 1980-March 1988; Phase II: April 1988-1992.
EC Contribution:	Phase I: 5,000,000 ECU; Phase II: 6,415,000 ECU.
Sector(s):	Multi-sectoral project: the two sectors evaluated were rainfed agriculture and forestry.
Objectives:	To increase small farmers' productivity and income. To intensify production, especially food production, while safeguarding soil fertility. To improve living conditions. To lower population growth.
Project Activities:	Extension and training activities based on the T&V system. Provision of credit for a draught animal and agricultural inputs. Organization of the farmers into producers' groups. Infrastructural activities (storage depots, houses, improvement of roads, boreholes, small dams, schools and dispensaries). Forestry component (tree nursery, erosion control, stoves). Cattle vaccination. Family planning. Research and monitoring.
Target Group:	The rural population of the project area in the north-west of the Savanes region. Total population: 90,000.
Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:	Women constitute about 80% of the total labour force in agriculture. They work on the family fields and cultivate their personal plots of 0.25-0.75 ha. Women are responsible for the collection of firewood, which is getting scarce, especially in the northern part of the region.
Participation of Women in the Project:	Women's participation in the project is limited. Only those who are organized into groups have some access to extension activities. Individual women are not reached by the male extension workers and do not have access to credit and inputs. The mechanization of agricultural production has resulted in an increase in women's workload, because they have to work more hours on the family fields (sowing, weeding and harvesting a larger area by hand). The benefits of the increased production on the family fields largely accrue to the husbands. Only men have been trained to become nurserymen, although their wives do a lot of the work in the tree nurseries. The distribution of stoves is still in an experimental stage. In the financing proposal for the second phase of the project more attention has been given to the participation of women, but actions in this respect have not yet been implemented.

<b>Country:</b>	<b>ZAMBIA</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>MAIZE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCE</b>
<b>Duration:</b>	1982-1987. Follow-up project: Smallholder Development in Central Province (1989-1993).
<b>EC Contribution:</b>	5,500,000 ECU. Smallholder Development in Central Province Project: 12,350,000 ECU.
<b>Sector(s):</b>	Mono-sector project: rainfed agriculture (and animal traction).
<b>Objectives:</b>	To increase maize production in order to contribute to national self-sufficiency and stock building. To raise small and emergent farmers' incomes. To improve agricultural extension, marketing and credit services.
<b>Project Activities:</b>	Extension via pilot system (modified T&V system) for 2,500 pilot farmers. Infrastructure: marketing facilities and road improvements. Animal traction: provision of credit for the purchase of oxen, and tsetse control measures.
<b>Target Group:</b>	Traditional small and emergent farmers in target areas in the Province. Initially 1,850 families, during project implementation the target group was extended to ± 6,000 households.
<b>Role of Women in the Sector(s) Concerned:</b>	As women contribute about 60% of the total labour force in agriculture, they are the main food producers in the project area. Maize is the main crop. In most cases the husband and wife sell maize independently and women can control the income from the sale of surplus produce from their own field.
<b>Participation of Women in the Project:</b>	Women represent 11% of the participating pilot farmers and 15% of oxen loanees. The income-earning capacities of the female pilot farmers have potentially increased due to improved access to better farming methods, marketing, credit and inputs. Positive factors for the participation of women in the project are the orientation towards smaller farmers during project implementation and softer loan conditions than originally planned. The level of participation of women in the project does not, however, reflect their role in food production. The main constraint to the full participation of women seems to be that at no stage of the project cycle has attention been paid specifically to women. Also, the focus on one crop, which leads to a diminishing role for traditional crops, is inappropriate for small farmers, and particularly for women.

## **ANNEX 2**

### **CHECKLIST FOR THE EVALUATION OF WID IN MAINSTREAM PROJECTS**



**CHECKLIST EVALUATION OF WID IN MAINSTREAM PROJECTS**  
for all evaluations of projects or project components

**1. What was the baseline situation of women in the project area?**

Assessment of the project's effects on women requires baseline data on the position of women. If such data have not been available or collected in the framework of the project preparation or early implementation, an attempt must be made to reconstruct the initial situation of women in the project areas.

Data should be gathered on the following items:

- The gender division of tasks and women's workload
- Women's income-earning capacities and income
- Women's participation and organization in the community
- Women's living conditions
- Demographic and socio-economic data
- Women's most urgent needs

**2. Assessment of WID in the project and role of EEC and recipient government**

**2.1 Basic characteristics of the project**

Background

Duration

EC contribution

Type of project

Information on project area

Objectives

Project activities

Technical assistance team (f/m)

Implementing agencies .

## 2.2 Objectives and target group

What are the project objectives? What is the relation between the project objectives and the activities of women? Changes in a new phase?

What are the expected benefits for women? If not mentioned in the project documents, what are implicitly the potential benefits for women?

Is the target group defined? If so, are women mentioned as a specific target group or are they implicitly included in the target group?

Are any project activities specifically earmarked for women?

2.3 To what extent are women participating in the project and how have women's roles, needs and interests been taken into account during the project cycle (i.e. identification, preparation and design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation)?

•Evaluate the way in which women's roles and needs have been identified and taken into account in the **identification and preparation phase** (identification, preparation of dossiers, appraisal, financial proposal). The following questions may serve as guidelines:

How did the identification of the project come about?

To what extent were women's roles and needs identified?

Have gender-specific baseline data been collected? How and when?

Have local women been involved? How and when?

Has WID expertise been used? On whose instigation?

Analyse the attention given to WID in the preparatory documents: identification study, feasibility study, appraisal document and financing proposal.

•To what extent has the role of women been taken into account in the project design?

Are women's roles and needs reflected in the choice of sector(s), activities/ inputs, strategies?

Have women's needs been taken into account in the choice of technology and level of service, and in decisions about time and place of activities or services, e.g. water points?

Was WID taken into consideration in the choice of the technical assistance (TOR of staff) and the setting-up of a monitoring system?

•What is the level of the **participation** of women in the implementation?

Do women have access to project activities and what is the extent of their real participation? In which activities do women participate, in which do they not?

In what way do women participate, e.g. as voluntary or paid labourers in construction work, as participants in training and extension activities, as receivers/buyers of inputs, or by making cash contributions?

Do women participate in the decision-making, e.g. in the project's decisions regarding the siting of water points?

Are there participants special categories of women?; which categories are not participating? (differences in age, caste, ethnology, rich/poor, position in family: female-headed, first/second wife)

Any changes in the level of participation during implementation? Reasons?

Is the level of women's participation in the project commensurate with their productive role and family tasks?

If not, identify important constraints in the social/cultural/legal spheres and/or other reasons.

•Were any special **measures** taken to increase the participation of women in the implementation, e.g. extra funds, social studies, WID consultancy, special targets?

Were these effective and did they meet women's needs?

Were there any special measures or procedures which thwarted the participation of women in the project?

•If the project has explicit WID objectives: Was the allocation of financial means, materials and personnel adequate to carry out the intended activities for women?

•Are women's aspects taken into account in the **monitoring and evaluation** phase?

Has a monitoring system been set up which permits identification of actual project impacts on women? Are gender-differentiated data collected?

Does the project allow target group women to actually take part and participate in the monitoring and evaluation?

Did the TORs of review/evaluation missions mention women?; and the reports?

If so, did the recommendations have any impact?

#### 2.4 Assessment of the role of technical assistance and consultants

What is the composition (sex and profession) of the project team?

Did they have special WID tasks?

Were the team members aware of women's aspects? Any correlation with sex, expertise in the field of WID, personal commitment to WID, policy of the employer?

Did short-term consultants pay attention to WID? Any correlation with sex, expertise in the field of WID, personal commitment to WID, policy of firm, etc.?

#### 2.5 National WID policy and institutional setting

##### a. National WID policy

What is the recipient government's policy in respect of the integration of women in the development process? Is this policy based on a particular view of women's role in and contribution to society (e.g. emphasis on women's traditional caring role or role in food production)?

What measures have been taken to implement this policy? Is there a special women's bureau or coordinator? What are the activities?

Are there any national official or non-governmental women's organizations? Type of activities?

What is the national WID policy with regard to the sector concerned?

Is WID mentioned in the indicative programme?

##### b. Institutional setting

Is the institutional setting of the project appropriate for the integration of women?

Are the project counterpart staff involved in women-related activities qualitatively and quantitatively capable of implementing these activities?

#### 2.6 Assessment of the role of the EEC staff

What was the role of the Delegation regarding WID integration: At what phases of the project cycle and in what way did the Delegation pay attention to women? Was this sufficient?

What was the role of the EEC staff at the Commission in Brussels (the geographical and technical officers and WID desk) regarding WID integration: At what phases of the project cycle and in what way did the staff pay attention to women? Was this sufficient?

Did the EEC staff consult the sector-specific 'Basic Principles', the 'Manual for Preparing and Appraising Project and Programme Dossiers' or other documents for WID aspects?

## 2.7 General performance of the project and project results

Give a global picture of the performance of the project (e.g. delays in implementation) and the project achievements in so far as this is necessary to understand the impact of the project on women.

## 3. Assessment of the actual or expected effects of the project on the position of women

Four aspects are considered essential for the position of women:

1. women's workload
2. women's income-earning capacities
3. women's social role in the local community
4. women's living conditions

### 3.1 How does the project affect, or is very likely to do so in future, women's workload?

•Did the project contribute to an alleviation of women's workload, i.e. a time/energy saving? For example by:

- provision of appropriate technology for domestic or productive use, e.g. grain mills and fuel-saving stoves
- improvement of water supplies
- provision of child care facilities, improvement of health facilities.

•Did the project increase women's workload? For example by:

- the intensification of the agricultural and livestock production
- demanding unpaid labour contributions in social infrastructural works
- changing the social environment (settlement projects)
- detrimental effects on the environment (scarcity of fuel-wood)
- distant location of water point or long queues because of inadequate water supply or inconvenient operating hours.

Were the benefits received commensurate with this increase?

If the project has resulted in an initial decrease in women's workload as well as timesaving (for example as a result of an improvement in water supplies), has this timesaving resulted in allocation of additional tasks from men to women, thereby increasing their overall workload?

3.2 How does the project affect or is very likely to do so in future women's income-earning capacities and income?

Check on changes in:

•women's access to factors and means of production

- land, water, stock, poultry, fish, trees
- capital, credit, savings
- labour (children, spouse, other kin, informal work group, hired labour)
- implements and inputs
- transportation

•women's access to production services

- skill training (including management and accounting)
- extension services and inputs (such as seed, young plants, fertilizer, animal traction)
- marketing facilities
- cooperatives
- research and technology

•women's workload as a constraint (see also 3.1)

•women's access to and control over income.

3.3 How does the project affect, or is very likely to do so in future, women's social role in the local community?

Check on changes in:

- women's participation in decision-making at the community level (e.g. member of cooperatives, users' committees, water supply management committees)
- women's level of organization (e.g. forming of women's groups to cultivate communal field)
- women's knowledge and skills competency (leading to more self-reliance).

3.4 How does the project affect, or is very likely to do so in future, women's living conditions?

- If there is an improvement in the level of social services, have women acquired access to these services? e.g.:
  - education and literacy/numeracy
  - health care and family planning
  - drinking water and sanitation
  - community centres.

- If there is an improvement in physical infrastructure (road infrastructure housing, etc.), do women benefit?

•Especially for projects which provide social services: What is the effect on the health of women and children?

3.5. What is on balance the impact of the project on women?

**4. What are the consequences of the (non-)integration of women for the achievement of the project's goals?**

What is the importance of the integration of women in the project for the achievement of the project's goals (usually increasing production, improving food situation, increasing income, improving health or family living conditions)?

For example, access or no access to agricultural services and means of production has had a certain impact on women's productivity and thereby on the total production output.

Increase in workload, e.g. by demanding unpaid labour contributions, could lead to a deterioration of the nutritional condition of the family if women have less time for gardening or food preparation.

Impact on women's income influences the well-being of the whole family, since women usually spend extra income on basic needs for the family (e.g. food, health and education), whereas men often spend additional income on luxury consumer goods, beer, etc.

**5. Identification of constraints/positive factors in the effective integration of women as agents and beneficiaries in the project**

•In order to identify the main constraints, it may be useful to compare the project with other development programmes in the area which pay attention to women.

•The following levels and items may serve as a guideline for analysis:

Policy level: EEC WID policy and the policy of the recipient country

Organizational level: administrative procedures, policy-supporting measures

Project level i.a :

collection and use of data on the position of women  
project preparation

project design and approach

special WID component or activities

general characteristics of project implementation such as emphasis on technical or social components, degree of community participation, problems with funding trade-offs between different objectives

project staffing (technical team and consultants) and counterpart

interest and support of involved staff of donor and implementing agencies

Household level: tasks of women in the family and women's workload, other priorities of women

Socio-cultural environment of the project: socio-cultural attitude towards women

Institutional setting of the project (see 2.5)

•Also identify measures, inputs or strategies that should have been employed in the past in order to establish (more) positive effects for women.

**6. What recommendations can be made concerning women's role in this project and in the European Communities' development assistance in general, with special attention to the sector concerned?**

•What project adjustments can be recommended (if the project is ongoing) to increase women's benefits from and participation in the project?

•Formulate experiences of a general nature to be learned with a view to integrating women more systematically as agents and beneficiaries in EEC projects, with special attention to the sector(s) concerned.

## CHECKPOINTS FOR THE APPRAISAL OF WID IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

When appraising projects on their attention to WID, the following points should be included:

1. Investigation of whether women have been identified as a specific target group within the total target population and what categories of women (age, ethnic group, female heads of households/wives) will be involved.
2. Investigation of how the achievement of the objectives depends upon the role and contribution of rural women, and assessment of whether the defined objectives are in line with women's needs.
3. Assessment of whether the planned strategies and activities offer sufficient possibilities for women to participate (check women's access to land, labour, credit, extension, training, technology, organizations and management, education and information channels).
4. Assessment of whether staffing and budget reservations are adapted to women's participation.
5. Examination of the kind of resources which the planned activities call for from women, and appraisal of whether these resources can be mobilized in view of women's workload and priorities.
6. Assessment of the expected results for women, where possible in measurable terms.
7. Assessment of the negative and positive impacts the project will have on women's social and economic position (income, workload, social self-reliance, health, etc.) and the importance of women's participation for the sustainability of the project.
8. Determination of whether the project institutions are capable of delivering their services to women.
9. Establishment of proper indicators to monitor women's integration in the project and the project's impact on their lives.



**DAC CRITERIA FOR WID  
(EXPERT GROUP ON WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT, 1987)**

1. Women from the recipient countries, preferably women of the target population, must be consulted in the design of the project.
2. Women from the recipient countries must be active participants during implementation of the project <sup>a</sup>.
3. Barriers to female participation in the project must be identified in the project document and measures must be designed in order to overcome these barriers <sup>b</sup>.
4. WID expertise is made available throughout the project cycle to ensure the full participation of women <sup>c</sup>.

*WID-Specific:* women must be the primary and main target group of the project.

*WID-Integrated:* women must be explicitly identified as part of the target group of all main components of the project, otherwise it must be stated why they are not a part of a specific component <sup>d</sup>.

- 
- <sup>a</sup> Active participants are defined as women from the recipient countries who offer assistance or advice, participate as trainers, managers, extension agents, and/or consultants. (*Note* : This definition excludes situations in which women are only involved in the project as manual labour participants or beneficiaries.)
  - <sup>b</sup> The project design should contain an explanation of the barriers that may exist which prohibit or impede women's access to or participation in the activity, and should also explain what steps will be taken or what adaptations will be necessary to ensure women are brought into the mainstream of this development effort.
  - <sup>c</sup> WID expertise is defined as follows : ability to recognize the operation of structural and cultural factors which either restrain or stimulate women in their access to economic, political, and social resources, and which limit or enlarge their opportunities to self-reliance and self-respect. Ability to apply this recognition in theory and practice.
  - <sup>d</sup> The only variable or difference between WID-specific and WID-integrated is the degree to which women are defined in the target group. If women are the *primary* target group, then it is defined as WID-specific. If women are a *part* of the target group and are so identified in the project, then it is defined as WID-integrated.



## LIST OF PARTICIPATING EXPERTS

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Annet Lingen:	Coordination and Synthesis Report
Marianne Nugteren:	Coordination and Synthesis Report
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Sophie de Grootte:	Background research
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Marie-Louise Beerling:	Missions to Botswana (livestock) and Kenya (livestock and agriculture)
Ellie Bosch:	Mission to Niger (agriculture)
Hadiza Djibo:	Missions to Cameroon (agriculture) and Togo (forestry)
Sophie de Grootte:	Mission to Niger (water supply)
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