

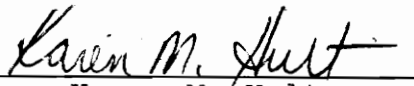
The Organizational Process of Integrating Gender into  
Development Planning: A Case Study

by

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(ABSTRACT)

This thesis examines the integration of gender concerns into development planning in the non-profit sector through a case study of planning a development program in a non-profit nongovernmental organization. The dependent variable of the study is the degree of "gender sensitivity," the extent to which gender concerns are taken into account in the planning process of a development program. The thesis constructs evaluative and explanatory frameworks on the basis of recent research to be used to examine a gender-sensitive planning process for NGOs in general and in the case study in particular. The evaluative framework distinguishes among three dimensions that are evaluated in the planning process: design process, plan for implementation, and policy approach. The degree of gender sensitivity determined by applying the evaluative framework is then explained by examining five explanatory factors: organizational goals,

structures, personnel, environment, and resources. Finally, the conclusion suggests strategies for improving the gender sensitivity of the planning process.

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Finally, I dedicate this thesis to those planners who continue to advocate women's concerns in development planning. As this study shows, it is a tough job.

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## CHAPTER 1

### THE IMPORTANCE OF GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT

#### Introduction

This thesis examines the integration of gender concerns into development planning in the non-profit sector through a case study of the planning of a development program in a non-profit nongovernmental organization (NGO). The dependent variable of this study is the degree of "gender sensitivity" <sup>1</sup> of the specific planning process under examination. I will, first, evaluate the gender sensitivity of the planning process, namely, degree to which the planners took gender issues into account. Second, I will explain why gender issues were included or left out, and finally, I will offer suggestions to improve the gender sensitivity of the planning process. By looking at a single case, this study attempts to get at the dynamics of project/program <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The degree of gender sensitivity refers to the extent to which gender issues are taken into account in the planning process. An operational definition of gender sensitivity will be given by introducing the evaluative framework for the study in Chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> Program refers to a "sequence of operations or projects within a broad scheme for meeting an overall development objective" whereas project is defined as a design or undertaking to accomplish specific objectives in response to identified problems" (UN 1982, 8). According to Staudt (1991, 90), programs are "on-going efforts that seek

planning in non-profit NGOs in general. In this chapter, I briefly discuss the argument on which this study is based and define the central concepts. The conclusion presents an outline of the chapters that follow.

### The Rationale for Women's Inclusion

I base my thesis on the argument that, in order to improve the lives of poor women in developing countries, women's particular needs have to be taken into account in development programs and projects. In order to take women's needs fully into account, they must be integrated into the entire process of program planning, from problem identification to program/project design and implementation. Without particular attention to women in program plans, they may easily be overlooked in the different stages of project implementation.

### "Women" and "Gender" in Development

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to define the key concepts of this study. The argument for integrating women's needs is central to the so-called Women in Development (WID) policy debate that has been going on in

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or achieve relative permanence" while projects operate within a limited time-frame. Programs may often start out as projects that demonstrate replicable models.

the field of international development for the past two decades. WID policy promotes the inclusion of women into all the different processes that take place as developing countries <sup>3</sup> strive for economic, social, and political change. This broad goal appears throughout the study in the form of specific practices that will be referred to as "WID" or "gender" issues or concerns. The distinctive ideas behind, on one hand, WID issues, and on the other hand, gender issues need clarifying, however.

Since the early days of WID policy, the advocates' emphasis has shifted from "women" to "gender." The initial WID approach has been criticized for its close ties to the ideas of economic growth and modernization theory and for promoting women's inclusion in development for the sole objective of taking advantage of their economic contribution (Rathgeber 1990, 491). The so-called "gender and development" (GAD) approach emerged during the 1980s from the critique of the WID approach as modernization-oriented. Theoretically reflecting the socialist feminist notion that women's inferior position in society is based on the social (and gendered) construction of production and reproduction,

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<sup>3</sup> Throughout this thesis, I will use the terms "developing countries," or "South," and on the other hand, "developed," or "industrialized countries," or "North." The term "Third World" is only used in the case of direct quotations.

GAD has shifted the attention from only women to the socially constructed interrelationships between women and men. Hence, the GAD approach

is not concerned with women per se but with the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and to men. [GAD] welcomes the potential contribution of men who share a concern for issues of equity and social justice (Rathgeber 1990, 494).

While the goal of the WID approach was to include women into the process of development on the basis of their economic contribution, GAD emphasizes women's political participation and their role as "agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance" (Rathgeber 1990, 494).<sup>4</sup>

Despite the theoretical critique, development scholars as well as practitioners continue to use the term "WID" to describe in general "the integration of women into global processes of economic, political, and social growth and change" (Rathgeber 1990, 489). In fact, "WID" has been institutionalized to the extent that many bilateral and multilateral organizations continue to have specific "WID units" although the operations and methods of these units

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<sup>4</sup> It must be noted that the critique of WID has not always been justified. For example, despite its focus on "women per se," it does not necessarily exclude men from working towards its goals of women's inclusion into development. Furthermore, GAD can be criticized for its socialist-feminist theoretical basis to the extent that it grounds the interrelationship between men and women on a notion of universal capitalism, and overlooks racial-ethnic differences.

may be more oriented toward GAD, that is, looking at both men and women. My attempt in this thesis is to follow the theoretical notions of WID and GAD and use the term WID when referring specifically to women <sup>5</sup> and GAD when referring to the socially constructed interrelationship (division of labor, roles, tasks, etc.) between women and men. However, this is a difficult task because of the ambiguity of their use by development practitioners themselves. <sup>6</sup> Why women's and gender issues are important, and how WID policy became accepted as a legitimate approach in international development will be reviewed in Chapter 2.

#### Definition of Development

"Development" is a concept that involves extremely diverse interpretations. <sup>7</sup> Interpretations of "development"

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<sup>5</sup> I do not assume that "women" is a unified category. While women around the world share biological characteristics their social experiences are diverse. It must be kept in mind that women's needs and concerns vary across different cultures, and that there are no standard solutions to their problems.

<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, I use "WID policy" and "gender policy" to refer to the ways women and gendered relationships between men and women are taken into account in development organizations and their operations.

<sup>7</sup> Definitions of development are typically seen in the context of the three main schools of development theory: the modernization, dependency, and world systems. The modernization theorists define development as industrialization and economic growth that would eventually result in a process of development much like that of the

vary depending on different theoretical orientations, economic and political ideas, and geographical areas from where people come. Most theoretical approaches to development focus strictly on economic and political "development" and overlook their social implications. In this study, I attempt to view "development" as a holistic process, combining the economic, political, and social aspects. Therefore, I adopt a definition of development introduced by Development Alternatives with Women in New Era (DAWN).<sup>8</sup> DAWN's definition of development is highly prescriptive as it envisions an ideal "developed world," in which:

Inequality based on class, gender, and race is absent from every country, and from the relationships among countries ... where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated ... [where] women's reproductive role will be redefined: child care will be shared by men, women, and

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western capitalist, developed countries (e.g., So 1990, 33-36; Hettne 1990, 60-61). The dependency school argued that development for the "core" developed countries meant underdevelopment for the "peripheral" developing countries. Dependency theorists define meaningful development as economic growth independent of the core (e.g., Hettne 1990, 87-90). The world systems analysts view a world capitalist system within which developing countries may, through economic development, improve their position and thus "develop" (e.g., Hettne 1990, 125-126).

<sup>8</sup> DAWN is a project started by a group of women activists, researchers, and policy-makers, mostly from developing countries, to formulate an alternative process of change that would incorporate the experiences of Southern women articulated by Southern women (Sen and Grown 1987, 9-10).

the society as a whole ... where the massive resources now used in the production of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both inside and outside the home ... where all institutions are open to participatory democratic processes, where women share in determining priorities and making decisions (Sen and Grown 1987, 80).

The DAWN view of development stresses the redistribution of economic resources to relieve poverty regardless of national boundaries, increased women's participation in political processes, and the abolition of social structures that perpetuate racism and sexism. It can therefore be understood as a prescription for both the developed and the developing world in regard to problems such as racism, sexism, and economic inequality, which exist all over the world (regardless of the degree of "development"). In fact, on the grounds of DAWN's definition of development, a view of the world that is divided into "developing" and "developed" becomes simply worthless because "inequality based on class, gender, and race," characterizes both of them. Therefore, I wish to stress that development can no longer be treated as a process that is brought about by the industrialized developed countries upon the developing societies, but rather, it should be treated as a process that seeks strategies for improving economic, political, and social conditions for the poor regardless of gender or race both in the North and the South.

## Nongovernmental Organizations

This study examines non-profit development NGOs in the United States.<sup>9</sup> NGOs are private organizations that work in the field of development by planning and implementing either their own projects or contracting with governments or intergovernmental organizations. My assumption is that because of their specific role in the development assistance regime as private actors who deal, to a degree, with both Northern and Southern governments, NGOs' development planning takes place in a specific type of setting which may influence the inclusion of women's concerns into (NGOs') programs and projects.

## Conclusion

The eight chapters of the thesis are divided into two distinct parts: The first four chapters establish the frameworks with which to study NGOs and the last four chapters look at the specific case study. Chapters 1 to 4 lay out the frameworks for evaluating and explaining the planning process. These frameworks are constructed so that they may be applied to project planning in NGOs in general. The last four chapters deal with the specific case study by, first, discussing the methods and limitations of the study

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<sup>9</sup> I will use the term NGO, although NGOs are also called as "private voluntary organizations" or "PVOs."

and then, applying the frameworks to the specific case. The findings are then presented in the last three chapters that evaluate and explain the level of gender sensitivity in the case study and offer prescriptions for improving the planning process.

Having now briefly introduced the purpose of this thesis, Chapter 2 deals with why it is important to pay attention to gender concerns in development projects. It provides a historical overview of the early demands for women's inclusion in development projects and of the policy changes that followed. It also illustrates how women have been systematically overlooked in development projects and introduces the most common planning misconceptions of women's roles. Chapter 2 also discusses NGOs' position in the community of international development agencies.

Chapter 3 constructs the evaluative framework for integrating gender concerns into planning. This framework operationalizes the concept of "gender sensitivity" and provides a means to evaluate the degree of gender sensitivity in NGOs' project planning in general, and in the case study in particular. NGOs as development organizations provide a specific setting for program planning. The factors that tend to influence how U.S. NGOs deal with gender issues are discussed in Chapter 4, which also constructs a framework for explaining the level of gender sensitivity of

NGO program planning. Chapter 5 introduces the case, discusses the methods used in the study, and examines its limitations. Chapters 6 and 7 present the findings of the case study: they evaluate and explain the level of gender sensitivity of the case planning process. Chapter 8 offers prescriptions for improving gender sensitivity in planning.

## CHAPTER 2

### INCORPORATING WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICY

#### - HISTORY, RATIONALE, AND NGO RESPONSE

##### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief review of how and why women's issues came to matter in the field of international development. It demonstrates how, through research and political pressure on development policy makers, women's concerns have become a policy issue in development planning. It also establishes the rationale for the pursuit of gender sensitive planning by explicitly showing why it is so important to take women into account in development planning and what may happen if their needs are overlooked.

The chapter has three parts: the history of WID policy, the rationale for integrating women into project planning, and the history and the position of nongovernmental development organizations (NGOs) in development assistance. The first part deals with the emergence of the pioneering demands to include women's issues into international development, their impact on development policy, and the rise of "WID policy" in development. Examining these milestones in their historical context will cast light on

the lengthy and patience-demanding process through which gender issues have been brought onto the agenda of development agencies and have influenced project planning. The second part of the chapter demonstrates why it is important to include women in projects by discussing the three most common misconceptions about women's roles that have kept women "invisible" to planners. The third section brings development NGOs into the picture and discusses the increasing involvement of non-governmental actors in development. The category of NGOs will be examined in terms of their position in the development assistance regime, which involves governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental actors.<sup>10</sup> The conclusion of this chapter discusses how NGOs have responded to the policy changes in the regime, and especially to WID policy.

#### Women in Development - History of Policy Change

The adverse impact of development programs on poor women in developing countries has been a subject of study and debate for the past twenty years. The early 1970s marked

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<sup>10</sup> The "development assistance regime" refers to the norms, rules, and decision making processes of the actors that work in field of development assistance (Kardam 1991, 5). These actors include both bilateral (government-to-government) and multilateral (intergovernmental) as well as private development assistance agencies and organizations that fund, plan, implement, and evaluate programs and projects in developing countries.

the awakening of the development regime to the realization that industrialization and economic development programs had failed to reduce mass poverty in developing countries. This realization instigated a shift in the focus in the regime from economic to social indicators of development (Newland 1991, 123). Maguire (1984, 5) recounts that "throughout the 1970s, the purpose of development was modified to mean the development of people, not just things." This reflected a new policy focus toward a more equitable development strategy and the meeting of basic human needs (Staudt 1985, 1). <sup>11</sup>

The recognition of poor people as a target group in need of development aid also directed attention to the position of women in developing societies. The economic contribution of women to the development of their societies had been completely ignored in the aid packages of the advanced developed countries. Industrial development

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<sup>11</sup> From this change in focus arose the so-called Basic Human Needs (BHN) approach, which focused on everyone's right to the fulfillment of basic needs such as food, shelter, health, and protection (for example, Todaro 1989, 89). The BHN approach has also been a reason for the increasing number of development NGOs. Because the focus of the BHN approach is at the level of people (rather than the level of macro-economic growth), it has involved NGOs as agents for grassroots relief (for example, Gorman 1984).

programs had promoted urban and male bias.<sup>12</sup> Grounded on the western notion of a "natural" division of labor between men and women, development planners overlooked the economic contribution of women's labor and defined it as solely reproductive because it was unpaid and did not have a set value in the labor market.<sup>13</sup> This misconception also reflected the fact that women's work was not included in the indicators of economic development, such as the Gross National (or Domestic) Product (GNP or GDP).

The first challenge to the dominant ideology of development planning emerged from Ester Boserup's (1970) findings that development aid had detrimental effects on women. Boserup's study revealed that contrary to the western image, women in developing areas were predominant contributors in agriculture. She also argued that the adoption of new agricultural technologies had not improved but rather had worsened the women's position in rural communities.

The roots of the deterioration were, Boserup argued, in the colonization experience, but the damage was perpetuated by western development aid. During colonization, especially

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<sup>12</sup> For further arguments on urban bias in development aid, see Michael Lipton (1976), and for male bias, see Diane Elson (1990).

<sup>13</sup> This misconception, among others, will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

in Asia and to an extent in Africa, women had lost their traditional property rights to land and were pushed aside as unpaid agricultural workers on their husband's land. The aid programs of the modernization <sup>14</sup> period built upon this new ownership structure established by colonial powers, for example, by introducing new technologies to men and training only them instead of including women, too. This practice provided men with the opportunity to increase their income, whereas women, excluded from the benefits of technological innovations, continued to use traditional farming methods and hand tools to prepare the land (Boserup 1970, 55-57; and 1990, 16). Boserup made it clear that the introduction of modern farming methods contributed to the lowering of the status of women and that it was perpetuated by western ideas of a gender division of labor that assigned women the reproductive and men the productive role (Boserup 1990, 23).

Boserup's findings have come to symbolize the beginning of the scholarship on Women in Development (WID) and the articulation of the need to integrate women in development policy and planning (e.g., Tinker 1990a; Maguire 1984). The politically supportive climate of the 1970s, and especially

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<sup>14</sup> "Modernization" refers to the idea promoted by modernization theory that economic growth and development could be accelerated by substituting modern technological innovations for traditional methods of production (see, for example, Todaro 1989, 123).

the attention to the women's movement generated by the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85), created an opportunity for advocating the integration of women into the official development policies of western governments. Tinker (1990a, 4) describes this policy change as the "acceptance of women's concerns as legitimate issues for national and international policy."

In the United States, the major policy change occurred with the 1973 "Percy Amendment." The purpose of the Amendment was to push USAID to pay particular attention to programs that promoted women's status and aimed towards integrating women into national economies (Barnes-McConnel & Lodwick 1983, 46). This objective was to be integrated into all U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) projects by requiring of all projects a statement of the project's impact on women.

A growing body of research on women's integration into development demonstrates that the Percy Amendment has not had the intended results. A brief mention of women in project documents has hardly changed any planning or implementation procedures, and, as Staudt (1985, 2) argues, the disparity between the mandate and reality continues to exist. The USAID recognized its failure to incorporate women into development projects in "The AID Policy Paper on Women in Development" (USAID 1982). It declared that obstacles to

women's inclusion exist not only in implementation but also in planning; it also identified major barriers in the process of project design.

In summary, the passing of the Percy Amendment can be interpreted as the official U.S. recognition of the fact that women had been overlooked in development planning. Advocates of women in development have pointed out the need to examine the origins of women's exclusion, to explain how and why planners have overlooked women. The next section introduces the most common fallacies about women that have influenced western planners to overlook women's needs in projects.

#### Misconceptions of Women in Development Planning

The fact that women have not been included in development projects is in large part a result of planners misunderstanding women's roles. <sup>15</sup> Moser (1989, 1800) calls these misconceptions "planning stereotypes," because they reflect the stereotypical ideas of women and the family held by planners and policy-makers in advanced developed countries and constitute the conceptual base used for

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<sup>15</sup> This argument is widely accepted. For example, agencies such as USAID have noted that "misunderstanding of gender differences, leading to inadequate planning and designing of projects, results in diminished returns on investment" (USAID 1987, 1).

designing and carrying out development projects. This section will introduce three misconceptions of women that are the most commonly used to explain why women have not been included in development policy and planning and why they have not benefitted from the projects. These are the misconceptions of a) "women's work," b) "household," and c) "farmer."

a) "Women's Work"

During the past two decades, when western development planners have thought of women in developing countries, they have pictured them as mothers and wives. By conceptualizing women solely in the role of the reproducer<sup>16</sup> within a household, planners have excluded women from many of the benefits men have been able to get from development programs. Because much of women's work is made up of unpaid services hidden in the household, it tends to be overlooked by economists, planners, and policy makers alike (Elson 1990, 7). Regardless of their strenuous reproductive tasks, women's work is not considered productive because it does not directly contribute to tangible output. And therefore, it remains invisible, excluded from labor statistics and

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<sup>16</sup> Reproduction refers to biological as well as social reproduction, that is, child bearing and rearing, household as well as kinship and community maintenance activities.

indicators of productivity such as the GNP or GDP.

Ideas about the nature and roles of women are deeply seated in the historically constructed perception of people in developing societies as "non-westerners" and "backward." The planning stereotypes of the twentieth century have built upon the definitions and interpretations established by earlier observers, researchers, and missionaries whose representation of "non-European" women were constructed of a "powerful blend of information, imagination, pragmatic self-interest, and prejudice" (De Groot 1991, 114). De Groot views these images as products of colonialism, arguing that the representation of "Third World (sic) women as exotic specimens, as oppressed victims, as sex objects or as the most ignorant members of 'backward societies'" has been an integral part in emphasizing the "otherness" or the inferiority of developing societies.<sup>17</sup> The creation of this image must "be understood as the expression of power relations rather than as ignorance and bigotry" (Ibid., 116).

Despite the criticism, the image of women as unproductive family caretakers has continued to influence planning. Even in the specific efforts to create income-generation projects for women, their preconceived

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<sup>17</sup> This view also reflects the stereotypical images of women in Western societies.

reproductive role has determined the type of income-generating activity. For example, poor women have often been set up to do crafts or sewing jobs without prior assessment of the viability of the product in the market (Barnes-McConnell & Lodwick 1983, 3). Buvinic (1986, 654-655) argues that despite the policy objectives of including women as beneficiaries of development, most income-generating projects continue to involve women in "traditionally feminine, sex-segregated, and low-productivity activities."

b) "Household"

Among the most striking stereotypes in development planning has been the western idea of the household as a unit of analysis, which has been used without a deeper understanding of household structure and intra-household dynamics. It has been common for economists, planners, and policy makers to assume a unified household without paying attention to who controls the resources and who has the power to make decisions. The reality, however, of low-income households is quite different. It is evident that the image of a unified household is clearly too limited to be applied as such to the households in developing societies (Moser 1989, 1800).

These "household models" present problems in reaching

women through development planning because they fail to address the different interests of men and women within the household. Men and women have different interests, for example, in making decisions about household expenditures and about reproductive behavior (i.e., the number of children) (Buvinic 1983, 18).

The intra-household relationship between men and women is a complex situation that includes cooperation for family welfare and conflict over the fruits of any cooperation. Therefore, Sen (1990, 124) argues that "to concentrate on family poverty irrespective of gender can be misleading in terms of both causation and consequences." It is unrealistic for planners and policy makers to assume that by channelling benefits to men or increasing their income opportunities, projects will help the welfare of the whole family. Studies of household income allocation have indicated that existing gender ideologies support men's right to personal spending money; women's income in contrast is used for family purposes (Bruce and Dwyer 1988, 5). Also the USAID has recognized the inadequacy of the household as a basic unit for project planning. The WID Policy Paper, for example, comments on the common misconception of income allocation:

There is a predominant misperception about disposition of income within poor families which has persisted and given rise to critical miscalculations in project

planning (WID Policy Paper, 3).

In order to avoid these miscalculations, development policies need to address households in terms of individuals rather than units and earmark development aid (for example, project benefits, opportunities, and technologies) to women and men separately (Bruce & Dwyer 1988, 19).

c) "Farmer"

The third example of a planning stereotype is the concept of "farmer." As gender neutral as the term "farmer" may appear to be, it has been used to imply that farmers are men, with the consequence of overlooking the numerous women farmers in many developing countries who farm "in their own right" (Elson 1990, 9). Projects grounded on such misconceptions have resulted in unfortunate episodes such as transferring viable technological innovations to the wrong end-users. Women have been excluded from technical agricultural training as well as from the communication channels and schedules for disseminating technical skills. For example, there have been projects that have introduced new technologies to men regardless of the fact that the work the technology was to substitute for had been traditionally women's work (Maguire 1984, 9). Village-level research has demonstrated that taking into account women farmers in planning and redirecting resources to them will increase

farming productivity and efficiency (Elson 1990, 10).

### Misconceptions of Women: a Summary

As demonstrated in this section, the one-dimensional conceptualization of women in their reproductive role has hindered their inclusion in the development process. In fact, while development projects may have benefitted men, for women they have meant often increasing work loads and decreasing access to resources. The above discussion is limited and by no means exhaustive in its examples. Nevertheless, it has suggested that there is a need for a planning approach that redresses these sheer mistakes and separates development problems as well as solutions in terms of gender. The evaluative framework introduced in Chapter 3 attempts to conceptualize such a planning approach.

### Nongovernmental Actors in Development

So far, it has been demonstrated that WID policy aims to revise the traditional perceptions of women and to incorporate them into the activities of development agencies. The last section of this chapter examines how and why nongovernmental organizations have become increasingly important actors in the development assistance regime by discussing their specific position, tasks, and some of the environmental factors that influence their operations.

Describing the NGOs' role and constituencies within the development assistance regime, it provides insight into the realities that influence the planning process in NGOs. The discussion also serves as an introduction to the constructing of the explanatory framework in Chapter 4.

Because the category of NGOs includes a broad range of organizations that do not fit easily under one heading, I will first introduce some common characteristics that make it possible to examine NGOs as a unified category. Second, I will define their role within the development assistance regime, and lastly, discuss the significance of NGOs' position for gender integration.

#### Non-Profit NGOs - A Diverse Category

The category of development NGOs includes a diverse group of organizations. NGOs may be religious or secular, national or international; their activities may be focused on specific sectors (for example, agriculture, health, and food), or they may have a multisectoral approach. Some of them work with developing country NGOs as partners; others work with local governments or intergovernmental organizations (Kozlowski 1983, 12). Despite the diverse characteristics of NGOs as a group, a set of common

dimensions can be identified to define the category. <sup>18</sup>

These characteristics are best displayed by clarifying some of the confusing terminology of NGOs, which, in my opinion, reflects the diversity of practice. Throughout this study, I use the term "NGO" to refer to non-profit NGOs that operate in industrialized countries and are involved in overseas development work. <sup>19</sup>

Terminology is especially ambiguous in the distinction between nongovernmental and private voluntary organizations (PVOs). For example, Robert Gorman (1984a, 2) defines PVOs rather loosely as "nongovernmental (private), tax-exempt, non-profit agencies." Yet, there are specific "rules" for organizations that wish to claim PVO status, at least if they desire to be on the USAID funding agenda. <sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The features discussed in this section do not represent the only characteristics of non-profit development NGOs.

<sup>19</sup> These organizations are often referred to as "Northern NGOs," and their host-country counterparts as "Southern NGOs" or "Indigenous NGOs." Because this study concentrates on the U.S. development NGOs, I call them simply "NGOs" and the developing country NGOs "Southern" or "Indigenous NGOs." It also must be noted that most generally the term "NGO" refers to the nongovernmental status; not all NGOs are development NGOs and not all development NGOs operate as non-profit organizations.

<sup>20</sup> The official USAID criteria for PVOs used for registering for AID funding include (Roberts 1984, 105-106) the following.

A PVO must:

- (1) be organized according to U.S. law and have its principle place of business in the U.S.;

According to these rules, a PVO must receive "voluntary contributions" in money or staff-time. While a certain amount of voluntary support and funding is needed to meet the criteria of a PVO, the exact proportion of voluntary versus government funding for the organization remains vague. <sup>21</sup>

This study includes PVOs in the category of "non-profit NGOs" mainly for conceptual clarity. Even students of private development assistance have begun to merge these two classifications. For example, Clark (1990) uses the term "NGO" in general reference to all private voluntary organizations (the term "PVO" does not appear in the index) and Smith (1990, 3) uses "NGOs" to discuss European and Canadian organizations and claims that in the United States, NGOs are better known as "PVOs." In brief, NGOs are a particular type of organization that is influenced by internal dynamics as well as by external actors such as

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- (2) be tax exempt and nonprofit and receive voluntary contributions of money, staff-time or such support from the general public;
  - (3) be "engaged in voluntary charitable or development assistance abroad";
  - (4) be "financially sound and follow standard accounting practices";
  - (5) have an unpaid board of directors whose members form a majority in any decision;
  - (6) use its funds according to "stated purposes."

<sup>21</sup> Accepting government funding is a difficult issue for NGOs because it challenges their independence. This will be discussed in more detail later.

governmental (or intergovernmental) development agencies.

### NGOs and Governmental Aid - Division of Labor

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become increasingly important actors in the field of international development. Especially during the 1980s, there was an overall increase in the (private as well as public) resources available to NGOs. Also, governmental development agencies have steadily increased their contributions to private organizations (Brown 1990, 3). This suggests that cooperation with NGOs has become an integral part of the development policies of bilateral governmental agencies (such as the USAID or the Canadian equivalent, CIDA) as well as multilateral intergovernmental organizations (such as the World Bank or the UNDP). For example, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries reports increasing cooperation with NGOs as one of its development policy objectives for the 1990s (OECD 1989, 82).

Why are governments interested in the contribution of NGOs to development assistance? <sup>22</sup> Two possible explanations can be suggested. On the one hand, governments may contract with NGOs to implement their projects at the

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<sup>22</sup> The examples given below are of the U.S. government and NGOs.

grassroots level; on the other hand, governments seek cooperation with NGOs to disseminate their political interests or ideas. The most common argument in support of NGO operations in development assistance is their assumed "grass-roots efficacy":

...Because of their historic tendency to work more closely with 'grass-roots' structures and because of their greater flexibility, [NGOs] have a potential for contributing substantially to the pioneering and experimentation required for the development of agricultural, health, educational, and related structures more appropriate to the needs of the poor majority (John G. Sommer [1975], cited in Roberts 1984, 100).

The ability of NGOs to mobilize people at the level of communities, where government programs seldom trickle down, has generated a division of labor within the development assistance regime: bilateral and multilateral agencies handle development goals at the macro level while NGOs do what they claim to do best - work with the people (Minear 1984, 23). In fact, Clark (1991, 127) notes that "many northern NGOs have assumed the role of ambassadors for the world's poor."

The division of labor between the U.S. government and NGOs has its roots in history: NGOs became involved in development through engagement in humanitarian relief work in post-World War II Europe. Despite the humanitarian relief goals, the interest of the U.S. government has been not only altruistic but also self-interested. As Smith (1990, 48)

notes, the U.S. government realized how valuable NGOs were for serving many of its purposes overseas. For example, NGOs' presence in Europe cultivated a positive public image of new U.S. commitments and political interests in Europe, assisted in disposing surplus agricultural commodities, and helped "export the American dream." Consequently, during the cold war, grants to NGOs were given according to U.S. foreign policy objectives (Smith 1990, 50).

Although political independence from U.S. government interests has been one of the most important marketing features of NGOs, there remains considerable room for skepticism. NGOs prefer to maintain an image of independence from U.S. foreign policy, but in reality they often work within an officially set agenda.<sup>23</sup> For example, Smith (1990, 53) argues that NGOs did not become interested in the developing world on their own but simply because they followed the U.S. government's political interests.<sup>24</sup>

Despite NGOs' efforts to maintain the image of working

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<sup>23</sup> Smith (1984, 151) notes that NGOs are actually very similar to government agencies even though they, to attract private funding, attempt to present themselves as being different.

<sup>24</sup> The primary reason for the U.S. government to turn to the developing world was to secure its political interests (geopolitical concerns during the Cold War) at the emergence of the newly independent (decolonized) countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s (Smith 1990, 53).

with the poor, there has been an increasing amount of criticism about the actual impact of their operations at the grassroots level. NGOs have been criticized, for example, for lacking long-term policy objectives (Blaser 1984, 95), for lacking evaluations of their projects, and for emphasizing U.S.-centered decision-making (Smith 1984, 144-149). Evaluations of NGOs' performance have actually disproved many of the so-called "articles of faith,"<sup>25</sup> and portrayed the abilities of the NGOs more realistically. Furthermore, NGOs' image as the sole advocates of grassroots action is weakening as Northern governments are increasingly realizing the need for a grassroots orientation and sharing the "NGOs' rhetoric of development" (Brown 1990, 6).

#### NGOs and Government Funding - A Difficult Choice

As implied above, government funding is a serious issue for NGOs. The philosophy behind private development assistance is that because NGOs are not tied to government foreign aid, they are freer than official agencies to experiment with untried and promising initiatives (Gorman

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<sup>25</sup> "Articles of faith" is a term commonly used in the literature to describe the NGOs' self-promoted comparative advantage over government agencies. These "articles" include claims of better reach to the poor, higher participation of the poor, focus on the learning process vs. outcome in projects, contrast with the public sector, flexibility due to lack of bureaucracy, and cost-effectiveness (Brown 1990, 5-6).

1984b, 57). Most NGOs have long been receiving government funding in one form or another and only a handful of American NGOs have rejected U.S. government aid. For example, Oxfam America and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) have refused government aid because "it seriously damages PVO<sup>26</sup> independence and distorts PVO perceptions and priorities" (Smith 1990, 191). Dichter (1988, 181) describes the sensitive relationship that "NGOs in the United States are struggling especially with their own dependency: fearful of being too tied to AID, yet too afraid to wean ourselves." The severest critics of government funding say that NGOs that contract with governments think like governments.<sup>27</sup>

Dependence on solely private funding may create uncertainty about the continuation of an NGO's operations, especially when the reality is that private donations to development NGOs have been steadily declining since the 1970s (Dichter 1988, 181). Insecure about the continuity of funding from private donors NGOs may abandon even the most promising projects (Gorman 1984b, 58). Thus, it is clear that while NGOs tend to be aware of the political ties

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<sup>26</sup> Note that Smith refers to American NGOs as PVOs.

<sup>27</sup> This opinion was expressed by Joseph Short, Executive Director of Oxfam America, cited in Smith (1984, 164).

connected with government funding, official grants do, to an extent, reduce their vulnerability and free them from continuous fund raising from private sources.

In summary, U.S. development NGOs function within the development assistance regime by attempting to balance their own and their donors' interests. The above discussion briefly introduced some factors that characterize the environment in which many NGOs operate. Many of these environmental characteristics (such as ties to donor policies and the image of grassroots efficacy) may influence, for example, how projects are planned in NGOs and whether women are considered to be important. These factors are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, in constructing the explanatory framework for development planning in NGOs.

### Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to place the study that follows in the context of the existing literature on women in development (WID) and nongovernmental organizations. Despite the increasing interest in studying the responses of development organizations to WID policy, as represented by the works of Staudt (1985, 1990) and Kardam (1991), little

has been written about the gender policies of NGOs.<sup>28</sup>

Most literature on development NGOs focuses on their changing role from independent grassroots activists to government contractors as well as on the controversy over whether to seek public or private funding (for example, Gorman 1984; Smith 1990; Korten 1990; and Clark 1991). While there is criticism that NGOs receiving public funding are tied to official U.S. foreign policy, little attention is paid, for example, to the fact that government grants often include conditions of gender integration into NGOs' project planning (as is the case in USAID grants). Hence, the response of the U.S. development NGOs to the demands of systematic gender integration is yet to be documented. It is this exact need in the women in development research that this thesis sets out to meet.

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<sup>28</sup> An example of such research is Helzner and Shepard's study (1990) that examines the feminist agenda in a private voluntary organization.

## CHAPTER 3

### GENDER SENSITIVITY IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

#### Introduction

The task in this chapter is to formulate a framework for evaluating how gender issues are taken into account in development program planning. The chapter will, first, define the concepts "gender sensitivity" and "gender planning," after which it introduces an evaluative framework for use in assessing gender sensitivity in the case study, as well as in NGO program/project planning in general.

The evaluative framework will be built mainly on the recent constructions of gender analysis frameworks by scholars of gender and development, especially, Caroline Moser (1989), Catherine Overholt et al. (1991) and Feldstein et al. (1989). These frameworks differ in their foci. The gender analysis framework of Overholt et al. (1991) sets up a framework for projects in general, while Feldstein et al.'s (1989) framework focuses on gender specifically in agricultural projects. Caroline Moser's (1989) approach is based on Maxine Molyneux's (1985) classification of women's gender needs as practical and strategic and adds a political dimension to gender analysis. It assesses whether planning is geared towards not only meeting women's basic needs for

survival (i.e., their practical needs) but also creating opportunities for empowerment (strategic gender needs).

### Gender Sensitivity and Gender Planning in Development

Most development policies and projects have in fact had severe negative impacts on the survival chances of poor women and their families. Moreover, such policies and large-scale projects often fail to meet their goals when women's labor contributions at the household and project levels are overlooked, their need for economic incentives are not understood, and resources relevant to their productive work are misdirected to men (Rao 1991, 2).

In situations such as the one described above, it is clear that gender issues were not taken into account in project planning; in other words, the gender sensitivity (the degree to which gender concerns were integrated into planning) was "low." The main idea is that a higher degree of gender sensitivity in planning will result in more appropriate ways to address women in the project population and improve their living conditions. <sup>29</sup>

Before constructing the evaluative framework, a model of a highly gender-sensitive planning process should be described in order to provide a general sense of what is considered to be an ideal planning process. I base the notion of "ideal gender integration" on Kathleen Staudt's (1985, 142-143) vision of a "fully institutionalized gender

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<sup>29</sup> By "appropriate," I mean ways that do not exclude women from the benefits of the projects.

redistributive policy" <sup>30</sup> and on Caroline Moser's (1989) idea of "gender planning." <sup>31</sup> According to Staudt (1985, 142-143), the full institutionalization of WID policy

would mean the obliteration of all trappings of a special program office. Women would be regularly integrated into all projects, with strategies to meet women's needs woven through design and implementation efforts. Women-sensitive planning, design, and implementation would penetrate the conceptual core of agency thought and action. ...Indeed, reaching women, and the participation of women would be part of "conventional wisdom" about development, just as reaching men is now.

Moser (1989, 1799) calls highly gender-responsive planning "gender planning." Gender planning is a planning approach that "provides both the conceptual framework and methodological tools for incorporating gender into planning." Accordingly, Moser (Ibid., 1818) distinguishes between a "gender-aware planner" and the gender planning approach. In development planning, gender awareness is important but does not necessarily translate into specific strategies for integrating women into the project. Therefore, a truly gender sensitive planning process also should include mechanisms by which the "gender awareness" of

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<sup>30</sup> Staudt (1985, 3) defines redistributive policies as policies that "do more than distribute benefits to a group; they are also perceived to reduce benefits for other groups."

<sup>31</sup> Staudt's view refers to the integration of gender policy into the USAID but also provides terms of reference for all development organizations.

the project plan can be translated into practice. Thus, in order to construct an evaluative framework for gender sensitivity, the concepts of gender awareness and the so-called gender tools must be examined separately.

### Evaluative Dimensions

The degree to which gender concerns are integrated into planning can be examined by comparing a specific planning process to the features of a "desirable" planning process (i.e., one with high gender sensitivity). The evaluative framework will be constructed by characterizing this desirable planning process on the basis of three analytical/conceptual dimensions: 1) the design process, 2) the plan for implementation, and 3) the policy approach.

The "design process" involves all program/project planning activities during the planning process. The "plan for implementation" dimension is a specific part of the design process which consists of the specific strategies for the project/program's implementation that the planners incorporate into the project plan. The third dimension, "policy approach," refers to the particular way in which development programs and projects conceptualize women and their problems as well as to the strategies they adopt to solve those problems (Moser 1989, 1806). In the evaluative framework, the policy approach dimension serves as a kind of

summary of the first two dimensions. Based on both the design process and the plan for implementation it reflects at a higher level of analysis the projects's overall policy approach to women.

## Evaluative Framework - Elements of an Ideal Planning Process

### 1. Design Process

The design process is evaluated by focusing on three activities that characterize the ideal gender-sensitive design process: a) defining the key problem and the project objectives in terms of gender, b) collecting gender-disaggregated data throughout the project cycle, and c) addressing not only women's practical but also their strategic gender needs.

#### a) Gender in Problem Definition and Project Objectives

In order to have more gender-sensitive program/project planning, it is necessary to consider gender issues as early as possible in the project cycle (Carloni 1990, 229). Planners should discuss women's specific concerns at the initial project identification stage. Appropriate identification requires the definition of the basic problems that the project is expected to solve as well as the project goals in terms of women and men separately (for example, by finding out if both men and women perceive the problem as

equally important). The opportunities for and constraints on women's participation in the program or project as well as its possible negative effects on women also should be identified at this stage (Overholt et al. 1991, 15). These issues should be acknowledged even before the feasibility of the project is explored.

#### b) Gender-Disaggregated Data

Baseline data on the project's population should be gathered from both women and men and recorded separately. The data for project design should include, for example, descriptions of the division of labor and time allocation by gender, and information on the access to and control of resources by women and men. <sup>32</sup> Information on men's and women's tasks serves as a basis for estimating how the new activities or technologies that the project will introduce involve women and if (and how) these activities or technologies will change women's tasks and performance and increase their benefits from the project (Overholt et al. 1989, 18).

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<sup>32</sup> Resources include land, capital (cash, tools, and livestock), and labor as well as other inputs (seed, fertilizers, and pesticides), services (credit, education), and knowledge. "Control" refers to the power to decide how the resources are used and "access" to the freedom or permission to use the resource (Feldstein, Poats et al. 1989, 18).

Gender-disaggregated data on the division of labor also will help identify who is responsible for reproductive and productive tasks. This division becomes especially important in assessing how the program/project can meet women's practical and strategic gender needs.

c) Women's Practical and Strategic Gender Needs <sup>33</sup>

The terms "practical" and "strategic" refer to the division of women's needs according to women's reproductive and productive roles. Practical gender needs entail basic human needs such as food, shelter, and water. Although practical needs are the needs of the whole family, planners have typically perceived them as women's needs, because women are "assigned" the responsibility for meeting these needs. The basis of the strategic gender needs is in women's social experience of being subordinate to men. Strategic needs aim to advance women's opportunities to overcome their subordination and reach empowerment (Moser 1989, 1803). <sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Caroline Moser (1989, 1802) has modified originally Maxine Molyneux's (1985) concepts of practical and strategic gender interests into "planning needs," into methods by which women's concerns may be incorporated into planning.

<sup>34</sup> According to Moser, strategic gender needs include "political" goals such as "the abolition of the sexual division of labor; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare; removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land or property or access to credit; the establishment of political equality; freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of

According to Moser (1989, 1817), a good project design not only addresses women's practical needs but also recognizes in the planning process the opportunities that women may gain through the project to advance their strategic gender needs and integrates those opportunities into the design.

How can strategic gender needs be integrated into project design? Moser (1989, 1804) provides examples of gender sensitive planning ("gender planning"): In planning income-generation projects, women should not only be given income-earning opportunities, but planners should create these opportunities in areas that are traditionally considered to be men's work (for example, building and construction). Gender planning also should help provide women land tenure and ownership of their housing to secure themselves and their children (Moser 1989, 1806). Addressing women's strategic gender needs may only require small interventions by planners. For example, in urban areas, nurseries could be built near fathers' workplaces (so that they also could participate in the childcare) or public transportation time-tables could be coordinated according to women's schedules. All these interventions are directed at challenging the traditional gender division of labor and

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adequate measures against male violence and control over women" (Molyneux 1985, 233 cited in Moser 1989, 1802).

creating opportunities for women to empower themselves.<sup>35</sup>

Designing empowerment opportunities for women in projects is an important goal but will remain an abstraction unless specific tools are planted in the projects to secure their implementation. The next dimension deals with the specific means by which gender concerns in the design process are to be implemented.

## 2. Plan for Implementation

The evaluation of the plan for implementation involves examining how the planners intend to make sure women are taken into account in project implementation. Because programs and projects are often designed and implemented by different organizations, it is not unlikely that although the planners at the designing end include gender concerns into the project plan, the implementing agents tend to overlook these issues in project implementation. Therefore, it is crucial that planners integrate into the project design safeguards especially for women's participation and benefits. Three procedures that may help secure the transfer of gender considerations from the project design to implementation are: a) guarding against negative effects on women, b) involving gender-aware field personnel, and c)

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<sup>35</sup> The concept of empowerment will be defined and its desirability justified in the policy approach dimension.

securing women's participation through organizational factors.

a) Guarding Against Negative Effects

The first step in guarding against negative effects on women is to identify these possible effects at the project identification stage. In many cases, harmful effects involve women losing access to or control over important resources or benefits from the project (Overholt et al. 1991, 13).<sup>36</sup>

In a gender-sensitive project design, specific means to safeguard against negative effects on women are woven into the plans for implementation. This may be done, for example, by designating specific credit (or other resource) quotas for women participants, by setting conditions for the implementors to include a particular number of women in project activities, or by establishing separate but equally profitable income earning opportunities for men and women within the project (to guard against men taking over).

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<sup>36</sup> Women may lose control over the fruits of their labor to men. Field staff in development projects often refer to a typical situation at the implementation stage: if an income-generating activity that is designed for women becomes profitable, there is a danger of men taking over the activity as well as the benefits accrued from it (for example, interview with Jeanne Downing/ATI, June 1992).

## b) Project Personnel

The particular strategies to ensure women's participation and benefits are most likely to be carried out when implementing agents are aware of the various restraints on women's participation and committed to overcoming those restraints. Women's participation in projects may be limited, for example, because of socio-cultural, religious, or time constraints (Overholt et al. 1991, 14). Therefore, it is necessary that the planners make clear the particular demands that women's participation in the project may involve and take into account the agents' ability to meet such demands in the selection of implementors.

The plan for implementation also should address the need for female field workers (Overholt et al 1991, 19). Female employers are often needed for cultural reasons, especially in rural areas. For example, in agricultural projects, the participation of women farmers may depend on the availability of female extension workers because of socio-religious constraints on interacting with the opposite sex. Female field workers are especially important for tasks such as collecting information from the women in the target population and training female project participants (e.g., Feldstein et al. 1989, 21).

### c) Organizational Factors

A gender-sensitive implementation plan does not rely merely on supportive personnel for reaching women participants. Gender-aware project planners should expect a certain level of gender sensitivity from the implementing organization. In examining the implementing organizations the focus should be on organizational structures and procedures that make participation accessible to low-income women.

It is important that the implementing activities are accessible for women participants to express their concerns, and that the implementing organization can offer women support and protection during the project (Overholt et al. 1991, 19). In practice, the implementing operations should be constructed in such ways that women are not disadvantaged. For example, basic activities such as setting up project delivery channels should accommodate women's daily tasks. An often used example is to schedule training sessions according to women's time tables and to hold them in such locations that women can easily reach in the middle of their household duties. Implementing agents tend to recruit representatives from the project population often on the basis of unconscious bias. For example, in agricultural projects, the selection of farmers may too often rely on recommendations by village leaders or such conditions as

membership in an organization that is restricted to male members (Sutherland 1986, cited in Feldstein et al. 1989, 21). In such cases, the selection of female farmers is crucial.

Concerns about gender-sensitive implementing activities should be taken into account in the project design stage and specific methods should be created to secure their inclusion in implementation; "Merely stating there is 'open access' does not guarantee full participation or response" (Feldstein et al. 1989, 21).

### 3. Policy Approach

I have so far illustrated the major issues with which planners must deal when designing development projects and planning for their implementation. Evaluating the policy approach means examining the extent to which the program or project provides women with opportunities to empower themselves. However, it is first necessary to define what is meant by empowerment and to discuss why it is a desirable goal.

The term "empowerment" refers to the process of human beings becoming aware of the origins of their hardship, and through this process, gaining the ability to redefine their situation and potentially to achieve greater self-reliance

(for example, Fay 1987; Freire 1972; Antrobus 1989).<sup>37</sup>

The goal of empowerment is not so much to increase women's "status" relative to men as to increase women's own capacity to define and strengthen themselves. For example, Moser (1989, 1815) defines empowerment as "the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change, through the ability to gain control over crucial material and non-material resources". Furthermore, Moser (1989, 1808) distinguishes five development policy approaches to address women's needs and maintains that the empowerment approach is the most reflective of the experiences of women in developing countries.<sup>38</sup> I base this study on the

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<sup>37</sup> No necessary causal link exists between the events described in the definition. Furthermore, empowerment is culture specific and requires caution in order to avoid imposing an ethnocentric definition of empowerment which may be rejected by women in developing countries. However, I argue that empowerment is an important goal, and that raising the political consciousness of women can increase their ability to improve their lives.

<sup>38</sup> 1. The welfare policy approach (1950-) brings women into the development process by targeting them in their reproductive role. This approach involves providing basic needs to women who are seen as the passive beneficiaries of development.

2. The equity policy approach (1975-85) aims at challenging the traditional inequality between men and women. It targets women's gender needs but is unpopular with governments because it involves strong "political" goals.

3. Anti-poverty policies (1970s) emphasize basic human needs, recognizes women in their productive role, and aims to meet their practical gender needs.

4. The goal of the efficiency policy approach (late 1980s-) is to ensure women's economic participation. It has become the most popular approach of governmental development

belief that by gaining self-reliance (i.e., empowering themselves) women may be able to improve their own and their families' living conditions. Based on this belief, empowerment can be seen as desirable for poor women and men regardless of whether it is seen as a goal or a result of a project intervention.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the evaluative criterion for a desirable policy approach will be based on Moser's empowerment approach, which addresses women in their productive, reproductive, and community managing roles,<sup>40</sup> and sees them as not recipients of a "treatment" but as active participants in the development process. The empowerment approach aims at creating opportunities for women's empowerment by, for example, mobilizing women through organizing and creating income-opportunities for

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agencies. By targeting women's practical gender needs it sees women "entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day." 5. The empowerment approach (1980-) seeks to empower women through organizing at the grassroots level to achieve greater self-reliance. It targets long-term strategic gender needs through meeting short-term practical gender needs.

<sup>39</sup> It should be noted that there is controversy about empowerment as a goal of development projects because of the danger of imposing western values. What is understood in this context as empowerment may be a result from participation in development project activities rather than a specific goal for the project to meet.

<sup>40</sup> Moser (1989, 1801) identifies low-income women in developing countries as having a "triple role," and claims that truly gender sensitive planning recognizes women in all of their three roles: as mothers, income-earners, and community managers.

them.

Central to analyzing different policy approaches are women's practical and strategic gender needs. While practical gender needs can be met by short-term project operations, strategic needs reflect the long-term goal of abolishing the structures that perpetuate inequalities between men and women (Moser 1989, 1815). Thus, meeting immediate (practical) needs will not automatically lead to the fulfillment of long-term strategic needs (Ibid., 1816). A gender-sensitive policy approach includes, at least potentially, addressing women's strategic gender needs and creating opportunities for women's empowerment. These can be, for example, income-earning opportunities or participation in grassroots organizations. However, as said above, these opportunities are only potential and thus may or may not lead to women's empowerment.

### Conclusion

The design process, plan for implementation, and the policy approach are aspects of the planning process that can be examined in evaluating the degree of gender sensitivity in project planning. By constructing the evaluative framework, I have illustrated how some of the key concerns of women in developing countries could ideally be integrated into the planning process.

## CHAPTER 4

### INTEGRATING GENDER INTO DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

#### - EXPLAINING ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES

##### Introduction

This chapter constructs a framework for explaining the level of gender sensitivity in the development planning process. The explanatory factors introduced in this chapter are based on recent studies on how gender concerns have been integrated into the structures and operations of development agencies.<sup>41</sup> The first task is to define the kind of factors that may facilitate or hinder the incorporation of women's issues into the organization, and second, to lay out the framework for explaining the extent to which women's concerns are taken into account in NGO planning in general (and in the case study planning process in particular). The discussion also contributes to an understanding of why development agencies have been more or less willing to integrate gender into their operations.

The chapter starts out by introducing the factors

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<sup>41</sup> My discussion is based mostly on studies about the integration of gender into development organizations by Cornelia Flora (1982), Kathleen Staudt (1985 and 1990) and Nüket Kardam (1989, 1990, and 1991).

included in the explanatory framework: 1) organizational goals, 2) organizational structures, 3) personnel, 4) the environment in which the organization operates, and 5) the available resources. Each of these factors is examined, first, in the context of development organizations in general and second, in terms of the importance of each factor for NGOs in particular.

### Introduction to Explanatory Factors

Organizational goals, structures, personnel, environment, and resources are factors that can be used to explain the degree to which development organizations have integrated gender issues into their operations. Goals, structures, and personnel pertain to the internal dynamics of the organization, the environment refers to the external conditions, and resources can be both an internal and an environmental factor. I will examine these five factors separately, although in reality they tend to interact and influence each other. Their mutual impact can be illustrated by an example: Environmental pressures, such as WID policy to include women's issues in the operations of development organizations may influence the goal orientations of agencies by encouraging them to seek new goals that more explicitly include women. To encourage better implementation of women's policy, more gender aware personnel may be

employed, and specific structural changes may be made for setting the new goals into action, which can be either facilitated or hindered by the amount of available resources. External changes such as changes in the orientations and demands of the organizations' constituents (for example, the U.S. government, U.S. citizens, and aid recipients in developing countries) may create new conditions and thus steer aid agencies to integrate WID policies more or less extensively.

The responses to introducing women's agendas vary across different organizations. Some development organizations have demonstrated increasing gender sensitivity in all stages of program/project planning; in others, the task of handling women's issues has been confined to a WID (Women in Development) office, which is often left isolated from the rest of the organization's operations.<sup>42</sup> NGOs are often said to be especially responsive to gender issues because of their characteristics that tend to facilitate the adoption of gender policies, such as small size, flatter hierarchy, decentralization, and grassroots orientation (e.g., Staudt 1990b, 307). However,

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<sup>42</sup> Although some WID offices have carried out significant work in integrating women's issues into programs and projects, there still remains a number of WID experts whose influence is limited to maintaining the WID rhetoric in the organization (Staudt 1990, 8).

NGOs (as all organizations) are influenced by the nature of the organization's internal dynamics and external interactions, which, at the end, may either help or hinder the integration of women's issues into their project/program planning (Staudt 1990b, 306).<sup>43</sup>

### 1. Organizational Policies and Goals

The organizational policies and goals constitute what Staudt (1990, 11) calls "bureaucratic outcomes" - the "substance of what bureaucracies produce, provide, or control in the way of projects, programs, and policies." Policy, defined as "official intentions,"<sup>44</sup> can take the form of a mission statement or a mandate that provides the organization a specific purpose for its existence and operations. Goals are set typically to identify the values that the organization promotes in its actions. These values

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<sup>43</sup> For example, Staudt (1990b, 306) suggests that governmental and nongovernmental organizations have similar realities: "Insider activists pursue strategies in these miniature political worlds but sometimes find themselves stuck with insufficient staff, money, allies, or credibility."

<sup>44</sup> Staudt (1985, 3) defines policies as "official intentions rather than actual practice." Policies create (and reflect earlier) politics as the "intentions" become realized in the workings of the organization. Therefore, in order to understand the integration of gender policy in development organizations, close attention must be paid to the processes and dynamics that go on in them as the policy is implemented in the organization.

also can be understood as "organizational ideology," because they provide explanations and interpretations of the environment, bind together the members of the organization, and suggest appropriate actions. Goals can be crucial for defining how the organization responds to new issues that enter its agenda (such as gender issues) (Kardam 1989, 135).

Organizational goals can be used to explain the treatment of gender issues and the extent of their incorporation in development organizations. Nüket Kardam (1989, 1990, 1991) and Cornelia B. Flora (1983) have demonstrated that when women's issues are compatible with organizational goals, organizations tend to approve of integrating gender concerns into their operations. The often lauded success of the Ford Foundation in integrating WID issues into its programs can be explained partly by its goal of "finding innovative solutions to social problems" (Kardam 1989, 146). Hence, a goal can be gender-sensitive even though women's issues are not explicitly mentioned. Both Kardam (1989, 1990, 1991) and Flora (1983) contended that the fact that the Ford Foundation began integrating women's issues into its agenda as early as the mid-1970s was the result of its organizational goal of finding solutions to problems of social justice. Because women's concerns were defined as social justice concerns (concerns for "redressing unequal power based on gender"), they were included in the

Foundation's operations (Flora 1983, 94; Kardam 1991, 96-97).

Compared to the Ford Foundation, international development agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have fared considerably worse in integrating gender issues into their programs. Kardam (1989, 142-146) claims that their poor performance results, among other factors, from the inconsistency of gender concerns with the organizations' goals. For example, the goal of the UNDP is to finance and coordinate UN technical assistance to developing countries. Because of the UNDP's role as a coordinator, it does not address or advocate substantive issues, such as WID issues. Furthermore, because it works for host governments, the UNDP sees its role as merely reflecting the governments' development purposes, and therefore it does not interfere with their priorities in development.<sup>45</sup> This tends to work against including women in UNDP's operations because not many governments consider women's issues to be

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<sup>45</sup> The definition of "development" used by an organization reflects its value-system and can be considered as a determinant of its gender performance. For example, Buechler (1992) uses the organization's definition of development to help measure the degree of its commitment to women and development.

legitimate development concerns. <sup>46</sup>

Development agencies typically regard organizational goals that deal with technical and financial development as value-neutral and apolitical and dismiss women's issues as "political" - promoting value-laden ideas. In fact, gender concerns tend to face less organizational resistance if they can be advocated on the grounds of economic efficiency. <sup>47</sup> For example, Kardam (1989, 145) notes that the World Bank takes WID issues into account only if they can be linked to more effective economic development.

#### The NGOs' Goals

Organizational goals have been facilitating factors in the integration of gender issues into such organizations as the Ford Foundation and, to a degree, limiting factors in such agencies as the UNDP and the World Bank. The goals of the UNDP and the World Bank involve macro-level development assistance. At first glance, NGOs' orientation toward the

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<sup>46</sup> For example, Kardam (1991, 33) notes that the UNDP could do very little to promote WID policy if the host governments were not interested. Those governments that expressed interests in gender issues were Canadian or Northern European.

<sup>47</sup> The so-called "efficiency argument" contends that women's participation in development is crucial for ensuring more effective economic growth. The critics of this approach claim that increasing women's participation to achieve economic growth relies entirely on the belief that women are able to extend their working day (Moser 1989, 1808).

"poorest of the poor" speaks in their favor compared to agencies that operate at the government-to-government level. The assumption that NGOs are able to meet the needs of poor women seems credible, because at the grassroots level women's concerns are manifested more concretely, while at the government level, they tend to be less visible. However, the NGOs' presumed goal of assisting the poor does not necessarily entail gender disaggregation. For example, Clarke (1991, 54) notes that despite the extensive rhetoric on the importance of gender issues, NGOs are actually doing very little to help women. <sup>48</sup>

Because of their goals of grassroots development and empowerment, NGOs may be willing to address women's needs more directly than governmental agencies. However, relying on such goals will not alone be sufficient for facilitating gender integration and ensuring gender sensitive programming. No matter how gender sensitive the organizational goals, they may be easily overlooked in the absence of such factors as supportive personnel and responsive organizational structures.

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<sup>48</sup> According to Clarke (1991, 54), "nowhere is the gap between [NGOs'] rhetoric and practice starker than in the field of women and development."

## 2. Organizational Structures

Structures provide an important factor for examining and explaining the integration of gender issues into an organization's operations. Organizational structures refer to "recurring interactions in organizations" (Hult & Walcott 1990, 34-35). Structures can be understood as formal rules or standard operating procedures that steer interaction in an organization and as practices that take place more informally (for example, policy breakfasts and discussion groups) (Ibid., 35). Nüket Kardam (1991, 6) defines "structural factors" as the procedures that organizations adopt to achieve their goals. Structures are not assumed to be static, but rather tend to change in response to changing internal and external conditions, such as fluctuating resources (Hult & Walcott 1990, 35; Flora 1983, 90-91).

Organizational structures can be used to explain an organization's gender sensitivity (i.e., how extensively gender issues are integrated into its procedures). Structures "offer 'agendas' that can facilitate and coordinate individual action" (Hammond 1986 in Hult & Walcott 1990, 35) and thus may encourage or hinder the integration of women's issues into organizational activities. For example, Kardam (1991, 6-7) and Staudt (1985) use structural factors to help explain organizational responses to gender policy.

Crucial to the adoption of gender policy in development agencies is the extent to which the policy penetrates different levels of an organizational hierarchy. Development agencies are typically constructed in such a way that problems are defined at the top (implicitly in policies and explicitly in decisions about specific programs and projects), the mechanisms for the solutions are constructed at the mid-level, and their implementation is usually carried out or supervised at the field office level. A formal acknowledgement of women's concerns at the higher levels of the organizational hierarchy may help legitimate gender concerns and exert pressure to integrate them into the procedures at the lower level and thus help achieve better gender sensitivity in the programs and projects. <sup>49</sup>

The global nature of development organizations' operations have generated a specific division into headquarters and field offices. Decentralization of operations may promote or discourage the integration of gender issues. On the one hand, the distance from the central decision-making units can provide field-offices the liberties to interpret policy guidelines and integrate local

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<sup>49</sup> For example, Flora (1983) discusses the importance of gender-sympathetic top officials for integrating gender issues in the Ford Foundation. The significance of the personnel in integrating gender issues into organization's operations will be examined later in this chapter.

women's needs into them relatively independently. As Flora (1983, 92) reports, the fact that the field offices of the Ford Foundation could budget their own projects allowed them more control over the definition of problems. On the other hand, social movements, such as the women's movement, may manage to infiltrate into the headquarters but rarely influence the remote field offices.

As stated earlier, some development organizations have responded to WID policy by establishing special "WID units" to integrate women's concerns into the organization's operations; special WID offices exist, for example, at the USAID and the World Bank. While WID units have done significant work in encouraging project planners to take women's concerns into account, they have remained relatively powerless and often isolated. The research on the status and influence of WID offices clearly indicates that isolating the responsibility for women's integration in special units does not lead to the desired integration of gender into development projects.

Such structural factors as the WID unit's location in the organization or the stage at which the WID advisors enter the project cycle are crucial for explaining why gender integration has failed in general. Nüket Kardam (1989, 119) reports that the position of the WID advisor in the World Bank is a sensitive one because her approval of

the project is requested only at the project appraisal stage. Therefore, the WID advisor may be easily discouraged to criticize planners for their already completed project, which clearly limits her bargaining power. In addition to the distant location from the organization's main technical units and an uncomfortable entry point into the project process, many WID officers become virtually paralyzed when they are assigned too much work (for example, a whole continent's projects). A WID officer at USAID expressed, for example, that it is impossible for her to monitor how gender is integrated into all 1200 projects in Asia.<sup>50</sup>

#### NGO Structures

The "unique flexibility" that development NGOs have often claimed as an advantage over official agencies has recently become a subject of criticism (Clark 1991, 54). Analysts of NGOs often point out that the so-called flexibility is used to attract private donors. Clark (1991, 57) argues that, in practice, "flexibility" means disorganization, unsystematic procedures, and "structural amateurism" that manifests itself in NGOs' collegial decision-making structures. As a result, decision-making process may become committee-bound and creativity may be

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with a USAID WID officer, May 1992.

"stifled." Hence, NGOs' "flexible" structures in reality may not be as effective as NGOs themselves claim.

### 3. Personnel

In the course of advocating gender-sensitive procedures, an organization's personnel can play a critical role. Project identification, for example, is typically the task of an individual project officer who, to a certain extent, uses his or her judgement. For example, Kardam (1990, 121) notes that in the World Bank, "project staff play a pivotal role in the identification of projects, and therefore the consideration of women is at the discretion of the individual project officer."

The "resocialization" approach for studying policy changes in organizations emphasizes the values of individual staff members (Staudt 1985, 14-15). It holds that staff members are committed to specific normative outlooks, and that their decisions and actions are influenced accordingly. Even the most encouraging attempts to integrate gender concerns into development planning may flounder if they are encountered by staff whose values do not agree with the WID message.

Furthermore, in explaining staff responses to gender issues, the extremely personal and complex interpretation of the concept "gender" or "women" should be taken into

account. In other words, the definition of gender issues is contingent upon the world view and the value system of an individual staff member. For example, the grievous misconceptions discussed earlier may largely be explained in the light of personal values:

Everyone is an expert on their own definition of relationships between men and women, and the very depth of that experience leads to tendencies to generalize from it, however inaccurate or inappropriate to others' experiences, including other cultures (Staudt 1985, 15).

If the staff members' values influence their response to gender issues, are women staff members more sensitive to gender issues, and more willing than men to integrate them into the organization's operations? Many scholars argue that more female staff members constitute a necessary but not a sufficient condition for greater gender sensitivity. As Flora (1983, 94) notes, the "sex of staff is not a perfect predictor of attitudes toward the female world." Situations in which women's inclusion is strived for by the male staff while female staff continues to cling on to traditional practices are quite possible.<sup>51</sup>

In general, though, involving more women in organizations has meant progress toward the inclusion of gender concerns. Affirmative action programs to hire more

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<sup>51</sup> This occurred, for example, in the change process in the Ford Foundation (Flora 1983, 94).

women are often adopted in the course of implementing more gender sensitive policies. For example, the Ford Foundation's total professional female staff increased from 19.6% in 1972 (Flora 1983, 95) to 53.2% in 1986 (Kardam 1989, 147), which reflects changes in its priorities.

In addition to numbers, the position of female professionals in the organization is important for making women's voices heard. For example, the appointment of women as regional directors was pivotal in increasing support for women in the Inter-American Foundation (Yudelman 1990, 132). Moreover, women managers may be especially crucial under certain circumstances to ensure a sympathetic atmosphere in which women's issues can be brought up. If procedures such as project reviews are heavily male-dominated, as was the case in the IAF, staff members (male or female) may easily feel uncomfortable about introducing gender issues (Ibid., 140).

The cases of both the Ford Foundation and the Inter-American Foundation have shown that gender-sensitive leadership, regardless of sex, is extremely important in integrating women in development. In the Ford Foundation, the efforts to include women were speeded up by a new feminist male president (Flora 1983, 100), while in the IAF, the newly appointed female - but far less gender-sensitive president was responsible for eliminating the important

positions of regional directors who were female (Yudelman 1990, 136).

### NGO Personnel

NGO personnel have been typically characterized in terms of an ideology of popular participation mixed with references to voluntarism.<sup>52</sup> As NGOs have increasingly become the subject of rigorous study, the glorified picture of the staff has changed. In fact, "voluntary" staff are often criticized for being "unprofessional," to which NGOs have responded by recruiting more "professional" staff. An insider from a U.S. NGO reports that "we are trying to professionalize staff, grapple with governance issues, and restructure ourselves" (Dichter 1988, 180).

I have attempted to demonstrate that the gender sensitivity of an organization's personnel is dependent upon various factors that need to work together in order to bring about more gender sensitivity. Within any organization, an individual whose conscious choice is to take into account women can make a difference at every level.

The individuals who work toward promoting policy change

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<sup>52</sup> For example, Clark (1991, 53) describes development NGO staff as "generally highly committed to their work because of widely shared values and a belief in the social change mission inherent in their work. They are often prepared, therefore, to work long hours for low pay."

within organizations are called "advocacy administrators" (Staudt 1985, 11), or "policy entrepreneurs" who "bring policy into being" by cultivating allies and mobilizing the facts which justify action (Polsby [1984] cited in Kardam 1989, 136). The WID policy entrepreneurs tend to utilize different strategies to foster gender issues, such as generating research on women, disseminating findings in the organization, bargaining to establish internal allies, and nurturing outside constituencies (Staudt 1985).

#### 4. Environment

Development organizations operate in an environment that is loaded with various interpretations of development. Development organizations interact with other organizations, governments, and funding agencies that influence their operations as well as their definition of development. To achieve their goals, organizations tend to match their interests with funders and host governments that may or may not respond supportively to WID requirements. For example, Kardam (1989, 142) found out that gender issues were mostly excluded from the operations of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) because they were not considered important issues by the donor governments.

The degree to which gender issues are taken into account in an organization can be explained in part by the

degree of organizational independence from the development assistance regime (Buechler 1992, 164). Independence from the regime refers to the extent to which the organization is free to operate regardless of the conditions set by financial constituencies (private and public donors). Development projects can be seen in part as outcomes of the donor policy. The freedom to integrate gender issues in one form or another into project planning is, to some degree, dependent upon how important the donor (or donors) regard women's concerns. Again, the UNDP serves as a good example of donor pressure: the UNDP projects that were co-funded by more gender-sensitive governments, such as Sweden, Norway, or the Netherlands, have taken gender issues more seriously than other UNDP projects (Kardam 1989, 143). While U.S. donors constitute an influential part of NGO environment, it must be noted that NGOs' environment also includes development organizations and groups in the host countries, which may or may not exert their demands on their U.S. counterparts. <sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> As will be discussed later, the financial flow from the U.S. donors to the U.S. NGOs and on to indigenous NGOs typically implies that the donors (U.S. donor and NGOs) are in the position to insist on the inclusion of gender concerns. However, the environment factor also may point out any resistance to these demands.

## NGOs' Environment

American development NGOs are said to be serving three constituencies: large donors (private or governmental), NGOs in the project country, <sup>54</sup> and their own professional staffs (Dichter 1988, 183). Out of the three constituencies, the importance of the staff for the successful integration of gender issues into development projects has been discussed above. This section deals with the gender sensitivity of the donors as well as the host country organizations.

Government funding through USAID formally requires the integration of gender concerns throughout project planning and implementation. While the objective is praiseworthy, systematic monitoring is difficult, and monitoring officials, such as the WID officers at AID, have little authority in practice to pressure NGOs to take into account women's needs. When gender issues are tied to funding, NGOs are required to articulate in their proposals the impact of their project on women. However, AID's influence seems to reach only as far as the designing NGO in monitoring gender

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<sup>54</sup> Dichter (1988, 183) refers to "target beneficiaries" which, for American NGOs, may be indigenous NGOs as well as the people that the project is intended to benefit.

integration.<sup>55</sup> In the everyday practice of development projects, only the U.S. NGO and its indigenous project partners know what happens in the field.

The gender sensitivity of the implementing agencies may be a great concern for large donors but involve monitoring mechanisms that may not be practical for large agencies that tend to concentrate on allocating money to the NGOs that plan projects. For example, WID officers at AID expressed concern about the gender sensitivity of the local implementing agents but implied that such things are difficult to monitor. Nevertheless, WID officers maintained that NGOs are generally very gender-aware.<sup>56</sup> While the gender sensitivity of official development agencies (USAID, the World Bank, UNDP, etc.) has attracted a great deal of attention, there is definitely a lack of research on the gender orientations of private donors. As noted above, private foundations such as the Ford Foundation may be considerably gender-aware in their operations and funding decisions (Flora 1982; Kardam 1989, 1991).

In the division of labor among NGOs and government

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<sup>55</sup> Monitoring may be difficult even between the different divisions of the same organization. Staudt's (1985, 53) study of the integration of WID policy into AID revealed that AID field missions were reluctant to give information about women's inclusion in their projects.

<sup>56</sup> Interviews with two USAID WID Officers, May 1992.

agencies, NGOs occupy a position in the middle of the financial flow from official agencies to the indigenous (Southern) development NGOs that are typically the project implementors. The flow of dollars from an official agency, for example AID, to an American NGO and on to an indigenous NGO constitutes a top-down power relationship in which the indigenous NGOs are at least formally accountable to their Northern "partners" as much as the U.S. NGOs are to their donors (Blaser 1984, 88). Because of their role in moving money and innovations in the form of projects from Northern governments to the poor in developing countries, U.S. NGOs have an opportunity to emphasize attention to women. If women's inclusion is tied to funding, indigenous project partners are more likely to cooperate. <sup>57</sup>

Finally, environmental factors such as the view of women in the culture of many developing countries may pose serious constraints on U.S. NGOs' attempts to advocate the integration of gender issues into project implementation by indigenous NGOs. A key environmental factor is the impact of available resources in the environment, which will be

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<sup>57</sup> I do not suggest that indigenous NGOs would not take gender into consideration without the pressure of Northern NGOs. However, in this study, the focus is strictly on the operations of U.S. NGOs and their concerns about how their indigenous project partners treat gender concerns as well as on the possible pressures U.S. NGOs place on their partners to promote gender sensitivity.

discussed below. Other "uncontrollable" environmental factors include macro-scale events, such as shifts in political priorities either in the United States or the target country as well as possible changes in the target countries government regimes. For example, change of president in the United States may influence the amount of federal funding available through the USAID.

## 5. Resources

Resources such as money and staff constitute an important factor that may either induce or discourage the inclusion of women into planning; with a low resource base even the most gender-sensitive project plans tend to fail in integrating women. At this point it must be noted that the factor of available resources was not included in the original explanatory framework. However, in the course of the research, it became evident that a distinct factor for resources was needed to fully explain the extent of integration of gender issues in NGO planning.<sup>58</sup>

The amount of resources an organization has available tends to shape its responses to gender issues in general.

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<sup>58</sup> Because I did not originally include resources in the explanatory framework, I do not have evidence that would point to the extent of resource availability in the case study. However, the problem of scarce resources emerged from the case study evidence to such an extent that I included it as a separate factor to the explanatory framework.

Women's concerns, especially when isolated in separate offices and components, are easily discarded when projects face cut backs in funding. Similarly, the resources available for the planning of an individual project may determine to a large extent how women's concerns are taken into account.

In explaining why development organization have been more or less successful in taking women into account, it is necessary, on the one hand, to look at the amount of resources available for the program or project and especially for the particular task of integrating women. On the other hand, it is not clear to what extent the "resource argument" reflects the fact that gender concerns may still be perceived as something "extra" in the project; to be taken into account when resources are high. This explanation points to a lack of commitment in the organization to dedicate resources to gender concerns. However, as the case of the Ford Foundation demonstrates, when an organization is committed to treating gender issues as a priority, women are taken into account regardless of scarce resources (Flora 1983).

### Conclusion

This chapter has outlined five organizational factors that recent studies have used to help explain the

development organizations' responses to the demands of gender integration. I suggest here that the degree to which gender concerns have been incorporated into an organization's operations can to a large extent be explained by looking at its goals, structures, personnel, environment, and available resources.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODS

#### Introduction

This chapter introduces the case study and reports the steps taken in conducting the research project that follows. The chapter begins by justifying why I have used the case study as the specific strategy to examine the integration of gender issues into project planning in NGOs, after which it explains how the actual case was selected and the kinds of criteria used in the case selection. The chapter also reports the process of data collection and discusses some of the limitations that were encountered in conducting the research.

#### The Rationale for the Case Study

In order to explore how and why gender issues have become incorporated into development planning, a case study method can provide insight for examining the dynamics of the planning process. For example, Robert Yin (1984, 20) notes that case studies are appropriate research strategies for attempting to answer the questions of "how" and "why." The case study that follows will first evaluate the gender sensitivity of the planning process by examining how (or to

what extent) gender issues were taken into account and secondly, attempt to answer why gender issues received the attention they did in the planning process by using the explanatory framework. Despite the growing research on WID or GAD issues, gender integration into planning still needs systematic study. Salient problems that are brought out by examining a specific case also can lay out the basis for further research on NGOs' gender integration.

The concentration on a single planning process as the unit of analysis instead of examining multiple planning processes proved more feasible given the time constraint of a master's thesis. A study of a single case also provided an opportunity to direct all attention to the planning process of only one project and to probe for sounder explanations for why the planners took or failed to take gender concerns into account. This study is a "theoretically-informed" case study. It allows the examination of the case program by using the elements of the evaluative and explanatory frameworks that were introduced above.

### Case Selection

The case in this study is the planning process of the program "From Lab to Land: Agricultural Biotechnologies for Small-Scale Farmers in Asia" by Appropriate Technology

International (ATI).<sup>59</sup> The case was selected on the basis of availability and access. Approximately ten development non-profit NGOs were selected from the 1990 edition of the Development Directory, which covers the international development community in the United States and Canada. The primary criteria for selecting the initial list of NGOs were that they be private, non-profit organizations, be located in Washington, D.C. or New York, and have projects in different parts of the developing world (Asia, Africa, Latin America).<sup>60</sup> The final criterion was my personal preference for programs that were being implemented in Asia because of a long-term interest in the development issues of the region.

Phone calls to the selected NGOs generated only a few "agreeable" responses to my inquiry for permission to use the organization's programs or projects for the case study. Many organizations responded that their project files were confidential or that their personnel were too busy to

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<sup>59</sup> Hereafter, referred to as "the Program" or "Lab-to-Land."

<sup>60</sup> Non-profit NGOs were chosen instead of foundations or consulting agencies. Foundations tend to concentrate on funding rather than project planning and implementation, and consulting agencies tend to operate for profit. Organizations located in Washington, D.C. or New York were easily accessible from Blacksburg, VA. The diversity of project sites indicated that the NGOs were established in their operations.

provide assistance to an outsider. Appropriate Technology International offered access to its project files, and agreed to have an outsider visit the office and interview the staff.

The contact person at ATI, Jack Croucher, the Program Development Director/Asia, responded to my inquiry by suggesting that the program "Lab to Land" be the subject of the case study.<sup>61</sup> Although access to ATI was not contingent on selecting that specific program, doing so facilitated entry to the site. Also, as noted before, the Program met my preference for dealing with development issues that pertain to Asia.

I selected ATI primarily because it offered entry to the organization and access to its documents. Marshall and Rossman (1989, 54) list possible entry as the first characteristic of the "ideal site." Others are the high probability of a rich mix of processes, the ability for the researcher to continue the study as long as needed, and a reasonable assurance of data quality and credibility. ATI met these criteria by allowing me to conduct research for as long as I needed and by providing unrestricted access to all documents. The staff members responded positively to

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<sup>61</sup> Croucher offered the Program for this study because he was working on it himself and because he had with the other planners recently completed writing the gender component for the Program proposal.

inquiries about ATI and the Lab-to-Land Program.

### ATI as an NGO

In the context of this study, ATI meets the criteria for NGOs. It is a private, non-profit development assistance organization that has its headquarters in the United States and is involved in overseas development work. However, ATI's NGO status is problematic and needs further elaboration in order to argue that this case study is representative of U.S. development NGOs in general.

ATI was initially established to supplement development aid from the U.S. government (and to receive its funding from the USAID).<sup>62</sup> ATI's funding relationship with the AID remains an important determinant of ATI's operations even though ATI has worked independently from the AID (and has at times, come into conflict with the objectives of USAID Missions) (AID 1986, 24).<sup>63</sup> Therefore, despite the

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<sup>62</sup> ATI's role in the development assistance regime has been defined in the initial mandate by the Congress "to provide an alternative approach to solving some of the problems associated with technological development activities funded under the Foreign Assistance Act." In practice, many of ATI's project interests complement those of the larger USAID programs (AID 1986, 1 and 24).

<sup>63</sup> An example of this relationship is the ATI "contact person" at USAID who represents AID's institutionalized presence in ATI's operations (programs and projects). The contact person is officially the project manager for all ATI projects and also responsible for coordinating ATI's operations with AID's Field Missions (Interview with ATI

fact that ATI is a private non-profit organization, its operations must to a degree be viewed within the context of official U.S. development aid; furthermore, this relationship must be taken into account in attempts to draw generalizable conclusions from this case study.

### Data Collection

Case studies typically rely on multiple sources of evidence (Yin 1984, 78). The findings of this study are based on two kinds of evidence: program/project documents and interviews.<sup>64</sup> The written sources of evidence include documents, such as program proposal drafts (which reveal the evolution of the final proposal), the Program planners' internal memos, minutes of staff meetings (e.g., PCDC and PRAC) in which the Program was discussed, other staff members' memos and written comments, evaluations of the organization by outside consultants, and correspondence between the planning and the implementing organizations. I selected the documents on the basis of their ability to offer information about the planning process. Some documents

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contact person, Roberto Castro, May 1992). However, it can be assumed that the influence of AID will eventually weaken as its funding declines.

<sup>64</sup> The data were collected at ATI and USAID in Washington, D.C., March 10-11 and May 26-June 5, except for one phone interview on September 4, 1992.

pertained to the organization as a whole (for example, evaluations of ATI) while others dealt with the Lab-to-Land Program. As a general rule, I analyzed the documents by trying to detect any indications of whether gender issues had entered the process, and if they had, at what stage, how, and why. Furthermore, I looked for possible definitions that would include gender distinctions (such as the definition of "farmer") or descriptions of Program operations that paid particular attention to the female participants. I also attempted to identify stages of the Program in which the planners should have taken into account gender concerns.

Program documents may provide useful information about the different stages of planning; however, they are unable to fully reveal the actual process of integrating gender issues into projects.<sup>65</sup> The many facets of this process tend to be hidden; they are not reported in project documents and often may remain "invisible" even to the planners themselves (who may not be as sensitized to detecting them as the researcher is). Therefore, in order to evaluate and explain the extent of gender sensitivity in the planning process at ATI, it was necessary to discuss the

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<sup>65</sup> The proposal document itself can be seen as the final outcome of a complex process of attempting to create a balance among different interests, such as those of donors, project beneficiaries, and the organization's own personnel.

process with the people who had been involved in it - the planners and ATI staff members (although, as will be discussed later, there are limitations to the interviews).

I interviewed six ATI staff members, two USAID Women in Development officers, and the USAID-ATI contact person (for a list of the interviewees, see Appendix 1). The interviewees at ATI were selected on the basis of two ideas. I treated the Lab-to Land planners of the Program as informants about the planning process. Their interviews were to focus on the process itself in order to reveal its degree of gender sensitivity. Hence, the planners were asked mostly about the gender sensitivity of the planning process. The second idea was to interview other ATI staff members who were not immediately involved in the planning process in order to gain a broader understanding of the general operations at ATI and to identify possible factors that might have influenced the planning process (in order to help explain the level of gender sensitivity of the planning process). The staff members were asked about the overall gender sensitivity of ATI operations. AID-ATI contact person was interviewed to find out about possible gender policy transfer from AID to ATI since most ATI operations are funded by AID. The WID officers' interviews served as background for addressing problems of gender integration into NGOs.

The interviews were "open-ended" and "in-depth."<sup>66</sup> The discussions followed an outline that was prepared to guide the conversation (see Appendix 2). The use of an outline proved essential to be able to cover the most important issues because the interviews were relatively short, ranging from 45 minutes to an hour. The responses of the interviewees were written down by hand.

The respondents in general were cooperative and provided information on both their own and their colleagues' operations. It must, however, be noted that a key person to this case study was Sharmila Ribeiro, a Program Officer/Asia region who also was one of the Program planners. She served as a contact between the investigator and ATI and helped arrange the interviews as well as provided valuable insight into the planning as well as other processes at ATI. Her role in this study goes beyond that of a respondent, and thus, she should be treated as a key informant.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> In open-ended interviews, the investigator "can ask key respondents for the facts of a matter as well as for the respondent's opinions about events" (Yin 1984, 83). In-depth interviews can be seen as "a conversation with a purpose"; they are structured only enough to cover the basic problem areas, allowing the interviewee a lot of room to respond as he or she wishes (Marshall & Rossman 1989, 82).

<sup>67</sup> Yin (1984, 83) defines a key informant as a person who can provide the investigator with insights to the subject matter and suggest (and also initiate access to) additional sources of evidence. Such person should not be treated as a typical respondent by the investigator.

## Limitations

The investigation of the Lab-to-Land planning process at ATI involved a number of limitations that call for elaboration. To the extent that ATI is operating within the development assistance regime and relies on public as well as private funding, the planning of the Lab-to-Land Program at ATI can be seen to represent program/project planning in NGOs in general. While goals, structures, and personnel may vary across NGOs, the fact that NGOs are funded by public and/or private donors, makes them to varying degrees susceptible to donor policies and conditions, which are likely to influence the extent of gender integration into planning. Therefore, I argue that the findings from this case study can be seen as somewhat representative of gender integration in NGOs' project planning. However, they may be unrepresentative to the extent that most NGOs were as willing as ATI to grant access to their organizations.

The study has limitations that may reduce its internal validity, however. My purpose was to formulate questions that would get to the depths of the planning process; this task proved to be difficult. Although I prepared detailed outlines for the interviews, getting to the dynamics of the planning process was restricted by time limits, and frequent interruptions during the interviews. Because I started out with more general "warm up" questions, many in-depth

questions had to be dropped out because of limited time. In spite of many questions that focused on the deeper dynamics of the planning process, some respondents preferred to talk about the general idea of gender sensitivity rather than about its application to their own work. Also, because of my limited knowledge of the planning process, my questions tended to focus more on explanatory than evaluative factors.

Because I investigated gender integration, the respondents tended to reply according to their preconceptions of and attitudes about women's issues. Gender issues are often considered "political" and, thus, a controversial subject to be discussed, because of their inherent claim for the redistribution of power and resources. Also, the findings of the case study can be said to be affected by the sex of the investigator: the same interviewees and the same questions might well have produced different responses to a male investigator.

Another fact that needs to be recognized is that most of the information on gender integration came from one person, Sharmila Ribeiro, who, because of her responsibility for creating the gender component, became the key informant for this study.<sup>68</sup> Also, in the course of the data

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<sup>68</sup> Although I studied other planners' personal files, Ribeiro's files provided me with the most information on how and why gender issues were integrated into the Program simply because, in practice, the gender integration was the

collection and interviews, I developed a close relationship with Ribeiro, which may color the findings. As Yin (1984, 83) remarks, the interpersonal influence of the relationship between the investigator and the key informant may influence the findings. The nature of the interviews necessitated the respondents to evaluate their colleagues' gender sensitivity. It was apparent that because of mutual solidarity, many respondents were reluctant to fully criticize the gender sensitivity of their colleagues. This should also be taken into account as a limitation to getting the most complete accounts of the planning process.

In general, this case study focused only on the planning process at ATI. Because the purpose was to evaluate and explain only the planning process, inferences about the gender sensitivity of the entire Program should not be made based on the study of ATI alone. In order to fully estimate the level of gender sensitivity of the Program, the degree of gender sensitivity of the other organizations that are involved in the Program (e.g., NIFTAL, SATE, and the Free University, Amsterdam) also should be assessed.

Finally, the reader must be reminded that the historical descriptions of the Program as well as the development of the planning process are based on the

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same as developing the gender component.

available Program documents and the personal accounts of the interviewees (of the events that had taken place some time ago) and are, therefore, naturally open to interpretation.

## CHAPTER 6

### EVALUATION: THE INCORPORATION OF GENDER INTO THE LAB-TO-LAND PROGRAM PLANNING AT ATI

#### Introduction

This chapter evaluates the degree of gender sensitivity in the Lab-to-Land Program planning at ATI. First, it lays the groundwork for the evaluation by introducing the Lab-to-Land Program and the ATI organization. The chapter also describes the project approval and the planning process at ATI. The second part of the chapter evaluates the planning process by applying the evaluative framework introduced in Chapter 3.

#### The Program: "From Lab to Land"

The purpose of the program "From Lab to Land: Agricultural Biotechnologies for Small-Scale Farmers in Asia" is to

facilitate small-scale commercialization of relatively mature agricultural biotechnologies that are supportive of sustainable agriculture, and of direct benefit to small and resource-poor farmers in Asia (Program proposal/Final, 1992).<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> The planners define biotechnology according to the definition of the Office of Technology Development of the U.S. Congress as "any technique that uses living organisms, or substances from those organisms, to make or modify a

The process of commercializing biotechnologies so that small-scale farmers can afford to use them involves four strategies that divide the Program into conceptually separate components. The first component is the creation of biotechnology research network for laboratories throughout Asia, the "Asia Network for Small-Scale Agricultural Biotechnology" (ANSAB). The network aims at linking approximately 200 institutions from eight countries in Asia: Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam. The ANSAB operates at two levels: first, it connects institutions within each country to small producers; second, it promotes technology transfer among the countries, sponsors workshops and addresses policy issues that are related to biotechnology commercialization. The Network also assists the Lab-to-Land Program in identifying existing biotechnology projects and mature biotechnologies in the region as well as organizations that can carry out demonstration projects to commercialize biotechnologies for small farmers (Program Proposal/Final,

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product, to improve plants or animals, or to develop microorganisms for specific use" (Proposal/Final, p. 3). The focus in the Lab-to-Land Program is on the most simple (or "traditional") biotechnologies that require less sophisticated laboratory techniques and production facilities and that are affordable for small-farmers, such as plant tissue culture, plant and soil inoculant (rhizobium, mycorrhiza and blue-green algae), and mushroom spawn production.

p. 33).

The Lab-to-Land Program is currently in its early stages of implementation. The ANSAB was established in a workshop held in March/April 1992 in Kathmandu, Nepal (the location of the Network's headquarters) which the member institutions attended.

The second component aims at commercializing various biotechnologies by first setting up demonstration projects in each participating country. Small farmers will be trained to apply the biotechnologies, and they will be "assisted in gaining access to credit facilities" (ATI/Program Proposal, p. 38). ATI proposes to establish small-scale enterprises to sell the biotechnologies with small farmers as part-owners. Three demonstration projects for biotechnology commercialization are currently being implemented: one in Nepal (Potato Tissue Culture) and two in Indonesia (Kapok and Potato Tissue Culture). Also, two feasibility studies are being conducted for possible projects in India (Rhizobium) and in Bangladesh (Blue-Green Algae).

The Program's third component consists of monitoring and evaluating the demonstration projects to find out whether the technologies are viable and whether the needs of small farmers are being met by the projects. This component also includes the consideration of gender issues in evaluating the project's impact. The fourth component

emphasizes policy analysis of biotechnology research and standardization, government price policies and subsidies, and other such policies that aim at promoting biotechnologies to small farmers (Program Proposal/Final, p. 46).

The four components of the Lab-to-Land Program reflect a division of labor among ATI and the implementing organizations. ATI administers the Program and takes part in its implementation. It is involved in setting up the ANSAB as well as in carrying out the demonstration projects together with the local NGOs (which are also called "project partners"). In addition to ATI, Program implementation involves other organizations such as NIFTAL (Nitrogen Fixation by Tropical Agricultural Legumes), a unit of the University of Hawaii's College of Tropical Agriculture, that is responsible for the technical evaluation and training for the production and use of the biotechnologies. The Department of Biology and Society, at the Free University, Amsterdam will carry out the monitoring and evaluation of the demonstration projects, and the Small Enterprise Development and Appropriate Technology Europe (SATE) will conduct the policy analysis. <sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Although these organizations play an important role in the implementation, ATI is solely responsible of the Program planning. Therefore, this study concentrates solely on ATI.

## Program Background

The idea of a network for linking farmers with biotechnology producers was initiated by ATI's working partners in Asia after ATI's involvement in three biotechnology projects in Thailand during the 1980s (ATI/Program Proposal/Draft 1992, 1). ATI's first biotechnology experience in Asia was a project, "Small Scale Production of Rhizobium Inoculant," that ran from 1983 to 1987. The second biotechnology project "Small-scale Commercial Production of Rhizobium Inoculant," was implemented in cooperation with a local NGO, the SVITA Foundation of Bangkok, Thailand from January 1988 to September 1990. The third project, "Small-scale Production of Blue-Green Algae Biofertilizer," was implemented by the Thailand Institute of Scientific and Technological Research (TISTR) and the Foundation for Thailand Rural Reconstruction Movement (TRRM). The blue-green algae (BGA) project was started in December 1989 and the project term was 24 months. However, the project was halted in early 1991 when the USAID (and thus also ATI) pulled out of Thailand because of the political changes in the government of Thailand.

These projects attracted attention in the Asia region and generated requests for similar type of projects; thus, they have served as demonstration projects for assessing

both the feasibility and the impact of biotechnology application in small-scale farming. The three projects also are important for understanding the Lab-to-Land Program planning process. Much of the Program planning relies on experiences from these projects; the planners used them to demonstrate the feasibility of the demonstration projects within the Program. <sup>71</sup>

### Program Financing

The total budget of the Program is estimated to be US \$5,835,250 over a five year period. Of the total 5.8 million budget, ATI has, so far, invested approximately \$300,000 in staff time, technology assessment, and prototype technology application projects and is prepared to commit additional funding if the Program attracts funding from other sources. ATI is presently seeking funding from sources such as the USAID Private Voluntary Agency Cofinancing program for a contribution of approximately \$1,650,800 for operations in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and the Philippines; these monies, however, require 25% matching funds from non-US government sources. NIFTAL will contribute \$65,000 in technical assistance. The remaining \$3,000,000

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<sup>71</sup> The Rhizobium and BGA project documents (for example, plans and evaluations of impacts) provide important information about the Program's planning process.

will be sought from other private and public donors (Program Proposal/ Final, p. 58).

The Organization: Appropriate Technology International (ATI)

ATI is a private non-profit development NGO located in Washington, D.C. It was established in 1976 as a response to an initiative of the U.S. Congress to develop and disseminate appropriate technologies for small scale producers.<sup>72</sup> ATI's mandate is to work

with and on behalf of small farmers and entrepreneurs in developing countries to boost their productivity and incomes, foster new enterprises and expand existing ones, and generate broad-based economic growth (ATI Fact Sheet 1992).

ATI's approach relies on directly involving local organizations in developing countries as "project partners" to implement its projects and programs.

ATI is governed by a Council, Board of Trustees, and the President. Internally, ATI has separate units for Finance and Administration, Institutional Relations and Communications, Operations, Environmental Investment and Business Development, Program Evaluation, Financial/

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<sup>72</sup> Darrow and Saxenian (1986) define appropriate technologies as technologies that require small amounts of capital; use locally available materials; are flexible, labor-intensive and affordable to families and small groups; can be operated and maintained by villagers themselves; can be produced in small-workshops; create opportunities for local people; improve communities; and do not harm the environment.

Institutional Systems, and Program Management. Furthermore, ATI's project operations are divided according to geographical areas (Africa, Asia, and Latin America/Caribbean). Each geographical unit is responsible for planning the programs and projects for its own region.

### Financing of ATI

Initially, ATI was set up by grants from the Congress. Currently, ATI receives the majority of its funding from the USAID's Bureau for Research and Development, Office of Economic and Institutional Development. Since the early 1980s, the AID funding has been continually declining and according to the USAID/ATI contact person, the AID has been planning to eventually cease all its funding to ATI.<sup>73</sup> To diversify its base funding, ATI has begun to seek funds from non-U.S. government sources.

### Project Approval at ATI

The planning of the Lab-to-Land Program followed the standard project approval procedures at ATI. The approval

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<sup>73</sup> Interview of the AID/ATI contact person, May 1992. It must be noted that I did not attempt to find out to what extent higher level AID officials would confirm this statement. While it does reflect the contact person's understanding of the AID's position in the spring of 1992, the USAID funding policy to ATI may change under president Clinton's democratic administration.

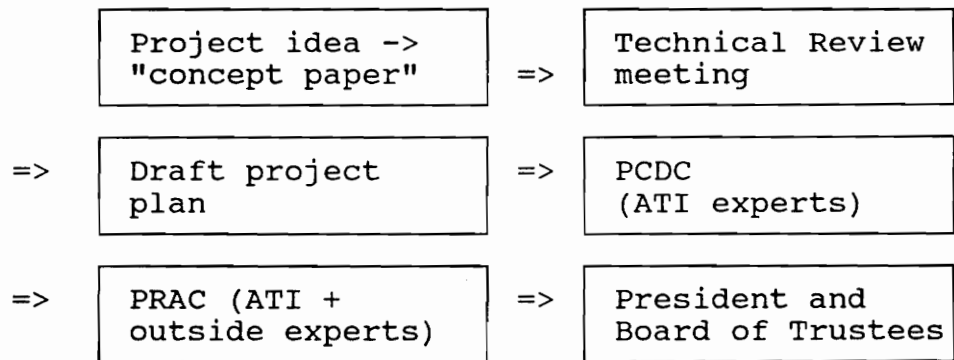
process begins with a project concept that typically is formulated by a program officer who also introduces the concept to the so-called Technical Review meeting. In the technical review, ATI staff members assess whether the concept involves sound technology choices, economic sustainability, and possibilities for commercial success and widespread use. Once a specific target area is approved, the program officer returns to the field and formulates a detailed project plan (Downing 1989, E-4). The project plan is then introduced to ATI's own experts in the Project Concept and Design Committee (PCDC). (PCDC consists of the ATI president, regional directors, and departmental directors.) This committee approves, rejects, or defers the project proposal and discusses any specific conditions regarding the project (ATI/Program Proposal/Draft 1992, 59). If the PCDC's decision is favorable, the project proposal is reviewed by the Project Review and Advisory Committee (PRAC), which also includes outside experts.<sup>74</sup> The

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<sup>74</sup> The PCDC consists of ATI's own experts while PRAC also includes outside experts. ATI's president selects the PRAC members who are typically experts in small enterprise development, mechanical or agricultural engineering, social sciences, financial analysis, technology transfer, project and/or business management, market development, or other private sector/commercial development. The PRAC has recently been dissolved because ATI is increasingly relying on private donors whose experts review all proposed projects (the PRAC was useful when ATI funded its own programs). However, at the time of planning the Lab-to-Land Program, the PRAC was still in operation and, therefore, it is

project proposal receives its final approval from the President and is then submitted to the ATI Board of Trustees for ratification (Downing 1989, E-4).

The project/program approval process is illustrated in the following diagram:



### The Planning of the Lab-to-Land Program

The unit of analysis in the case study is the Lab-to-Land planning process, which started with the emergence of the Program concept (the initial idea to create the ANSAB Network) and ended at the first stage of Program implementation, namely at the workshop establishing the Network.<sup>75</sup> Although the evaluation and the explanation

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included here.

<sup>75</sup> The core idea of the Program is the creation of the ANSAB Network through which the demonstration projects as well as the commercialization efforts will take place. The two preceding projects (Rhizobium inoculant and Blue-green

that follow may include references to the demonstration projects that are being implemented under the Program, the planning of these projects is treated as separate from the design of the overall Program and the projects are not included in this study. It also must be noted that although the planning has been completed, the development of the Lab-to-Land Program is an on-going process; it continues to involve the planners in various activities, such as overseeing Network operations, assisting the project partners in setting up demonstration projects, and raising funds for the Program. However, these current activities do not fall within the scope of this study.

The Lab-to-Land Program idea emerged initially from ATI's involvement in three biotechnology projects in Thailand during the 1980s. These projects tested the feasibility of small-scale (commercial) production of rhizobium inoculum for soybean and the production of blue-green algae (BGA) bio-fertilizer for paddy cultivation. ATI personnel in the Asia field office observed that while there were a number of viable and mature biotechnologies being developed in the labs, little was being done to introduce

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algae) are not considered part of the Program but rather as a basis from which the idea of the Network emerged. Therefore, the two projects will be used in this study as sources of evidence to evaluate and explain the planning process (rather than as the subject of analysis).

them to the small-farmers in the region. Also, the lack of entrepreneurship and capital impeded the possible commercialization of the biotechnologies. As a result, ATI set out to develop a program that would facilitate the process of biotechnology transfer from the labs to the farmers and encourage the participation of the small-farmers in the process so that they would be able to voice their specific farming needs. The Program also aimed at stimulating communication among the biotechnology labs around Asia so that the experiences from field applications in different countries could be shared and used for more successful applications.

The idea of the Program and the Network came from Jack Croucher (presently ATI's Program Development Director for the Asia Region unit), who was involved in the two initial biotechnology projects. John Ferchak, another Program planner, was hired in 1988. Croucher and Ferchak formulated both the Program concept and the overall proposal. In February/March 1990, both planners went on a so-called "Identification Mission" to assess the overall biotechnology programs in six countries in Asia (the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Nepal, and Bangladesh). For over a month, they visited institutions that were involved in agricultural biotechnology research and development and interviewed approximately eighty individuals. The purpose

was to assess the potential for the ANSAB Network and to find out if these institutions were willing to join the network. <sup>76</sup> The representatives of these biotechnology institutions and organizations supported the idea of the Network.

After Ferchak's return in the spring of 1990, the planning process continued. The proposal went through further preparation for reviews by the PCDC and PRAC. At this stage, an additional person was hired to work on the Program. The third Program planner, Sharmila Ribeiro was initially hired mainly to develop the gender component for the Program and to work on the Program proposal with the other two planners. She later joined ATI as a Program Officer (and works now on other projects as well).

Ribeiro's first task was to develop a conceptual framework (or "terms of reference") for gender concerns in the Program. She examined the documents of the two preceding biotechnology projects (rhizobium and blue-green algae) and began developing the gender component, that is, the section of the Program that deals with the possibilities of involving women in biotechnology and the impacts of biotechnology on women farmers. Because the Program idea was

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<sup>76</sup> In his trip report to ATI (p. 4), Ferchak states that he "wanted to identify people, and R&D projects, in agricultural biotechnology that would fit the ATI proposal for a network."

derived from the previous Rhizobium and BGA projects, they were used in the Program Proposal as case studies to demonstrate the viability of these biotechnologies; therefore, the gender component had to be based on the findings of the evaluations of these projects. The social impact of Rhizobium on the target community (including remarks about the impact on women farmers) had been evaluated by a former ATI evaluation officer (Skibiak 1987). The evaluation report provided a starting point for creating the gender component. In addition to studying the social-impact analysis, Ribeiro arranged a meeting with Skibiak to discuss his findings. She also consulted on gender issues in development projects in general with Jeanne Downing, the Program Development Director of the Africa Region unit, a former gender consultant for AID who had recently been hired by ATI.

The Project Concept and Design Committee (PCDC) approved the Program in October 1990. The discussion that preceded the approval dealt mostly with technical aspects of the Program - for example, funding issues, the need to strengthen the link between the Network and the demonstrations projects, the need to establish an advisory panel for the demonstration projects, and legal steps necessary for setting up the Program field office in Thailand.

As the planning process evolved the gender component was integrated into the Program proposal and the proposal was circulated to key individuals at ATI for comments. These comments were generally editorial, although they included suggestions that the WID emphasis should be moderated and the negative rhetoric on the (detrimental) impact of the Green Revolution on women should be reduced. The planners took these comments into account into account but changed very little for the final proposal; for example, discussion of the negative effects of the Green Revolution on women remained in the gender component.

The final approval from the PRAC and the Board of Trustees completed the planning process.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, the creation of the ANSAB Network had already begun and the Nepal Workshop officially established the Network in the spring of 1992.

Although some demonstration projects were already being implemented in the spring of 1992, the Nepal Workshop represented the first step of implementing the overall

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<sup>77</sup> I do not have information about the approval process in PRAC. I requested the minutes of PCDC and PRAC meetings and was given "all the minutes that were available"; however, all of them were from PCDC meetings. According to the planners, gender issues were not discussed in the PRAC meetings and the primary issue of concern was assuring that biotechnology was not genetic engineering. The lack of evidence from the PRAC meeting must be taken into account as a limitation.

Program (the Network) and the completion of the planning process. The evaluation will, therefore, focus on the planning process up to the Nepal Workshop.

Evaluation of the Gender Sentivity  
in the Lab-to-Land Program Planning

The evaluation of the Lab-to-Land planning process follows the logic of the evaluative framework. First, the design process is evaluated by examining how gender issues were taken into account in problem definition and setting project objectives, whether gender-disaggregated data were collected and utilized, and whether both practical and strategic gender needs were addressed. Second, the plan for implementation is evaluated in terms of the extent to which "gender tools" were incorporated into the Program. Third, the policy approach is evaluated by looking at the degree to which the Program involves opportunities for women's empowerment. Because the policy approach dimension reflects the Program's general approach toward women, I base this part of the evaluation mostly on the Program Proposal, in which such long term (as well as short term) policy goals are articulated.

Gender sensitivity in the Program Design Process

At first glance, the overall design process of the Lab-

to-Land Program at ATI appears to have been very gender-aware. This awareness was demonstrated throughout the Program design process: for example, the planners paid special attention to the demand that women be incorporated into the Program activities. Planners recognized that small-scale agriculture involves women farmers and also that the introduction of biotechnologies will indeed have specific implications for women whether or not they are farmers.<sup>78</sup>

Despite this apparent gender-awareness, however, the design process did not fully meet the criteria for a gender-sensitive planning process laid out in Chapter 3. First, the design process paid little attention to the specific needs of women farmers and instead emphasized the participation of women biotechnologists. Second, it largely overlooked the need to collect gender-disaggregated data throughout the planning process. On the third category,

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<sup>78</sup> This awareness was best displayed in the development of the gender component of the Lab-to-Land Program, during which the specific impact of agricultural biotechnologies on women farmers (as well as on women who do not farm) was examined in great detail. Ribeiro examined, for example, the Rhizobium and BGA project documents and evaluations, previous studies on biotechnology transfer and women, gender analysis in farming systems, and the role of institutions in technology transfer; she also interviewed gender experts at ATI. The final gender component states that biotechnologies are likely to have implications for women because women are involved in small-scale agriculture "as owner-farmers or by working in the fields as family or hired labor" and emphasizes that their "equal participation" is encouraged in the Program (Program Proposal/Final, p.42).

though - addressing strategic gender needs - the planning process performed much better.

In a truly gender-sensitive design process, women's concerns are taken into account systematically throughout the planning process, starting with the identification of the problem and the program's objectives. Although the Lab-to-Land Program recognizes in its "gender component" the need for "women's equal participation," their specific needs were not systematically considered at every stage of the planning process. While the planners were aware of the fact that the category of "resource-poor farmers" also includes women farmers, in defining the specific problems of small farmers and in setting the Program's objectives, the specific conditions of women farmers were not fully assessed. Activities at the early stages of planning, such as the Identification Mission, estimated women's potential participation relatively superficially. For example, the visits to the potential member organizations during the Mission did not demonstrate a concern for the specific position of women farmers and the impact of biotechnology on them. In the discussions about the Program's feasibility, women's issues were neither brought up by the representatives of the institutions nor voiced by ATI

representatives.<sup>79</sup> Although the concerns of women farmers were not explicitly discussed, the planners did find out during the Identification Mission that women played an important role as biotechnologists in the research institutions.<sup>80</sup> This was an unexpected finding, which pushed the planners to pay attention to gender issues.<sup>81</sup> As a result, the planners utilized the prominent position of women scientists in some of the biotechnology labs throughout the planning process to demonstrate that the Program provides potential for women's participation at several levels of the Program and that the integration of women's concerns into the Program would be assured.<sup>82</sup> The

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<sup>79</sup> According to the planners, the discussions with the representatives of the biotechnology labs did not address the potential gender implications of specific agricultural biotechnologies (Interview, June 1992).

<sup>80</sup> According to the planners, women were working in key positions in the biotechnology labs in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and Nepal. One planner also indicated that after dealing with several women biotechnologists in these countries, the absence of women in the labs in India and Bangladesh was very noticeable. This observation of women as biotechnologists has been included in most of the Program documents (e.g., proposals to various committees) as well as referred to by the planners in interviews.

<sup>81</sup> One planner said that he was "surprised" and "interested" to find out that some of the top researchers in the biotechnology labs were women. Another remarked that "it struck us that more women were involved than we had come across."

<sup>82</sup> The Program proposal states that the "participation of these and other women in the program should contribute to gender sensitivity and awareness of gender issues in

attention to the role of women biotechnologists rather than to that of women farmers in identifying the Program and defining its goals does not display systematic gender integration. While the role of women biotechnologists is by no means irrelevant to the Program, the fact that the specific needs of women farmers did not receive comparable attention at the early stages of planning indicates relatively low gender sensitivity in the planning process.

The second shortcoming deals with the need to collect gender-disaggregated data throughout the planning process. As demonstrated above, the initial stages of Program identification did not involve such data collection, which would have clarified the Program's problems and objectives in terms of men and women.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, the gender-differentiated data that were used in planning were not always sufficient for making sound conclusions about the implications of biotechnology projects for women. For example, the process of formulating the Program's gender component involved the utilization of gender-disaggregated

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agricultural biotechnology." The validity and the implications of this claim will be discussed in more detail in the context of "the plan for implementation."

<sup>83</sup> The recognition of the 13 women biotechnologists that represented the potential Network member organizations may be regarded as collecting gender-disaggregated data (about the organizations); however, the act itself might not have been intentional.

data that had been collected in the context of a social-impact evaluation of ATI's first biotechnology experiment, "Small-Scale Production of Rhizobium Inoculant" (Skibiak 1987). The findings of this social-impact evaluation indicated that the women's organization that received a loan from ATI for buying and applying rhizobium inoculant in their farming gained substantial increases in soybean yield and were more successful in repaying their loans than a similar but predominantly male farmers' organization (which defaulted on the loan). The Program planners used this finding to demonstrate that biotechnology benefits women. However, the results of the social-impact evaluation pertained to the particular cultural position of women in the specific situation and were not necessarily generalizable across the diverse socio-cultural conditions of the Program sites (the different countries in South and Southeast Asia). For example, in the evaluated case, the women held traditional positions as "money managers," which may have strengthened their abilities to accrue benefits from the project and repay the loan. <sup>84</sup>

It must be noted that the planners were aware of the

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<sup>84</sup> Sharmila Ribeiro did, however, recognize this problem of generalizability of the findings of the social-impact analysis (interview with Ribeiro, June 1992). She did not, though, succeed in having her recognition affect the actual gender component.

need for more accurate data on the impact of biotechnology on women for the purpose of drafting the gender component. Attempting to strengthen the argument for women's potential benefits from the Program, Sharmila Ribeiro consulted with the former ATI evaluations officer about the specific findings on the Rhizobium project. The former officer confirmed the ambiguity of the results: the success of the women's organization could be understood in the specific context of the Rhizobium Project, but one should be careful of generalizing from them. <sup>85</sup>

What clearly adds to the gender sensitivity of the design process is that the Program involved women in the biotechnology demonstration projects in ways that indicate the potential for meeting not only their practical but also their strategic gender needs. Women are included in the Program in both their reproductive and productive roles. For example, the gender component refers to women as "owner-farmers" or as "family or hired labor." Throughout the planning process, the primary concern of the Program was meeting women's practical gender needs. This is evident from

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<sup>85</sup> The former evaluation officer's comments appear in Ribeiro's personal notes. To supplement the inadequate data base, the planners relied on gender and biotechnology-related studies throughout the planning process. However, these studies were not necessarily site-specific and thus, did not take into account the diversity of the cultural context in which the demonstration projects were to be implemented.

the numerous references to the labor-saving impact of biotechnology <sup>86</sup> and to the fact that women's work load was increased by the Green Revolution. <sup>87</sup>

Although practical gender needs were in the forefront during the planning process, the Program design also includes opportunities for meeting women's strategic gender needs. Strategic gender needs were taken into account in developing the gender component by emphasizing women's potential involvement in the small-scale enterprises for commercializing the biotechnologies. As defined in the evaluative framework, the meeting of women's strategic gender needs involves focusing on activities that provide opportunities for women to empower themselves. The integration of such opportunities into the design of the Lab-to-Land Program clearly contributes to the gender-sensitivity of its planning. For example, in the process of

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<sup>86</sup> For example, in assessing the appropriateness of biotechnology for women, Sharmila Ribeiro stated that "the main impact of biotechnology innovations on women will be determined by the impact on labour/time spent in agricultural tasks..." However, Ribeiro noted that no technology innovation, however appropriate for women, will be viable for commercialization unless the time saved by adopting it is used to generate income.

<sup>87</sup> In developing the gender component, Sharmila Ribeiro kept referring to the facts that the adoption of the high yielding varieties introduced by the Green Revolution increased women's workload on the family farm and that the mechanization of harvesting displaced women agricultural laborers in order to illustrate the concern for how women will be affected by the "biotechnology revolution."

developing the gender component, the planners recognized that the Program has potential for training women in non-traditional activities that may increase their income generation opportunities as well as improve their control of resources, such as the usage of the benefits from the project activities. <sup>88</sup>

The gender-sensitivity of the Program design process was relatively low because the specific implications of the Program for women farmers was largely overlooked at the initial stages of program identification. Also, there was an apparent need for a more diverse data base on men and women farmers (for example, on the division of labor, access to and control of resources) as well as for more generalizable data on the impact of biotechnology on them. At the same time, the fact that the Program proposal recognized women's potential involvement in nontraditional activities such as partner-owners in the small enterprises for biotechnology commercialization contributed to the overall gender sensitivity of the design process.

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<sup>88</sup> Sharmila Ribeiro's notes include comments such as the following: "the potential for income generation and income control by women, potential for training in business/marketing ... serve as powerful motivating factors for women's involvement in these [small-scale] enterprises particularly if the production technology is low-cost and easy-to-use..."

## Gender Sensitivity in the Plan for Implementation

In order to provide opportunities to meet women's strategic gender needs in practice (and not only on paper), specific mechanisms to ensure their participation have to be integrated into the implementation plan. This section evaluates the extent to which the plan for implementing the Lab-to-Land Program includes the kind of tools that ensure or at least increase the probability that women will be involved. The issues discussed below cover all three components included in the evaluative framework: the need to guard against negative effects on women, the level of gender awareness of the implementing agents, and the presence of organizational factors for ensuring women's participation.

The factors that strengthen the gender sensitivity of the Lab-to-Land Program's overall implementation plan are the plans to include women participants in the Network establishing workshop, to utilize specific communication channels to reach women farmers, and, to an extent, to involve gender-sensitive field personnel in the implementation process. Yet, the lack of attention to the need to fully assess the gender sensitivity of project partners demonstrates lower gender sensitivity in planning for implementation.

The plans for implementing the Lab-to-Land Program clearly state that there is a need to promote women's

participation at the level of both the Program and the demonstration projects. <sup>89</sup> Indeed, women's participation was emphasized at the first stage of implementation, at the Network establishing workshop in Nepal. For example, the list of invitees to the Workshop included a specific quota of women participants from the member institutions, and the UNIFEM contributed \$5,000 specifically to fund the participation of women. <sup>90</sup> Furthermore, in the process of planning for implementation, devices to better reach women farmers were integrated into the Program plan. For example, the plan to use gender-sensitive information-delivery systems, such as radio, to reach rural women was emphasized throughout the planning process. The suggestion for gender-sensitive information channels also survived the numerous reviews at ATI and became incorporated into the final Proposal. <sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> "The Program plan proposes to encourage the equal participation of women at several levels within its four components" (Proposal/Final, p. 43).

<sup>90</sup> The agreement with UNIFEM to fund female participants up to \$5,000 and the list of these women as well as other female participants were found in the Program file.

<sup>91</sup> The plan to employ gender-sensitive communication channels appeared at different stages of the planning. For example, a pre-PRAC gender component draft spelled out the need for gender-sensitive media channels: "Special efforts to improve technology dissemination strategies used to reach women should include information delivery systems; communication channels appropriate for reaching rural women

Similarly, the planners acknowledged the need to train gender-sensitive extension workers and to cooperate with local women's organizations at the implementation stage. While this indicates that the planners were aware that there are barriers to women's participation, the planning process itself did not include specific strategies to meet this need in practice (for example, plans for gender training of the extension workers or criteria for selecting them). In addition, concern for guarding women participants against men taking over the technologies (and later the benefits accrued from them) was voiced in the planning process.<sup>92</sup> Despite the evident concern, the final Program Proposal did not mention the need to safeguard women against men taking

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who are often illiterate." In the final Proposal, this need was expressed as a plan to use, for example, radio to disseminate the information for the biotechnology application and commercialization (Proposal/Final, p. 38). It also is emphasized in the gender component as a need to collect information on the "methods used for Dissemination/Communication of biotechnology to women" (Proposal/Final, p. 43).

<sup>92</sup> Ribeiro voiced this concern in the process of assessing the possibilities for the commercialization of biotechnology. "How can one guarantee that with commercialization of AT, the technology will not pass into men's hands? What is needed for the technology to stay in the hands of women?" (her personal file on "Commercialization of Appropriate Technology"). Similarly, Ferchak referred to a plan to create specific credit quotas for women's income generation in a potato tissues culture project in North Sumatra. However, these specific strategies were not brought up in the planning of the Program (Interview, June 1992).

over or include protection strategies. Similarly, the need for gender-sensitive extension workers was mentioned explicitly but no strategies to gender train field personnel were included in the Program implementation plan. The fact that the planners acknowledged these needs adds to the overall gender sensitivity of the Program planning but the lack of specific strategies to meet these needs reduces it.

In order to secure more gender-sensitive implementation, an important question is: How gender-sensitive are the project partners, the local organizations that implement the demonstration projects? The implementation plan does not focus much attention on the gender sensitivity of the ANSAB member organizations that carry out the biotechnology demonstration projects, which further erodes the gender sensitivity of the Lab-to-Land Program planning. The fact that women scientists have an important role in the ANSAB member organizations may not be sufficient for ensuring gender-sensitive Program implementation.

Throughout the planning process, planners emphasized the predominant role of women scientists in many of the biotechnology research institutions; the planners also claimed that having women in these organizations would automatically contribute to the gender sensitivity of

Program implementation.<sup>93</sup> Yet, there have not been attempts to examine any further the gender sensitivity of the implementing agents. The selection criteria for the project partners do not include any conditions that would encourage their gender sensitivity.<sup>94</sup> Although women may occupy significant positions in the partner organizations, those positions may not necessarily translate into influence or power to "gender-sensitize" the organization's operations; as earlier chapters have illustrated, women are not automatically gender-sensitive. Therefore, unless the influence of the women scientists is assessed more thoroughly, there is no evidence that their position will foster gender sensitivity.

It must be noted that the Program planners are aware of

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<sup>93</sup> This point was made throughout the planning process. For example, the gender component of the final Proposal (p.43) includes a statement: "In the ATI Identification Mission, at least thirteen prominent women biotechnologists were interviewed. Participation of these and other women in the Program should contribute to gender sensitivity and awareness of gender issues in agricultural biotechnology." All Program planners made the point in their interviews.

<sup>94</sup> The implementing organizations are generally selected on the basis of ATI's possible previous project involvement (Interview with the planners, March 1992) as well as on "the organization's or person's degree of interest in agricultural biotechnology; compatibility with the Program's development philosophy (i.e., its private enterprise orientation directed at resource-poor farmers as its beneficiaries); and experience with donors, government agencies, financial institutions, and other such organizations" (Proposal/Draft, p. 33).

the inadequacy of this claim. The planners seemed concerned about the implementation of the gender component and implied that they will continue to think about ways to ensure the gender sensitivity of the Program, for example, by involving ATI personnel in the design of demonstration projects. One planner noted that ensuring the carry-over of the gender component is difficult because ATI does not always know what these organizations are doing. This planner did not know of any specific funding conditions for monitoring the implementation of the gender component, which reveals that this may not have been a very important issue to consider. According to another planner, the extent to which ATI can influence the implementation of the Program's gender component is dependent on who controls the finances for the specific demonstration project. <sup>95</sup>

In summary, the plan for implementing the Lab-to-Land Program includes both elements that contribute to the gender sensitivity of the planning and those that do not. The plans to ensure women representatives' participation in the workshop establishing the ANSAB Network and to use gender-

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<sup>95</sup> "It depends who has the money." If donors direct funds to ATI, ATI is able to ensure that women are included in the implementation. If funds go to the ANSAB, ATI can influence the implementation through its position in the ANSAB Board of Trustees. However, if funding goes directly to local NGOs, ATI acts merely as technological assistants and may place only moral pressure on the implementing organization to include women.

sensitive communication methods to reach women add to the gender sensitivity of the Program planning. At the same time, the plan for implementation neither includes safeguards against the possibility of men taking over women's opportunities in the projects nor makes specific plans to gender-train field workers, which reduces its gender sensitivity. While the number and important position of women in implementing organizations may translate into gender-sensitive field operations, they will not necessarily do so; for the planners to claim this without analyzing the situation any further also decreases the gender sensitivity of the planning process.

#### Gender Sensitivity of the Policy Approach

The final evaluative dimension deals with the policy approach of the Lab-to-Land Program. The Program's gender sensitivity is evaluated in terms of whether its policy approach is consistent with women's empowerment. The policy approach is evaluated using as a main source of evidence the output of the planning process, the Program Proposal. Because the empowerment approach gets at the extent to which women's strategic gender needs are addressed in the Program, the issues dealt with in the next paragraphs build upon the earlier discussion of the practical and strategic gender needs in the design process.

The Lab-to-Land Program involves a potentially gender-sensitive overall policy approach. The Program has a broad policy goal of "increasing the productivity and income of resource-poor farmers in developing countries." Although women are not explicitly mentioned in the goal statement, it is clear that the Program affects women, because, more often than not, women farmers and women who work as family or hired labor in the fields fall into the category of resource-poor farmers. At the same time, the Program is only potentially gender-sensitive because women are not fully and systematically integrated into the Program plan (as explained in the previous sections). A glance at several other factors, such as the Program's long-term and short-term objectives, its view of women's participation, and the possible opportunities for women's empowerment will provide a more detailed picture of the level of its gender sensitivity.

As stated above, the policy approach of the Lab-to-Land Program is potentially gender-sensitive because of the emphasis on the small-scale, resource-poor, and high-risk agriculture that characterizes women's farming. <sup>96</sup> The

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<sup>96</sup> Women's predominant role in food production in developing countries was emphasized throughout the planning process. For example, documents referred to the fact that "Women produce half of the world's food ... 80% in Africa; 60% of the food in Asia and the Pacific; and 40% of the food in Latin America" (Pre-PRAC Gender Component Draft). Because

Program's focus on small-scale agriculture is also underscored by several references to the experiences of the Green Revolution and especially to its detrimental impact on small farmers and women.<sup>97</sup> The same point was further established in the Program's emphasis on biotechnologies that are appropriate for small-scale farming but do not appeal to multinational corporations. In short, the Program's small-farmer focus implies a gender-sensitive policy approach.

By this point, it is clear that the Lab-to-Land Program sees women as active participants, which, based on Moser's definition of the empowerment approach, indicates a gender-sensitive policy approach. If women are selected to take part in the demonstration projects (for example, as entrepreneur-owners of small-scale enterprises as suggested in the Program proposal), they have a potential opportunity to voice their needs and in the process to gain self-

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women are important food producers, they are likely to be affected by the adoption of biotechnologies, and therefore, they are taken into account in the Lab-to-Land Program.

<sup>97</sup> This focus is emphasized especially in the gender component in order to stress the importance of including women in the demonstration projects. "[The Green Revolution] increased income inequalities and marginalized poor farmers and agricultural laborers, ... and increased women's workload on the family farm" (Proposal/Final, p. 42). The anti-Green Revolution references demonstrate that the planners were aware of the possible detrimental effects of the biotechnology "revolution" on women.

reliance and empowerment. This is more likely to happen if women are given income-generation opportunities, which the Program also proposes (but does not clearly guarantee).

In summary, the Program's overall policy approach demonstrates fairly high gender sensitivity because it focuses on agricultural activities that are most common to women farmers.<sup>98</sup> It also acknowledges that a new "revolution" in agriculture may result in worsening women farmers' position, similar to what happened during the Green Revolution. Furthermore, it views women as active participants in the Program and the demonstration projects, which does indicate possible opportunities for women's increased self-reliance and empowerment. Of course, these opportunities are only potential, and the fact that they are addressed in the policy approach does not mean they will necessarily be implemented. It can be said that the Program planning indicates higher gender sensitivity on the policy

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<sup>98</sup> Women typically farm food (rather than cash) crops. It must be noted that during the planning process, a former ATI evaluation officer was critical of biotechnologies that are aimed typically at large-scale cash crop farmers, and therefore, do not directly affect women (unless women are involved in the field application of the bio-fertilizers). When asked about this, one of the planners disagreed with the former officer's comment. According to this planner, it depended on the definition of "cash crop." Biotechnology is applied to varieties that are produced both as food and cash crops (such as rice, potatoes, and legumes) and therefore, benefit women farmers who produce food crops.

approach dimension,<sup>99</sup> which, however, does not necessarily translate to higher gender sensitivity on the other two, arguably more meaningful, dimensions.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the process of planning the Lab-to-Land Program demonstrated higher gender sensitivity in its policy approach while the gender sensitivity of the other two dimensions was lower. The design process and the plan for implementation manifested gender awareness especially in the planning of the gender component. However, the lack of systematic attention to gender issues throughout the planning process indicates that the awareness does not necessarily translate into practice; for example, there is a lack of strategies to assure gender-sensitive implementation. Chapter 7 sets out to explain these inconsistencies between awareness and practice.

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<sup>99</sup> My purpose in the policy approach dimension was to look at how the Program addresses women's inclusion as a policy goal at a more general level.

## CHAPTER 7

### EXPLANATION: THE LEVEL OF GENDER SENSITIVITY IN THE LAB-TO-LAND PROGRAM PLANNING

#### Introduction

This chapter attempts to explain the degree of gender sensitivity of the Lab-to-Land Program planning. The discussion focuses on the evaluative dimensions - design process, plan for implementation, and policy approach - and seeks to explain the level of gender sensitivity on each dimension using the explanatory variables introduced in Chapter 4.

#### Explanation for Gender Sensitivity in the Design Process

The lower gender sensitivity in the design process can be largely explained by examining ATI's organizational structures, in particular, the division of labor among the planners, which isolated consideration of gender issues from the general planning process. In the Lab-to-Land Program, the planners were hired according to their technical expertise and they worked primarily in their own special

areas.<sup>100</sup> As a consequence, gender issues were systematically taken into account in developing the specific gender component but were not fully included at other stages of the planning process, largely because gender issues were regarded as the responsibility of the so-called "gender expert." The planners may have been aware of the importance of women's integration throughout the planning process; however, it seems that they regarded gender issues as the responsibility of one specific "gender specialist" and therefore did not feel the need to address gender issues in their own areas of expertise.<sup>101</sup> This problem can also be explained by the absence of structure: in the ATI's organization there was clearly an absence of structures that would have brought the planners and various experts together throughout the planning process to discuss gender issues relevant to either this specific Program or ATI Programs in general.

In the Lab-to-Land Program planning, "gender" was

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<sup>100</sup> John Ferchak, for example, hired as a biotechnology scientist to evaluate the technologies, worked mainly on biotechnology issues. Sharmila Ribeiro, hired because of her expertise on gender issues and appropriate technology, developed the gender component (later she moved to work on other aspects of the Program) (Interviews with Ferchak and Ribeiro, June 1992).

<sup>101</sup> This division of labor among the planners was expressed clearly by one of the planners who said that "I have never been asked to address women's issues in the program."

treated as a separable component of the plan and assigned to a "gender specialist." This indicates a problem similar to what many WID offices have experienced: if gender issues are isolated, their systematic inclusion of women throughout the program/project cycle may not be achieved. In this case, hiring a gender expert specifically to develop the gender component may indicate that the ATI planners were gender-aware; at the same time, confining gender issues to the expert limited more extensive integration of gender concerns into all stages of the Program design.

Explanation for Gender Sensitivity  
in the Plan for Implementation

The evaluation of the plan for implementation demonstrated that although the planners appeared to be quite gender-aware, the Program plan lacked specific strategies to ensure women's integration. The planners explicitly recognized the need to ensure women's participation by, for example, training field-workers in gender sensitivity and safeguarding women's access to and control over the technology. However, the plan for implementation lacked specific strategies to make sure these concerns were carried over to the implementation stage. In order to explain the inconsistency between gender awareness and the provision of appropriate gender tools, one needs to look at ATI's

environment as well as its resources.

The lack of gender tools in the implementation plan points to the fact that despite its gender awareness, there is very little ATI can do to ensure gender-sensitive implementation at the project level. This implies that ATI lacks the ability to significantly control its environment, that is, to fully monitor how its project partners implement the gender component. The planners as well as other ATI personnel were concerned about how the project partners would treat gender concerns in the Program plan; but, at the same time, they stressed that local NGOs tend to act independently. ATI can only promote gender-sensitive implementation by participating in designing the demonstration projects. According to one Program planner, ATI's involvement in designing the projects may help ensure that gender concerns are addressed at the project level; however, this planner did not know of any funding conditions for integrating gender into the implementation. Also, as discussed above, ATI's role in designing individual projects (and thus increasing the inclusion of gender concerns) depends on the organization to which donors direct the Program's funding.

Additional environmental factors for explaining ATI's inability to control its environment are first, the project partners' low commitment to include women in projects that

stems from their reading of their environment, and second, the culturally based resistance to gender issues. One of the Program planners pointed out that local NGOs tend not to take gender issues seriously but rather as a western "fad" that the development community has taken on and that will eventually pass.<sup>102</sup> The planner also explained that women's position in Asian developing countries is very different from the West and that there is a fear of women having more economic power.

It appears that although ATI is concerned that women receive benefits from its projects, it may not be able to safeguard women against men taking over. For example, when asked about specific strategies that could be included in the project designs to prevent women from losing the project benefits to men,<sup>103</sup> a staff member said, "When we get together in the meetings we go over the process, but men taking over, there is very little from our standpoint to do." However, this staff member felt that the local NGOs could do more to secure women's benefits. Women's

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<sup>102</sup> The planner remarked that the local organizations tend to regard gender issues as a passing fad because western development assistance (i.e., organizations in the development assistance community) operate in terms of trends.

<sup>103</sup> The staff member also noted, that, for example, when ATI's sunflower press in Zimbabwe became a profitable income-generation technique for women, the men took over.

participation had been a concern for ATI. Therefore, in some projects, the planners had set credit quotas for women participants.

Finally, ATI's inability to control its environment may be to a large part explained by the lack of available resources, such as money and staff. For example, an ATI evaluation economist claimed that ATI does not have resources to systematically monitor how the project partners implement ATI's gender requirements, such as the collection of gender-disaggregated data. Similarly, a Program planner indicated that the more specific plans to include women into individual demonstration projects can be made when the planners have secured particular funding for it. <sup>104</sup>

The fact that the planners may deliberately postpone the creation of gender tools until funding is certain reflects the nature of program planning, which also may have influenced the planners' treatment of gender issues. The Lab-to-Land Program is an extensive effort to create a framework for cooperation in biotechnology research and to facilitate the transfer of biotechnologies from laboratories to small-scale farmers. The fact that it is primarily

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<sup>104</sup> As one of the Program planners noted, "most projects are still at a very preliminary stage. In Nepal, the women's component will be more specific if we get funding." Another planner also indicated that individual demonstration project proposals more specifically take into account gender issues.

understood as a program that is comprised of individual projects may have directed the planners to focus first on creating a working structure for the biotechnology exchange rather than on the individual demonstration projects.

The lack of specific gender tools in the implementation plan can be partly explained by ATI's response to its domestic environment, for example, donor policies. The point is that a well-defined gender component attracts funding. However, the fact that donors do not effectively monitor planning or implementation may increase the probability that planners do not necessarily create and integrate specific gender tools into the program/project proposal.

The inclusion of gender issues in the Program planning process may merely indicate that ATI is responding to the funding conditions (or preferences) set by donor agencies. For example, USAID requires gender integration as a condition for funding NGO projects. Although the gender component of the Lab-to-Land Program may not have been developed only to fulfill the donors' "gender requirement," it became evident in the interviews that gender issues often are taken into consideration primarily to attract funding. The planners as well as other ATI personnel referred to both "gender" and "environment" as "buzzwords" that bring funding for projects. For example, a staff member noted that "sometimes that can even be a marketing device for us;

sometimes you're trying to tailor the project in terms of women if the funder has a gender-sensitive policy."

Similarly, one of the planners stated that "at the moment, ATI is very donor-driven"; to get funding, proposals have to include very specifically how women will be involved and added that, "we may even state in the proposal that we will have 50 women doing this."

The fact that the inclusion of gender issues in planning tends to attract project funding was seen at ATI as a specific characteristic of its environment, a sort of a "fad" within the development assistance regime, and therefore, subject to changes in the political climate in the United States (e.g., change of president and administration). By referring to gender as a buzzword, the staff members also expressed an attitude that gender integration may be a passing phenomenon.<sup>105</sup> If ATI staffers regard the gender component as merely a fad, and thus to a certain extent maintain the gender rhetoric for the purpose of accommodating funders, they may not be fully committed to integrating gender concerns into projects.

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<sup>105</sup> For example, one planner pointed out that the emphasis on "gender" and "environment" represents a recent phenomenon in the development assistance regime, and that ten years ago they would not have been assessed in proposals but now they are important "sub-components." Other planners also implied that WID (or gender) is largely considered a fad and that its attraction to donors is a passing phenomenon.

Hence there is disparity between gender awareness and the provision of gender tools.

#### Explanation for Gender Sensitivity in the Policy Approach

The Lab-to-Land Program demonstrated higher gender sensitivity in its policy approach. The Program focused on small-scale agriculture that traditionally involves women as farmers or as hired labor and considered them as active participants in both the demonstration projects and the Network. The planners also recognized women as potential participants in commercializing the biotechnologies through small-scale enterprises. It was apparent that the Program addressed women not only in their reproductive but also in their productive roles and in addition to women's practical gender needs, it attempts to meet their strategic gender needs. The fact that the rural women are addressed in their productive role and especially considered as potential trainees for activities that they may not often have the chance to perform (such as being involved in business and marketing) indicates gender awareness that can be partly explained in the broader context of ATI's organizational goals and its orientation toward appropriate technology.

Appropriate technology can be regarded as an alternative approach to technological development. It emphasizes the necessity of taking into account the specific

conditions and needs of the users of the technology (e.g., Darrow and Saxenian 1986, 6). ATI is oriented toward promoting the idea of appropriate technology through its programs and projects. Therefore, it emphasizes not only technological innovations but also the social context of technology application. This may mean, for example, defining specifically who will use ATI's technology and identifying the possible constraints on and benefits from adopting the technology. Because of this focus on the social context of technology, it is necessary that women are recognized as users of technology. <sup>106</sup>

ATI's appropriate technology orientation explains to some extent women's inclusion in projects and programs as significant users of technology. Many ATI staff members stressed the necessity of paying attention to women as a key to advocating and commercializing appropriate technology. As one staff member expressed it,

People who use [the technology] must demand it; technology has to fit into their lives. You have to look at gender issues. Who are the users and why would they want to buy this machine?

An ATI planner commented: "It is ATI's philosophy to address

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<sup>106</sup> ATI planners have realized that women adopt and benefit from technologies both as reproducers and producers. Women have also performed well in ATI's income-generation projects and in repaying their loans, which encouraged the planners to create income-generation opportunities for them and, thus, to address their strategic gender needs.

everything that is necessary for appropriate technology at the rural level." <sup>107</sup> An ATI evaluation officer gave a similar response, stating that "it would be very difficult to achieve success in adopting new appropriate technologies if a large group (i.e., women) of their users were not taken into account." In short, ATI's appropriate technology orientation partly explained planners' gender awareness; it focuses attention on the social context of the technology application and, as explained above, on women.

#### Explanation for ATI's Overall Gender Awareness

A brief overview of how ATI as an organization has responded to women's issues more generally may help explain the extent of gender sensitivity in its individual projects and programs.

ATI's response to gender issues can be seen, to a large part, as a result of two factors: a gender evaluation of ATI projects conducted by USAID and internal changes at ATI, such as the inauguration of a new gender-aware president as well as changes in personnel. The AID gender evaluation refers to environmental explanatory factors while the change

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<sup>107</sup> Also, a Program planner explained that there are two major concepts in any appropriate technology: the technology and the social and cultural context in which the technology is used. "I am quite aware of the need for clearly evaluating both components."

in presidency suggests an explanation by the personnel factor. Many ATI staff members referred to these two factors most often when asked to explain ATI's overall level of gender awareness.

In 1989, AID conducted a WID assessment at ATI that revealed deficiencies in ATI's treatment of gender in its operations.<sup>108</sup> The WID assessment report revealed that the weaknesses in ATI's gender treatment in 1989 were similar to those in the planning of the Lab-to-Land Program. This does not necessarily suggest that ATI's gender awareness has not improved. However, it does imply that while gender awareness is a necessary condition, it is not sufficient for achieving systematic gender integration (i.e., gender sensitivity). According to the AID report, ATI lacked a project identification process that ensured project benefits for both men and women; the project partners' ability to reach women was not assessed in the selection; the personnel's understanding of the significance of gender analysis was limited; project officers tended to lack information about the socio-economic context of the projects; and field tests were not conducted with the appropriate gender and age user groups (Downing 1989, E-2 -

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<sup>108</sup> The "WID Assessment of Appropriate Technology International" was conducted by Jeanne Downing (1989) who at the time was working as a consultant for AID; (later she was employed by ATI).

E-3). Several ATI staffers named the WID evaluation as the turning point toward more gender-aware operations. For example, the vice-president stressed that after the AID evaluation, the attitudes of ATI personnel grew more gender-sympathetic: "[it] forced us to look at ourselves, it set a new stage, forced us to answer the questions our selves and acknowledge our limitations." Also Jeanne Downing herself commented that ATI's gender awareness had improved after the WID assessment.

Another explanation for ATI's increased gender awareness is the inauguration of the new president. Many ATI staffers stated that after the change in ATI's presidents, attention to gender issues had increased. The new president, Andrew Maguire, instigated substantial changes in personnel, reorganized ATI, promoted women to top decision-making positions, and encouraged an affirmative action hiring policy. It is apparent that the gender-aware president legitimized WID issues at ATI. For example, as a staff member noted, "Andy putting a stamp on WID issues at project concept review meetings makes it easier to bring up gender issues." The vice-president commented that there have been direct changes in the PCDC meetings:

Now we routinely ask questions about how the women will be benefitted ... even men who would four years ago never talk of gender are now presenting gender proposals and designing technology for women, targeting women.

The number of women employees at ATI has drastically increased since 1990. An ATI officer noted that, for example, the ATI council was chosen by the new president and reflects his gender interests.

The legitimacy of bringing up gender issues at ATI also stems from having women in decision-making positions, such as Vice-President or Program Development Director.<sup>109</sup> A Program Development Director noted that

In the concept review meeting, we recently had two males presenting women's projects, and having women there voting for whether they get money does make a difference.

Many respondents also pointed out that ATI's Council and the Board of Trustees consist of well-known WID activists, such as Margaret Snyder and Ela Bhatt.<sup>110</sup> The position of these women at the top decision-making level helps direct attention to women's issues at ATI.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> A staff member commented on the promotion of women to decision-making positions, that the new president came placed a female Program Development Director on top of two men that were 20 years her senior. "These changes in employees have changed the organization."

<sup>110</sup> Margaret Snyder is the founder and former director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM); Ela Bhatt is the Chair of Women's World Banking and the General Secretary of the Self-Employed Women's Association, India.

<sup>111</sup> An ATI officer said that "a Board of Trustee Member, Margaret Snyder, who is former director of UNIFEM, brings up women's issues in meetings." A Program planner commented that "Peg Snyder always brings up gender issues in the Board meetings," and another officer referred to Snyder and

The situation at ATI in which the president has "secured" the legitimacy of gender issues suggests that gender-aware leadership is crucial for bringing women's issues onto an organization's agenda. In this respect, ATI's experience resembles the case of the Ford Foundation where a new gender-aware president instigated internal changes, such as hiring more women, promoting women to decision-making positions, and encouraging women's participation in development programs.<sup>112</sup> At this point, it is difficult to detect how much of the President's favorable influence trickled down to the actual Lab-to-Land planning process. On the basis of the staff members' testimonies that emphasize the increased gender awareness in the organization, one can merely suggest that without the changes in the ATI's President and personnel, the gender sensitivity of the Program planning could have been even lower.

### Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to explain the level of gender sensitivity in the Lab-to-Land Program planning. I

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another Board member, Hazel Henderson, as "liberals from the 60s" who bring up gender concerns at every meeting.

<sup>112</sup> In the case of the Ford Foundation, the new president, Franklin Thomas, promoted women to decision-making positions and, under his leadership, more women were hired at the Foundation (Flora 1983, 102).

have demonstrated that internal changes may have contributed to the gender sensitivity of the planning process and also that the pressure to integrate women into programs and projects may come from the environment - the donors.

I have called ATI's increased attention to women's concerns "gender awareness" because this attention has not been systematically translated into specific strategies for integrating women into programs and projects. As the evaluation of the Lab-to-Land Program planning demonstrated, the planners may have been very aware of the need to integrate women into programs and projects but have failed to fully realize their awareness into gender tools, a problem that was partly explained by resource shortages. The concluding chapter discusses how the Lab-to-Land planning process could be improved to reach a higher level of gender sensitivity.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSIONS: IMPROVING GENDER SENSITIVITY IN PLANNING

#### Introduction

This chapter focuses on how the level of gender sensitivity of the Lab-to-Land planning process could be improved. I will first present a brief summary of the key findings, then offer prescriptions for higher gender sensitivity, and lastly, discuss the conclusions. The final section of this chapter also examines possibilities for further research on the inclusion of gender issues in NGOs' development projects. The prescriptions for an improved planning process pertain especially to the Lab-to-Land Program; however, to the extent that the case study findings are generalizable to other non-profit development NGOs, they suggest ways to improve the gender sensitivity in program planning more generally.

#### The Findings

The planning of the Lab-to-Land Program demonstrated higher gender sensitivity in its policy approach but lower gender sensitivity in the Program design process and the plan for implementation. The design process demonstrated relatively low gender sensitivity. In targeting small-scale

resource-poor farmers, the planners did not differentiate between men and women farmers and their specific conditions and needs, and gender-differentiated data were not collected systematically throughout the planning process. Gender concerns were taken into account in formulating the gender component but not fully included in other planning procedures, such as the Identification Mission. The isolation of gender issues in the specific gender component can be explained by the relatively rigid division of labor among the planners and their respective areas of expertise, which largely discouraged more widespread attention to gender concerns. There also was an absence of structures or procedures for bringing the planners together to discuss women's concerns.

The inconsistency between the relatively high gender awareness and the lack of gender tools was manifest, too, in the planning for implementation: while the planners recognized women's integration into the Program as an important goal, few specific methods to secure women's participation were included. For example, the planners included a specific quota for women participants in establishing the ANSAB Network at the Nepal workshop, and recognized the needs for appropriate communication channels for bettering reach women farmers and for gender-trained field personnel - all of which showed gender awareness.

However, they did very little to assess the gender sensitivity of the project partners that would implement the demonstration projects. In fact, the planners maintained that the implementation of the Program's gender component would to a certain extent be facilitated by the women biotechnologists working in the research laboratories without further inquiring about the abilities or the willingness of those women to advocate gender integration.

The explanation for the inadequate gender tools pointed out that ATI was unable to fully control its environment, to monitor how the project partners were implementing the gender component. It seems that ATI cannot fully monitor the implementation process because it lacks necessary resources. The lower level of commitment to gender concerns was largely explained by the way ATI staffers interpreted their environment: "gender" was often regarded as a buzzword to attract funding - a passing fad, which tended to generate gender rhetoric rather than action.

A higher level of gender sensitivity was found in the Program's policy approach, which, because of its focus on small-scale farming, regards women farmers (as well as other women) as potential participants in the efforts to commercialize the biotechnologies. The Program proposal included plans to involve women in activities that may facilitate the meeting of their strategic gender needs

(i.e., involve them in activities that potentially encourage empowerment). For example, the proposal considers women to be candidates for ownership in the small-scale enterprises for disseminating the biotechnologies and for training in the demonstration projects to apply biotechnologies in their farming.

The more gender-sensitive policy approach arguably is related to the appropriate technology ideology that represents ATI's definition of development. ATI staff members emphasized consistently that the orientation in appropriate technology necessitates close attention to the social context of technology. Because women are the users of technology, they must be taken into account and integrated into the programs and projects. At this point, it is crucial to note that, although in programs and projects like the Lab-to-Land the opportunities for women suggest a gender-sensitive policy approach, women's participation in the project activities is only potential. Again, specific gender tools are needed. Without specific strategies, even the most gender-sensitive policy approach may end up merely maintaining the rhetoric of women's inclusion. More generally, the findings indicate that a gender-aware organization does not necessarily guarantee gender-sensitive planning.

## Suggestions for Improving Gender Sensitivity in the Lab-to-Land Program Planning

Since ATI as well as other NGOs continue to plan development programs and projects, the lessons learned from this specific program may encourage more gender-sensitive planning in the future. The following suggestions are based on the conception of the ideal planning process introduced in Chapter 3 and the explanatory framework in Chapter 4 and thus derive their validity from the existing research on gender analysis in development projects. They suggest what factors could be manipulated in order to achieve more gender-sensitive planning.

### a) Prescription for the Program Design Phase

The primary problem in the program design phase was the fact that gender concerns were relatively isolated from the rest of the planning procedures; they were confined to the gender "expert" who developed the specific gender component of the overall plan. Instead of separating gender concerns, they should be a part of every project planner's task. Ideally, the planners should, at each planning stage, acknowledge how the specific problems and procedures at hand involve and affect women and then begin to develop strategies to secure women's participation in and their benefits from the project in question. The planners also

might rely on structural mechanisms to better address gender issues: for example, by changing the existing (formal or informal) structures in order to secure ongoing interaction between the planners on gender issues or by adding formal structures or procedures to bring together personnel with different expertise in committees or regular staff meetings.

In the case of the Lab-to-Land Program, more extensive integration of gender would have meant, for example, including women in the definition of the Program goals. Although the planners during the Identification Mission were pressed for time to concentrate on interviewing biotechnology researchers about the feasibility of the Network, they could, at the same time, have inquired of the local organizations about the specific conditions of women farmers and their experiences concerning impact of biotechnologies on women in general. This would have given the ATI planners a chance to make preliminary assessments about the local organizations' attitudes toward gender issues. Furthermore, each planner should have a clearer idea of how his or her area of expertise involves and affects women as well as how gender analysis can contribute to the success of the projects. For example, a clearer understanding of how different biotechnologies may be more appropriate for men than for women (e.g., conditions for biotechnology adoption, application, benefits, and

sustainability of utilization) might have made it easier for the planners to address gender issues during the meetings with the representatives of the Asian biotechnology labs.

It seems that more complete integration of gender concerns would require more financial resources in order to help establish teams for gathering baseline gender data for projects. Having gender-disaggregated data would draw attention to gender and help make gender concerns central throughout the planning process. <sup>113</sup>

Changes in the environment are also needed. If donor agencies were more concerned about how their gender policy requirements are taken into account by NGOs in practice - for example, by monitoring the planning and implementation process more closely - it might encourage NGO planners to pay more attention to the integration of specific gender tools into projects.

However important, more money does not necessarily mean more gender-sensitive operations. Planners also should be trained in gender-analysis (perhaps by a group of staff members who are specialized in gender issues or an outside trainer) to be able to better understand where it is

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<sup>113</sup> One of the problems in the design process was that very little gender-disaggregated data were available for the planners. Thus, in the eventual evaluations of the Program and the individual projects, evaluators will have to rely on so-called ex-post gender-disaggregated data (collected after the project has been completed).

important to address problems and solutions in terms of gender. Based on ATI's level of gender awareness, it is fair to say that the staff members would be likely to accept and participate in gender training.

#### b) Prescriptions for the Plan for Implementation

In order to improve the ability to translate the gender awareness of the program design into appropriate strategies for implementation, the planners should create guidelines for the implementing agents to follow to promote women's participation; perhaps planners should include specific conditions (e.g., financing conditions) to ensure that the plans to involve women are carried out in practice. For example, while planning to use particular communication channels to reach women farmers, the planners should have indicated more explicitly how this would be performed in the projects.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, the Program planning could have been more sensitive to the cultural differences among the project countries in Asia and the different positions of women in these countries (which were addressed only briefly during the planning process) to better reach these women in

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<sup>114</sup> I regarded the plan to use radio as a channel to reach women farmers as contributing to the gender sensitivity of the plan for implementation; however, a mere mention of this intent is not enough; a plan detailing how (where, by whom, etc.) it will be carried out in the projects also is needed.

the Program (and project) implementation. As emphasized earlier, the planners should have assessed the gender sensitivity of the project partners before selecting them. They should also have examined more closely whether and how the women biotechnologists in the research laboratories would be able to facilitate the implementation of the Program's gender component (as the planners assumed).

### c) Prescriptions for the Policy Approach

While the policy approach demonstrated higher gender sensitivity, the opportunities intended for women are only potential and do not necessarily translate into practice. Therefore, as in the other dimensions, gender sensitivity could have been improved by incorporating explicit strategies to make the opportunities for women farmers' participation more realistic. Nevertheless, the Program represented a policy approach that regards women as active users of biotechnology and encourages their participation in the Network and the demonstration projects. As long as ATI operates according to its present appropriate technology orientation, the assessment of the social context of technology application will remain an important part of project planning, and the involvement of women as users of technology an important goal.

Organizational goals and policies often are affected by

changes in the environment. In other words, the ability of ATI to maintain a focus on appropriate technology is to a large extent dependent on environmental factors such as donor pressure; therefore, it can be subject to changes in donor policies, which, in turn, are subject to political changes in the United States (e.g., funding from USAID might be subject to changes in the presidency). For example, the USAID attempts to steer ATI toward emphasizing the commercialization of small-scale technology, which may reduce attention to the social context of technology and, perhaps, limit concern for women (unless women continue to be perceived as viable buyers of ATI's technology). <sup>115</sup>

#### Discussion: Gender Planning at ATI

The case study of the Lab-to-Land Program demonstrated that ATI has gone through significant changes in the past two years. The change of the president, reorganization, and a new hiring policy have instigated improvement in ATI's responses to gender concerns as well as progress toward more gender-aware planning. This was evident, for example, when

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<sup>115</sup> For example, the ATI contact person at the USAID indicated that while AID is abandoning the concept of appropriate technology, ATI wants to maintain the approach. If AID plans to gradually discontinue ATI's funding, ATI may be able to increase its focus on appropriate technology rather than its commercialization, depending, of course, on its finding other donors.

comparing the previous biotechnology projects that were planned in 1980s with the Lab-to-Land Program: the individual projects do not include women's issues (except in the social-impact evaluation), while the Program pays considerable attention to gender. Despite the fact that the planning of the Lab-to-Land Program did not fully and systematically take women into account, incorporating the gender component into the Program can be regarded as progress. Yet, most improvements apply only to ATI's gender-awareness, not to its gender sensitivity; for example, the USAID's gender evaluation of ATI in 1989 reported weaknesses in the integration of gender tools similar to those found in the Lab-to-Land Program planning. Accomplishing systematic gender integration involves, among other factors, the collaboration of the planners and implementors. As the planning practice at ATI shows, the planners may be dedicated to a degree to promoting gender issues but they only can do so within their specific realm - planning; therefore, they may feel powerless when project implementation is taken over by the project partners. At this stage, a gender component is important in order to provide means of promoting women's participation. Although some project partners may neglect the gender component, gender-sensitive implementing agents can use it to effectively secure women's participation and benefits.

Indeed, a great deal depends on the commitment of the implementing personnel and on the individual choices they make in practice to promote the inclusion of women into each project activity. In the case of ATI, project planners should begin to pay more attention to the project partnership and to the possible problems in the implementation stage. ATI's monitoring and evaluation are necessary in order to fully ensure that women participate in and benefit from the projects.

In the stream of project funds from the USAID to ATI and from ATI to the local project partners, very little attention is paid to who is accountable for integrating women. ATI has spent a considerable amount of resources to develop a specific gender component for the Program (including expenses for hiring an additional person to work mainly on gender issues), which implies a serious attempt to fully integrate gender issues into the Program. However, the fact that the planners included in the plan only a few specific strategies for ensuring the implementation of the gender component suggests the possibility of attracting donors. Many respondents (in both at AID and ATI) tended to insist that the integration of the gender issues to the Program should be left to the women working in the local

research labs and NGOs. <sup>116</sup> In a way similar to isolating gender in a specific planning component, viewing gender integration as women's responsibility further perpetuates its separation from the general concerns in the planning process and eventually hinders efforts to achieve systematic gender integration - one that would involve both female and male personnel at all stages of project planning. As said above, to avoid isolating gender concerns, planners should be encouraged to assess gender issues in their specific areas, for example, through gender-training or specific incentives.

In general, the suggestions in this chapter strive for the ideal of gender planning. ATI as well as other NGOs operate in a reality that is very different. As described in earlier chapters, NGOs in the development assistance regime maintain a position that is characterized by various constraints, such as funding shortages, <sup>117</sup> the need to accommodate to donors' development objectives, and political changes at home as well as in target countries. Therefore,

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<sup>116</sup> In fact, both AID and ATI respondents expressed similar ideas: women's issues would be taken care of more or less automatically because there are many women working both at ATI and at the biotechnology research laboratories.

<sup>117</sup> However, as noted above, it is difficult to determine whether the declared lack of resources in this case reflects a real constraint or merely an excuse for the lack of commitment to integrating gender concerns into the process.

it is important to take these constraints into account in examining NGOs' efforts to integrate gender concerns into project planning.

Although ATI is closely connected to USAID, it operates to a large extent as an NGO. Despite differences in the project process, the problems as well as the suggested solutions could be generalizable across U.S. non-profit development NGOs. The problems of monitoring the gender component are likely to be generalizable especially to those NGOs that implement projects through partnerships in the target countries.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

The purpose of this thesis was to examine how gender issues are taken into account in development planning in the private non-profit sector in the U.S. My original intention was to follow Lab-to-Land Program planning throughout the project cycle, from the initial idea to implementation and evaluation. Because the Program is presently only at the beginning of implementation, I decided to concentrate on the planning process. However, in the process of collecting data, I found evidence that clearly contributed to the gender-sensitivity of the Program but did not fall within the scope of my research. For example, a few months after the ANSAB Network was established, the Program planners

submitted to the Asian Development Bank an extensive proposal for addressing women's needs in the biotechnology demonstration projects. These efforts to include women and address their needs demonstrate ATI's continuing attention to women's concerns, and therefore contribute to the gender sensitivity of the whole Program (not only to the planning process). These findings also support the earlier explanation that the planners tend to create more specific strategies for including women along the course of implementation of the Program and projects. Also, the planners may avoid creating specific gender tools before funding is fully secured. Nevertheless, the continuation of gender integration throughout the implementation and evaluation phases deserves more attention.

My foremost suggestion for further research is that case studies should follow the entire program cycle to better understand the dynamics that influence gender integration and to better evaluate the gender sensitivity of the whole program or project. In my opinion, the case study method is the most appropriate for examining organizational dynamics. However, rather than looking at one case at a time, one could conduct comparative case studies, that is, to compare planning processes in different organizations in order to get a broader understanding of, for example, the kind of obstacles planners in NGOs face in integrating

gender into projects and ways in which the planning process could be improved. The logic of comparison also would help develop explanations for the differing degrees of gender sensitivity. Also, looking at several programs and projects within a single organization can help identify the specific problems and potentials for gender planning in the organization. Hence, this study could be extended to compare both ATI's planning with that in similar NGOs and different programs within ATI.

In the course of this study, I encountered a problem that tends to characterize much of the research in the area of gender and development: many of the key concepts are rather vague and need clarifying. Often used concepts, such as "empowerment" and "policy approach," were difficult to operationalize, which made their use in analyzing the data open to debate about the accuracy of the findings as well as about the utility of the concept itself to measure gender sensitivity. For example, to what extent can we talk about empowerment out of its cultural context and, if empowerment is defined as a goal in development practices, is there a danger of it becoming just another buzzword in the development rhetoric? Furthermore, empowerment as a goal should also be treated with caution; the raising of the political consciousness of women in developing countries can be dangerous for the women themselves and result in violent

resistance from the men in their communities. Needless to say, the concept of "empowerment" has encountered opposition from local to governmental and intergovernmental development agencies. Therefore, I suggest that more conceptual clarification and operationalization is needed to in order to avoid the resistance that the ambiguity of these concepts may raise among development practitioners (which also may limit the extent to which the claims for more gender-sensitive planning will be taken seriously). However, more than the mere ambiguity of the concept, the political goal of empowerment may cause problems at all levels of development assistance because empowering women is typically perceived to mean "disempowering" men.

In the development assistance regime, non-profit development NGOs occupy a position between donors and implementing agents.<sup>118</sup> On the one hand, they operate as recipients of funding and, on the other hand, they allocate funds to the developing country project partners. This position suggests the influence of various factors, some of which this thesis has examined. A great deal of the research on development NGOs deals with the influence of

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<sup>118</sup> Not all development NGOs, though, use local project partners for their project implementation but rather implement their own projects. This point applies best to NGOs such as ATI that, in the financial flow, are "donors" themselves for the local NGOs.

environmental factors such as donor policies, while in WID research the factors that influence the integration of women into projects have not received as much attention. Such research is critical for identifying the weaknesses in gender planning and for working toward influencing the relevant factors (or actors) in order to improve the gender sensitivity of private development assistance.

## Appendix 1

### THE RESPONDENTS IN THE CASE STUDY

#### THE APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY INTERNATIONAL

##### The Lab-to-Land Program Planners:

Jack Croucher	Program Development Director/Asia (September 4, 1992).
John Ferchak	Agricultural Biologist (June 3, 1992)
Sharmila Ribeiro	Program Development Officer (June 2, 1992)

##### Other personnel:

Valeria Budinich	Vice President (June 2, 1992)
Jeanne Downing	Program Development Director/Africa (June 1, 1992)
Eric Hyman	Evaluation Economist (May 27, 1992)

#### THE U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

##### The Interviewees at the USAID:

Roberto Castro	The ATI contact person (May 29, 1992)
Jenna Luché	WID Officer/Asia (May 27, 1992)
Edgar Ariza-Nino	WID Officer (May 29, 1992)

## Appendix 2

### QUESTION OUTLINES FOR RESPONDENTS

The following questions served as outlines for the interview situation and therefore many of them were asked in different order and also were worded differently according to the topic of the conversation with the respondent.

Respondent: John Ferchak/ATI

#### The identification of specific biotechnologies

- \* During the identification mission you explored potential mature biotechnologies that would be appropriate for production for small-scale farmers. What kind of things do you look at when deciding if a certain biotechnology is appropriate for small-scale farming?
- \* What were the criteria in selecting the biotechnologies for this specific Program?
- \* In your opinion, is it possible that some biotechnologies are more appropriate for women farmers than others? On the other hand, can you think of any biotechnologies that would be less beneficial for women farmers?
- \* In generating new biotechnologies in general and especially in the context of this project, can you see any possibilities for taking into account gender interests? (Probe: for example, emphasize the financing of biotechnologies that would benefit especially women?)
- \* Based on your report from the identification mission, it was suggested that the selected biotechnologies are ready for further development towards becoming fully accessible for small farmers throughout the region. Did anyone voice any concerns about socio-economic constraints in the dissemination and distribution of these new technologies? Did anyone bring up the concern of securing the accessibility of the technologies to women farmers? (If so, how was that dealt with?...)

The identification of institutions and organizations for the Network

\* On what grounds were the institutions selected for you to visit during the identification mission? (How much information did you have about these institutions prior to your visit?)

\* In the process of identifying tentative members for the Network what kind of characteristics were considered as appropriate for the institution to be a member in the Network?

\* What is your opinion after visiting these organizations, did the personnel appear aware of gender issues in their operations? Did they express specific interest toward improving the position of women farmers and their specific needs?

\* It appears, from your report, that there are a number of women scientists working in biotechnology generation in these institutions. Did these women seem interested in the possible improvements that the Network as well as the projects could generate for women farmers?

\* From what you observed, did these women have a position in the decision-making process so that if they advocated any gender concerns their views would be taken into consideration?

\* Is the gender awareness of these institutions (or the lack of it) a concern to ATI?

Gender sensitivity in Program identification

\* From what I have read in your report of the "identification mission," I gather that the meetings with the biotechnology experts and representatives of different institutions and organizations were rather brief. I think you expressed in your report the concern that the meetings were also rather superficial. (A lot of time went into explaining ATI's operations, the goals of the Program, and so forth.)

\* Can you remember whether gender concerns were discussed? (By you or the representatives of the institutions)  
(Probe: For example, any possibilities of improving the position of women farmers?)

\* If there were such references, for example, to women farmers as end-users or biotechnology producers, in what way were they addressed? Did the participants express interest in these issues?

\* During these meetings with the possible Program participants were any specific differences between reaching male or female farmers as end-users discussed? If these differences were considered, in what manner were they addressed?

(Probe: Was there concern more about the constraints or enthusiasm about the possible positive impacts?)

\* Regarding data you might have acquired during your "mission" from the institutions... were any of that data differentiated between men and women?

\* In case such data were not readily obtainable, was the lack of it voiced by the representatives of the institutions? Did you happen to request such data? (If so, how was your request received?)

\* Were there any female participants in these meetings? What did they contribute?

#### The definition of "farmer" in the Program

\* The Program identifies its beneficiaries as the small-scale (resource poor) farmers. How do you define these farmers? Who are they and in what kind of circumstances do they live?

(Probe: Are female farmers included in the general definition of a farmer in the Program?) (Or: Are farmers defined according to their gender, as women or men farmers?)

\* One of the goals in the Program as well as in the demonstration projects is to use farmers' assistance and know-how in developing and commercializing new biotechnologies. What is the process by which these "informants" are selected?

\* What are the ways in which female farmers could serve as informants? How are they (the ways) different from male farmers?

\* Does the Program plan take into account the difference, for example, by giving incentives, or working around any constraints for female farmers to serve as informants?

Respondent: Sharmila Ribeiro/ATI

The following questions were intended for Sharmila Ribeiro, however, because she served more as a key informant, the interview was unstructured and geared toward "filling in" the gaps left from other interviews.

The demonstration projects within the Program

\* One of the concerns in the two already implemented demonstration projects (Rhizobium and BGA) was to assess the viability of these biotechnologies for women farmers as end-users. The results so far, according to the evaluation reports, have been encouraging. How is (or was) this specific information on women farmers utilized in planning the actual Program?

\* The Program proposals include a list of constraints for women farmers to participate, such constraints as, access to credit, access to markets, ability to negotiate transactions (illiteracy), women's time constraints, acceptance by men in the village, etc. How were these particular constraints addressed in the planning the demonstration projects?

\* Is the possibility that men may "take over" the benefits from the increased production from using the new biotechnologies taken into account?

\* How can ATI ensure that these concerns are taken into account and that women's profits and benefits are secured? (Through funding decisions or conditionalities? ---> refer to policy issues)

Extension activities in technology transfer and cultural constraints

\* The Program proposal refers to alternative ways of reaching resource-poor farmers, not by top-down technology packages but emphasizing farmer involvement in technology development and transfer. If the goal is to involve local farmers in extension activities, do the technical demonstrations take into account the social position of female farmers and the constraints they face in participating?

\* How are the extension activities organized in order to provide access to women farmers (e.g., accommodate to women's time schedule, organize activities in a place in which women can easily participate)? If they are not organized in such way, do you think they should be? How would it be possible to do so?

- \* (1) Are the extension workers exposed to or trained in gender issues at all?
- (2) In selecting the implementing organizations which organize these activities are these aspects a concern for ATI?
- (3) Are women extension workers available to better reach women farmers?
- (4) If there are women extension workers, how do they affect the outreach program?

\* The Program reaches out to 8 countries (Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Vietnam). How are the different positions and tasks of women farmers in each of these different cultures assessed in designing the program?

#### Gender sensitivity in the planning and reviewing process

\* In what manner are gender issues in the projects and programs discussed in your organization (ATI) in general?

\* Is the way in which gender issues were taken into account for the purposes of this Program any different from the way they are normally addressed?

\* At what stage did gender concerns, for example, the access to resources, specific constraints for the participation of women farmers and others we have discussed so far, enter into the planning process?

\* How were the specific components in the Program proposal which relate to gender issues dealt with in the specific review committees (PCDC and PRAC)?

\* Were there any specific ways in which the gender issues were supported in the committees, for example, did women or men express more support or did outside members of the committees express more or less support than ATI personnel serving as experts in the committees?

\* How did the approval and review committees revisions or suggestions influence the planning process? Did they suggest any revisions for gender issues? Is so, how were these suggestions taken into account in the planning process?

\* Are you satisfied with the way the Program proposal was handled in the committees? What could have worked better or what could have been done differently?

Respondent: Jack Croucher/ATI

Program Identification

\* You have been a very central person in developing the Lab-to-Land Program from the very beginning. Could you please describe your personal role in the planning of this Program? (not only in terms of your position but also your in terms of your personal tasks and objectives).

\* What was the earliest stage you can recall gender being a concern in the Program planning?

\* Why at that specific stage?

\* In your opinion was there any indication that gender issues could have needed attention at any other stage in the project cycle?

\* As the planning process evolved, you hired Sharmila to work on the gender component, how/why did you come to a decide to hire an extra person for that? (Did someone suggest it?)

\* Can you recall any discussions about gender issues in the PRAC meetings? (PCDC?)

\* I have studied both the Rhizobium and BGA project documents and it is evident that those two projects hardly address gender issues, yet, the Program includes a specific gender component.

\* How you explain this change toward more gender sensitivity?

\* In my research I found that the Lab-to-Land planners and ATI personnel are very aware of gender issues in development planning, the Program also entails a specific component for gender...

\* How would you respond to a claim that in spite of the planners' awareness of the importance of gender concerns, very little concrete measures to address women in the demonstration projects are included in the Program?

\* Could we elaborate on that: How would you explain why there can be a lot of gender awareness in the organization but less concrete methods to actually include women in the implementation?

\* How closely does ATI work with the project partners in implementing the gender component of the Lab-to-Land Program?

\* How can ATI make sure that the project partners will pay attention to women in this program?

\* What could ATI do to improve the inclusion of women into the implementation of the demonstration projects?

\* What were, in your opinion, the most significant constraints or obstacles for integrating gender issues into Lab-to-Land program and project planning?

\* How about most significant incentives?

\* Would you improve the ways in gender concerns are integrated into Programs at ATI?

\* How?

Respondent: Jeanne Downing/ATI

(Gender issues in the Biotech Program)

\* Were gender concerns particularly manifest in the planning process of the Biotechnology Program?

\* At which stage of the project planning were gender issues dealt with (in this particular projects or if she is not familiar with it, at which stage are they dealt with in general)?

(At which stage should they be dealt with?)

\* Does the planning of the Biotech program represent a typical process of dealing with gender issues at ATI?

\* Was there any concern of gender (or is there typically in ATI projects) in the technology identification process?

\* How would you evaluate the inclusion of gender concerns in the Biotech program?

(Probe: How could the project process be made more gender sensitive?)

\* Is the treatment of gender issues in the implementing organizations (local NGOs) a concern for ATI planners?

\* Should ATI monitor the treatment of gender issues in these organizations? How?

(General attitudes toward including gender in planning)

\* How would you describe the responses of the members in the organization toward integrating gender concerns in project identification and planning?

\* How would you rate their priority in ATI?

\* Are there problems in dealing with gender issues in planning?

\* How do problems emerge and at what stage?

\* How are they solved, or dealt with?

\* Are there certain people who specifically emphasize the inclusion of gender concerns in project planning? What is the response to these type of requirements by others involved in the project process in ATI?

\* Which stage of ATI operations demonstrates most difficulties with gender sensitivity?

\* In your view, should the project/program identification and planning process be changed?  
How?

\* You conducted a gender analysis of the organization couple of years ago, what is your impression, how has the organization changed since?

(Probe: Did the WID analysis in any way change the treatment of gender issues in ATI?)

How?

Respondent: Valeria Budinich/ATI

(The treatment of gender issues at ATI)

\* How would you describe the treatment of gender issues in the context of ATI operations such as decision-making in ATI, project planning, and in selecting the implementing organizations?

(Probe: Are there certain functions that call for more [or less] gender sensitivity?)

\* Are there specific people who actively advocate the integration of gender issues in ATI projects?

\* If so, what kind of response do they (or anyone who expresses gender concerns) get?

(Gender issues in project identification and planning)

\* Let's say that in the project identification stage planners voice gender concerns. How are they handled in the assessment of committees such as PCDC and PRAC? Are they discussed separately or left untouched in the proposal?

\* In those committees (PCDC and PRAC), there are also members outside of ATI, how do they respond to the integration of gender issues in projects?

(Women's position at ATI)

\* What kind of position do women have in the decision-making in ATI? Are they included in all levels of decision-making?

\* What is it like to be a woman in this organization?

\* How are gender issues (for example, demands to include gender concerns in ATI operations [projects, etc.]) regarded in the decision-making process?

(Organizational changes in gender treatment)

\* Has the response to gender concerns changed during your time at ATI? How?

(If so, have the changes been specifically significant in any particular stage of operations?)

\* Is there any emphasis from the part of the funders, especially USAID, to include gender concerns in the ATI programs?

\* How would you evaluate ATI's operations? (In terms of gender concerns and questions we have just talked about?)

\* How could these processes be improved? What could have been done differently?

(Probe: How could they be made more gender sensitive?)

Respondent: Roberto Castro/USAID

(Castro's personal operations)

\* What are the responsibilities of an ATI contact person at USAID?

(AID's influence on ATI's projects)

\* How much influence does USAID as a funder exert over ATI's project decisions?

\* Are there any particular conditions for ATI to receive USAID funding?

(Probe: Are there any policy issues tied to the funding?)

(ATI, appropriate technology and commercialization)

\* If there are any conditionalities for ATI to receive AID funds for its projects, how is their implementation in ATI projects and programs monitored or evaluated by AID?

(Transfer of WID policy)

\* How does USAID's gender policy (or the so called WID component) influence ATI operations?

(Probe: What is the process by which gender "clause" gets transferred?)

\* To what extent is AID concerned about the appropriate treatment of the gender component in the NGOs it is funding? For example, in the case of ATI, is AID concerned about the treatment of gender in the operations of the local NGOs that ATI contracts to implement its programs and projects?

(Possible improvements for including gender)

\* How can USAID encourage the integration of gender concerns in the planning of the projects in ATI?

\* Could the process of funding and policy transfer between USAID and ATI be improved or done differently?

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Anne Ollilainen', is positioned below the text. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a prominent initial 'A'.