

Paper for 18<sup>th</sup> European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Lund, July 6-9 2004  
Panel on Institutions and agricultural development

**From Training and Visit Extension to Farm Women Groups: Impact - in terms of economic benefits, empowerment and institutions - of four Danida-supported training projects for farm women in India.**

**By Steen Folke,  
Senior Researcher  
Department of Development Research  
Danish Institute for International Studies  
sfo@diis.dk**

**Introduction**

Since around 1980 agricultural extension in India has been dominated by the Training and Visit approach initially propagated by the World Bank. The approach has been criticised for its rather top-down communication, individual focus on contact farmers and narrow and standardised extension messages. From the mid-1990s more broad-based, group-focused and participatory approaches to agricultural extension have gradually replaced the T&V system.

This evolution is also reflected in the history of four Danida-supported training projects for farm women, three of which were initiated in the 1980s. The projects are Women and Youth Training and Extension Project, WYTEP, in Karnataka (1982-2005), Tamil Nadu Women in Agriculture, TANWA (1986-2003), Training and Extension for Women in Agriculture, TEWA, in Orissa (1987-2003) and Madhya Pradesh Women in Agriculture, MAPWA (1993-2005). Over the years more than 1 million farm women have received training and extension under the four projects, mostly based on the T&V approach, but in recent years with Farm Women Groups as the framework for both extension and income generating activities. The total cost for Danish tax payers has been around DKK 279 million (roughly 40 million USD).

Based on extensive fieldwork in all four states (in 2002-03) by a team of researchers and research assistants - in the context of a comprehensive evaluation for which the author was team leader (Danida, 2004) - the paper investigates the impact of the four projects both in terms of economic benefits (higher yields, savings on chemical fertilizers, income generating activities) and their contribution to the farm women's empowerment (self confidence, role in decision making, collective strength)<sup>1</sup>. The analysis uses the women's empowerment framework developed by Naila Kabeer, who was a member of the team. The impact is analysed in relation to the institutions involved, particularly T&V versus the Farm Women Groups, and the village-based training employed by three of the projects versus training in district agricultural centres employed by the oldest and biggest project, WYTEP. The projects' impact on Indian policies and institutions is also highlighted.

---

<sup>1</sup> The author is grateful to the entire team and in particular to the Dutch anthropologist Welmoed Koekebakker who has contributed substantially to the section on impact in terms of empowerment. The Indian team members were Dr. Jayalakshmi Indiresan, Mrs. Sandhya Rani Mohanty, Dr. N. Narasimha, Dr. K.N. Ninan and Dr. Kripa Ananth Pur.

The four training projects for farm women were really pioneering in practising large-scale agricultural training and extension targeted at women, particularly from small and marginal farming households. In several other respects the projects were rather slow in adopting new approaches to agricultural extension. The Training & Visit approach generally dominated over the projects' extension activities until late in the 1990s. But the introduction of Farm Women Groups in the second half of the 1990s constituted a major break with the past and provided a better framework for the extension activities. Moreover, many of these groups widened the scope of their work by taking up savings and credit and engaging in other income-generating activities.

The most important achievement with respect to all the projects has been the primary training of women from small and marginal farms. In all the projects the training has focused on a range of simple agricultural skills and technologies. While there has been some variation in their number as well as the exact skills and technologies, the most important have been more or less the same across all the projects in focusing primarily on crop production. The most important skills are soil testing, soil preparation, seed selection, seed testing, seed treatment, compost preparation, organic pesticides and pest control.

One of the greatest achievements in all the projects has been to create a number of regular posts in the General Extension System (GES) for female staff. Until the advent of these projects, the GES staff in all the states were overwhelmingly (>99%) male, and the GES basically catered exclusively to the needs of male farmers. All the projects have aimed at integrating female staff into the Departments of Agriculture and mainstreaming gender issues within the GES. Given the complete male dominance in these departments, this has not been an easy task. The new all-India agricultural extension policy framework (GoI 2001), in combination with the state-level policies regarding according a priority to the recruitment of female staff, will go a long way to ensure that the female staff inducted under the four projects will be kept in the Departments of Agriculture and their numbers increased after the projects have been terminated.

### **Outcome and impact: economic benefits**

A central part of the study was a questionnaire-based interview survey of 545 trained farm women (a random stratified sample), 174 from WYTEP, 160 from TANWA, 116 from TEWA and 95 from MAPWA.

**Table 1. Distribution of farm women households by landholding size (acres and %)**

	Landless	<2.5 ac.	2.5-5 ac.	5-10 ac.	10-25 ac.	>25 ac.	Total
WYTEP	17	39	14	14	11	4	100
TANWA	8	52	24	14	1	0	100
TEWA	4	52	30	12	1	1	100
MAPWA	2	13	27	43	14	1	100
Total (%)	9	41	23	19	7	2	100
Total (No.)	51	223	124	102	36	9	545

Source: Field survey. Shaded: target group

The study has revealed that there are important differences between the projects in terms of reaching the target group (see table 1). TANWA and TEWA were found to be well targeted, with

more than three-fourths of the sample belonging to the target group of small and marginal farm households. In contrast WYTEP had almost half and MAPWA more than half falling of the sampled farm women outside the target group, primarily because of larger land holdings. This is a matter for serious concern. Moreover, the analysis has shown that in a number of areas WYTEP has had less impact than the other three projects.

More than two-thirds of the farm women interviewed report improvements in their economic status after the training. There is, however, a striking difference between WYTEP, where only half report improvements, and the other three projects, where three-quarters or more report improvements. In around 95% of the cases in all four projects, the economic improvements are linked to the training (table 2). This is significant and a very satisfactory result. For about two-thirds of cases, however, training is just one of several factors. This is only natural, and in some cases, no doubt, other factors have been more important. But it is notable that for one third the training is stated to be the only factor behind the improvement. There are interesting differences between the projects in this respect. For TEWA and MAPWA almost half ascribe economic improvement exclusively to the training they received, whereas for TANWA it is only 30% and for WYTEP only 10%. This reflects, among other things, differences in the levels of development. In Orissa and Madhya Pradesh the projects have been particularly important in economic terms because in these states there are fewer alternative economic opportunities for poor farm women and their households.

**Table 2. Improvement in economic status due to training or other factors (per cent of farm women)**

	Fully training	Partly training	Other factors	No response	Total
WYTEP	10	85	5	1	100
TANWA	30	68	2	0	100
TEWA	47	51	1	1	100
MAPWA	45	46	3	6	100
All projects	32	63	3	2	100

Source: Field survey

There is no doubt that, generally speaking, the trained farm women have benefited from the training and the adoption of a range of the agricultural skills they have learnt. This has led to increases in yields of the main crops, savings on chemical fertilizers and a number of other improvements in their agricultural practices. In some cases increased production has led to a greater marketable surplus, in others to improved consumption and greater food security.

In the most recent phases, all the projects have promoted the formation of Farm Women Groups (FWGs) and/or Self-Help Groups (SHGs). The exact modalities have varied somewhat from project to project, but in most cases the FWGs were initially formed as a means to improve the agricultural extension activities. Focusing on groups rather than individuals has had the advantage of creating a forum for mutual discussion, and with it, a group dynamic that is less dependent on the continued support of agricultural extension staff. In many cases, these groups have been transformed into SHGs, taking up savings and credit activities and other income-generating activities in addition to – sometimes as an alternative to – agricultural activities. In many cases, such SHGs have also been promoted by other development programmes, whether by donors, NGOs or government agencies. In some cases this has developed into an unhealthy competition between the agencies, using ‘seed money’ to capture women for ‘their’ SHGs. But more generally, the SHGs have proved to be

important vehicles for the introduction of income-generating activities as well as eliminating money lenders and other middlemen through their savings and credit operations.

About one third of the farm women in the sample were found to be members of FWGs/SHGs. For these women the groups have provided opportunities for collectively pursuing agricultural activities or other income-generating activities, as well as becoming involved in credit and savings operations. All this has had a positive impact on their economic situation.

**Table 3. Economic activities of Farm Women Groups/Self-Help Groups (per cent of groups)**

	Engaged in agriculture	Engaged in other IGA
WYTEP	91	15
TANWA	82	61
TEWA	36	18
MAPWA	16	25
Total	66	28

Source: Field survey

Table 3 shows that the vast majority of the groups in the two southern states are engaged in agricultural activities, whereas this is only true of a minority in the two northern states. In terms of income-generating activities, the groups formed under TANWA stand out as being very active in this area. This is both because of the good opportunities in Tamil Nadu for such activities and because TANWA has been more successful than the other projects in creating vibrant SHGs.

#### **Village study in Tamil Nadu**

A particularly interesting village study was carried out in a village in Gudiyatham taluk, Vellore District, in Tamil Nadu. In this village there was a very dynamic and successful Farm Women Group/Self-Help Group, and the village was selected for in-depth study because of this. The evaluation team spent two days in this village. The first hours were spent together with the FWG whose members gave a vivid and detailed account of their activities. Then, together with these women, we started a transect walk through the village. However, after a walk of less than 100 metres on the main street, all the FWG women stopped and did not want to go further. The evaluation team soon realised that we had crossed into another section of the village inhabited by a different caste. Through individual and group interviews, wealth ranking and social mapping in both parts of the village, we gradually built up a picture of the situation in the village and the role the TANWA project had played in this.

All the FWG members belong to the farming Naidu caste, and it turned out that this caste owns most of the village land, in spite of being only around 10% of the population. The remaining 90% are Dalits (SCs). Only relatively few among them own land, and many work as agricultural labourers for the Naidus. Apart from this there is hardly any interaction between the two groups. The difference in perception is interesting. The Naidus believe that the Dalits are better off, being pampered by the government with job reservations and other favours. The Dalits feel that the Naidus are better off because they own most of the land and other assets in the village like the shops. Although there is some truth in both views, objectively the Naidus are certainly better off on average. Clearly there is a good deal of tension between the two groups, and it is inconceivable for children from one caste to play with children from the other caste.

Our investigation revealed that it was only Naidus who had benefited from the project. The much larger group of Dalit households had been entirely bypassed. The relatively few Dalits owning land had never been invited to join the project. There was some envy, and in a sense the project had inadvertently contributed to the simmering tension.

## **Outcome and impact: empowerment**

Evaluating the impact of the projects in terms of empowerment is difficult. Empowerment is both embodied and relational, and hence not amenable to direct measurement. The research methodology is inspired by the Gender and Development (GAD) approach and the social relations approach of Naila Kabeer. A crucial notion in the GAD / Empowerment approach is that women's subordination in the development process comes not from being left out of it but from its interaction with gender.

Gender implies a concern with the social relations between women and men and therefore differs from a concern with women alone that one finds in the Women in Development (WID) approach (Razavi and Miller, 1995). GAD emphasizes collective action by women and is an approach invoking the idea of process. Its focus is on the transformatory potential of development interventions by mobilising women around self-identified needs, thereby building new and collective relationships and transforming awareness. In this approach also, men's gender interests constitute a basis for change. Intangible aspects like self-respect and dignity matter.

A focus on gender rather than on women has informed the way the questionnaires were developed. This includes an analysis of the gender division of labour in farm work at household level and elsewhere, as well as of the gender division of resources and the gender division of decision-making.

There has been some debate about the concepts of practical and strategic needs (Moser, 1993). Practical gender needs are the needs that women identify in their socially accepted roles. Strategic gender needs are the needs they identify because of their subordination to men. This classification has been widely questioned. The demarcation between the concepts is not a sharp one, and they are not mutually exclusive. A development intervention may relate to a practical need, but the way to achieve this may have strategic implications.

For the purpose of this study, the important issue here is the underlying question addressed by this classification. The question is: have the farm women training projects managed to facilitate strategic change in the way they address the practical needs and interests of farm women? Not all practical changes have transformative potential, but some may be 'entry points' into transformative change. A strategic intervention can have 'ripple effects' on areas other than the primary area, for example by putting new technologies in women's hands or by building collective strength in a women's group. The role of outsiders (NGOs, women's organisations, donors) can become a catalytic one by building in transformative potential in the way a project is designed and implemented. This is how the study looks at practical and strategic needs and interests.

The term 'empowerment' itself is elusive and is used in a variety of ways. In this study, the empowerment framework developed by Naila Kabeer has been applied (Kabeer, 2001). Empowerment refers to the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context in which this ability was previously denied. However, the ability to exercise a choice is determined by three inter-related dimensions that should be distinguished from one another: resources: the conditions under which choices are made; agency, or the ability to define one's goals and act upon them; and achievements, or the outcome of choices.

Resources refer to material (land, equipment, education, etc.), but also to human and social resources (knowledge, skills and imagination, as well as relationships, networks etc.). Agency goes beyond decision-making as included in the gender analysis (GAD) to comprise a range of purposive actions, such as bargaining, negotiation, deception, manipulation, subversion and resistance. Together resources and agency make up capabilities or the potentials of achieving valued ways of 'being and doing' (Amartya Sen 1992).

The evaluation distinguishes and identifies empowerment processes at different levels:

- individual resources, agency, achievements (self-confidence, pride, negotiation, abilities, etc.)
- mutually supportive social processes (among women, in families, communities, etc.)
- collective steps towards changing gender relations (e.g. farm women groups evolving into a movement of farm women).

In the survey of trained farm women a majority reported that since the training they have a greater role in decision-making (see table 4). Two out of three women mention having a greater say in farm related matters and in family matters than before. Their role in taking decisions about introducing new technologies, starting a new enterprise or buying assets has increased considerably. The figures suggest that their influence in farm matters goes more or less hand in hand with an increase in their influence over family matters.

**Table 4. Farm women's perceptions of changes in self confidence and decision-making**

Greater self-confidence in farming activities		Greater participation in farm level decision making		Greater participation in family decision making		Greater awareness of village matters	
Yes (%)	no (%)	yes (%)	no (%)	yes (%)	no (%)	yes (%)	no (%)
82	18	67	32	71	28	57	42

'No response' and 'not applicable' constitute about 1 percent for each category.

When asked whether they feel more self-assured than before, women answered by a wide majority that they feel confident about their new responsibilities, which involve trying out crops, buying agricultural implements and starting new techniques. In addition, they have increased their self-esteem in a more general sense: most women say that participating in the training has boosted their self respect. Half the 545 women interviewed reported that their relationships with their husbands had changed.

The projects have achieved the objective of increasing farm women's access to the General Extension System. In general, women report that, thanks to the projects, they have greater access to information, and not only on farm-related issues. There is considerable evidence that women in the process of participating in the training projects have become more aware of their needs and their (lack of) access to services and more vocal in demanding them.

There is a clear linkage between increased awareness of government services and the experiences the women have acquired in the training projects. Having experienced the dedicated and skilful performance of the female training and extension officers, the women became openly critical of the poor performance of some male officers. A large number of farm women expressed their

dissatisfaction with the sporadic number of visits of male workers. It is quite revealing that a considerable number of women (in Orissa as many as 30%) openly said the services of the male extension officers were sub-standard. This is a powerful indication that the training projects have had an impact on increasing awareness about services. Not only are women situating themselves at the receiving end of government services, they are also articulating their interests and expressing their dissatisfaction when government services do not perform according to their needs.

There are numerous examples of women discussing or overtly demanding greater access to services. These examples range from the first cautious steps in accessing services to, in some cases, collectively exerting social pressure to be granted the required amenities and services. It has been reported that women have learnt to negotiate with government officers and win them over to their side. As a consequence, in several villages the project is now being implemented with the collaboration of some committed government officers who have been inspired by the women's energy.

Group formation was not part of the project approach at the outset, but was generally included as an essential component of the recent phase of the projects. Thousands of groups have been formed as part of the four projects, some of which have now ceased operations, while others have been flourishing for years. The overall extent of the participation of trained farm women in women's groups is rather limited: of the women interviewed in the survey, only one in three is member of a FWG/SHG, and the team found that in many villages there is no SHG at all. There are considerable differences both between the states and within them. In WYTEP, group formation has been considerably less successful than in the other three states due to poor follow-up by agricultural officers, with the effect that many groups are now defunct; the TANWA groups have been the most vibrant, while TEWA and MAPWA present a very mixed picture.

In some cases FWGs developed into a platform for the village women to discuss and decide about village development issues and socio-cultural issues like marriage and other family matters. There are examples of women groups organising anti-alcohol campaigns, stopping the sale of liquor in the village and bringing down the level of alcoholism in tribal villages. In one village the women acted as a monitoring group, uncovering a case of fraud committed by a corrupt kindergarten worker and managing to have her replaced. One of the women interviewed in Madhya Pradesh mentioned that, with the encouragement of a female extension officer, they formed a SHG which now takes up social and village developmental issues, like road construction, sinking a tube well or building a bridge, with the *panchayat sarpanch*. They also take up issues like internal family conflicts, children's education and marriages.

The most active FWGs/SHGs were found in Tamil Nadu, where in many villages women are collectively exerting social pressure for the benefit of the community by demanding community facilities like schools, ration shops, community centres, bus connections, hospitals and water tanks. One interesting example was a village where the women's group got three more teachers appointed to the school, which had classes up to standard five but was being handled just by two teachers. This was achieved by persuading the well-to-do families of the village to donate the funds to meet the salaries of these newly appointed teachers, educated young people in the village. Under TANWA clusters and federations of FWG/SHG have been built up in some regions, and in a sense TANWA has evolved into an embryonic women's movement. From an institutional point of view it is interesting that a donor-supported project has been able to transform itself into such an embryonic movement.

## **Impact: institutions and policies**

It is quite clear that the projects have had an impact on a number of institutions in the four states. They have also influenced policies at both the state and national levels.

First of all, the projects have had a significant impact on the Departments of Agriculture (DoAs) in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. In all four states, a new cadre of female extension workers has been built up, designated Agricultural Officers (Farm Women) in Tamil Nadu, Agricultural Development Officers (Farm Women) in Madhya Pradesh, Assistant Agricultural Officers (Farm Women) in Karnataka and Lady Village Agricultural Workers in Orissa. Only in Tamil Nadu was it possible to recruit women with an academic background in agriculture for these posts. In Karnataka the majority had a background in home science and in Madhya Pradesh in science. In Orissa, since their background was just matriculation, they were placed at a lower level in the hierarchy. It has taken a good deal of effort to have these women accepted by their male colleagues and superiors, but today they appear to be firmly entrenched in the DoAs, a major achievement in itself.

At the same time, the projects have contributed to mainstreaming gender issues in the DoAs. The projects and the presence of female staff have had an impact, and moreover a number of training sessions, workshops and courses have been held for male staff members. But all the DoAs are still overwhelmingly dominated by male officers, many of whom have shown resentment and even openly resisted the new emphasis on the role of women in agriculture. It is clear that the efforts of the four projects in this regard have been insufficient really to accomplish the required degree of gender sensitisation on a large scale. However, there tends to be good support for these efforts among male officers at the highest levels in the DoAs. Thus it is likely that such efforts will continue, even after the projects have been terminated.

The Danida-supported projects have been a source of inspiration for several other, more or less similar projects in different parts of India. These include two large Dutch-supported projects, namely 'Training of Women in Agriculture', implemented in Gujarat from 1989 and terminated in 2003, and 'Andhra Pradesh Women in Agriculture', implemented from 1994 and now in its second phase. The Government of India on its own has established a 'Central Sector Scheme of Women in Agriculture'.

Under WYTEP, sixteen District Agricultural Training Centres were constructed with funding from Danida, and the Government of Karnataka on its own built seven more training centres, so that today there is one centre in each district of the state. These centres are, of course, a valuable resource that can be used for a variety of training purposes. In fact, however, the training of farm women (and young people) under WYTEP has made up more than 70% of their training activities. This means that there has been a vested institutional interest in continuing these training courses, which has no doubt influenced decisions to retain institutional training as the core of WYTEP, in spite of the negative consequences associated with this.

In Denmark, since 1994 the Nordic Agricultural Academy has benefited from having more than 150 female extension workers from the four projects for six-month training courses. This has been an extremely costly way of providing the training, and although the exposure to Danish society is valuable and cherished, it is likely that most of the training objectives could be achieved in India at



a much lower cost. Again it appears that vested institutional interests have played a role in continuing this costly practice.

At the national level, a new 'Policy Framework for Agricultural Extension' was adopted in 2001 (GoI, 2001). The new policy framework marks a change from the T&V approach towards a broad-based farming-systems approach in agricultural extension. It has a whole section entitled 'Mainstreaming Women in Agriculture', with paragraphs on 'improving access to extension and training', 'redesign of extension services to reach women farmers' and 'expanding the sphere of women extension workers'. One of the concrete objectives is 'increasing the proportion of trained female extension workers to gradually ensure that at least one third of all extension workers are women' (GoI, 2001, p. 16). Interviews with officers in the Ministry of Agriculture have confirmed that the four Danida-supported projects have played an important role as sources of inspiration for this part of the new extension framework. Over the years the projects have been seen as laboratories for large-scale experiments in targeting women in agricultural extension, and their relative success has had consequences for the policies laid down in the new framework.

Even before the new framework appeared, several of the project states had formulated their own policies in this area. For instance, in 1997 the Government of Karnataka decided to direct 30% of agricultural extension resources towards female farmers. Today all four states have gender policies as part of their extension policies, with the aim that one third of their extension workers should be women in due course. It is clear that the four projects have had an impact on these state policies.

### **Concluding remarks**

The effectiveness of the projects has been hampered by excessive reliance on the Training & Visit approach to agricultural extension, with its narrow (crop) and individual focus and rather rigid top-down promotion of pre-determined messages. It is only in recent years and to varying degrees that this approach has given way to more participatory and broad-based extension methods focusing on groups of farm women. However, this process has been rather slow, and the projects in this respect have merely followed the general trend in the General Extension System. It is telling that the projects have not introduced the 'Farmer Field School' approach (or something similar) which could have been appropriate. To some extent the projects have learnt from each other, but it is noticeable that the highly systematic approach to the training of co-farm women under TANWA has not been taken up by the other projects. WYTEP pioneered the whole approach, and TANWA, TEWA and MAPWA successively learnt, positively and negatively, from WYTEP. In particular the three more recent projects opted for a village-based training approach in contrast to the institutional approach followed by WYTEP.

Institutionalised training does have some advantages, not least in that it provides a unique opportunity for these women to get away from their villages and families for an extended period of time. This means that they can fully concentrate on the training, and it brings them together with other women in a way that may certainly contribute to individual and collective empowerment. In fact almost all the women interviewed under WYTEP said that they preferred institutional to village-based training.

But institutionalised training also has several serious drawbacks. It is particularly liable to a less effective 'chalk and talk' approach. In the case of WYTEP, moreover, it has entailed a lack of coordination between training and extension. It is also rather costly compared to village-based

training. But the most serious problem has been in terms of the consequences for the selection of farm women for training. Many eligible women simply cannot be persuaded to go to the training centre for ten days (since 2001, six days). Either they do not want it or feel they cannot do this to their families, or else their husbands or in-laws do not allow it. This has been a drawback to the project throughout its long history. In fact the AAO/FW have often been chasing around villages in order to find the thirty women required who must be willing to attend a course.

The primary target group for WYTEP has consisted of married women from small and marginal farm households. No doubt the majority also belong in this category, but a very sizable share of the women who have been trained do not satisfy the selection criteria: either they belong to the category of better-off farmers (with much more than five acres of land), or else they are landless or are young, unmarried women with no immediate prospect of using the skills imparted. Moreover, the very poor from the target group are less likely to come forward for the institutional training, because they simply cannot afford to be away for such a long period. This has skewed the attendance towards slightly better-off farm women. In many cases too, the women who have gone for training have not been genuinely motivated. All this has helped to divert the project away from its goals, making it less effective and wasting a good deal of resources.

Looking back, it is clear that all four projects belong to a previous generation of agricultural extension programmes. The narrow focus on the adoption of technologies and skills, which has predominated in all the projects until recently, has given way to a much broader approach in which technology transfer, advisory work and facilitating go hand in hand (cf. Neuchatel Group, 2000). Moreover, it is unlikely that the states in India will continue to finance a huge general extension system that is free of cost to the farmers and hence very costly for state governments. In both Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka, experiments are under way with the privatisation of certain services within the extension, based on the introduction of user fees.

All the projects were initially conceived as agricultural training and extension projects. Only gradually and to varying degrees has the objective of empowering women become part of the projects. When the three older projects were planned in the 1980s, the WID paradigm dominated both the discourse and the concrete plans. Women were seen as an additional economic resource that had to be tapped. Later the GAD paradigm, with its focus on gender relations, took over, and, building on this, the Naila Kabeer-inspired concept of empowerment as operationalized for this study. The study has consciously adopted the more 'modern' – and in our view appropriate - approach, though it should be remembered that the projects were planned at a time when the WID paradigm ruled supreme, in both Danida's activities and elsewhere.

The distinguishing feature of these four projects is their combination of agricultural training and extension objectives and objectives linked to women's empowerment. Regarding empowerment, it is clear that much more could have been done if this objective had been explicitly addressed earlier and pursued more vigorously, for example, by creating groups. But in spite of the limitations of the approach, it is noteworthy that all four projects have contributed to women's empowerment on a scale that makes this result at least as significant as those linked to agricultural training.

## References

- Danida (2004), Farm Women in Development. Impact Study of Four Training Projects for Farm Women in India. Danida Evaluation 2004/2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Copenhagen.
- Government of India (2001), Policy Framework for Agricultural Extension. Department of Agriculture & Cooperation, Ministry of Agriculture. New Delhi.
- Kabeer, Naila (2001), Resources, Agency and Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment, in 'Discussing Women's Empowerment – Theory and Practice'. Sida Studies No. 3. Stockholm.
- Moser, Caroline (1993), Gender, Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training. Routledge, London.
- Neuchatel Group (2000), Guide for Monitoring, Evaluation and Joint Analyses of Pluralistic Extension Support. Swiss Centre for Agricultural Extension and Rural Development, Lindau.
- Razavi, Sharashoub & Carol Miller (1995), From WID to GAD: conceptual shifts in the women and development discourse. UNRISD, Geneva.
- Sen, Amartya (1992), Inequality Reexamined. Oxford University Press, New York.