**From Theory to Action
Women Gender and Development**

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From Theory to Action – Women Gender & Development

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For
Amma & Thatha

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FOREWORD

Achievement of gender equality has been given highest priority by the declarations and action programs adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna 1993), the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo 1994), the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen 1995) and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995).

Eradication of gender based discrimination and marginalisation, making equality of the status of women with men a reality and mainstreaming women as participants and beneficiaries into the fabric of society and the nation are also goals of the Women's Charter and the National Plan of Action for Women in Sri Lanka, formulated in 1993 and 1995, respectively.

Disadvantage and marginalisation of women and discrimination against them is a global phenomenon, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has frequently drawn attention to the fact that no country could be classified as "developed" when the disparities between the genders are taken into account. Everywhere in the world (including Germany), there are still considerable differences in living conditions and upward social mobility opportunities between men and women due to unequal factual access to employment, income, economic resources, education and training.
Discrimination is especially obvious in political leadership and decision-making positions and in economic top management.
In Germany, for instance, in spite of many efforts and struggles undertaken towards gender equality in politics and in the economy, the present situation is still far from the desirable goal of gender parity. .
Women account for only 35 % of the members of the cabinet of Ministers in the German Federal Government and for only 30,5 % of the members of the German Federal Parliament ("Bundestag").
The situation is even worse in industry and commerce with only 8 % of women managers.

In Sri Lanka, both men and women enjoy relatively high standards in health and education, much in contrast to most other developing countries.
With the exception of the plantation sector, there are no major gender disparities in educational attainment.
Both sexes also enjoy equality before the law.

But despite these positive social development indicators, the country's overall level of women gender empowerment is below the average level of developing countries, especially because of the extremely low involvement of women in politics (Cabinet Ministers: 10 %, Parliament: 5 %, Municipal Councils: 3%, Urban Councils: 2%, Pradeshiya Sabhas: 1%).

These figures show that women's capabilities are grossly undervalued and under-utilized in Sri Lanka.

Hence, in its National Human Development Report 1998 on Sri Lanka, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) states:

"By modern standards, the level of gender development and gender empowerment is low in the country as a whole…

The education and health components of the gender development index show high attainment levels for women…This can be considered the first step in the process of gender development and gender empowerment…

However, the gender development attainments of districts decline drastically in terms of the economic achievements of women in comparison to men…

Gender empowerment is low in all parts of the country…

Female participation in political activity is low. Women also tend to be poorly represented in the managerial, professional and technical occupations. In addition, the earned income shares of women are low in comparison to men."

In conclusion, the UNDP emphasizes:

"Overall, the area in which Sri Lanka needs to advance furthest in human development is in gender empowerment."

How to empower women has been the central question of different theoretical approaches and practical programs in the past.

In the early phases of programs of women's promotion, women were viewed as passive beneficiaries of the development process. It was erroneously assumed that, through the trickle-down effect, women would ultimately benefit from the development efforts aimed at male heads of household.

Thus, special gender concerns were completely ignored in the design and implementation of programs.

Consequently, these programs perpetuated the existing gender imbalance and reinforced the patriarchal mindset with its stereotyped concepts of the roles of men and women.

When this gender blind approach had shown in practice little success because of its wrong assumptions, programs and projects only for women were introduced.

At the same time, it was recognized, that without fundamental changes to economic, legal and political parameters, programs to improve the status of women would have little effect.

For this reason, the integration of women as co-decision-makers at all levels in the development process itself became a main goal throughout the UN-Decade of The Women (1975-85).

Finally, it was recognized that women's promotion and empowerment should no longer restrict itself to programs and projects only for women, because every change in the interest of women requires modifications in the role of men.

Sustainable change, which benefits women, thus implies a redefinition and a revision of the traditional balance of power and of the conventional division of labour between the genders.

In order to decrease discrimination against women, men have to realize that they will have to share power, that the male dominated society has to be transformed into a gender balanced society.

This requires fundamental changes of social and cultural values, norms and attitudes. Especially, deep-rooted cultural and social gender-related stereotypes and culturally sanctioned norms that place women on a subordinate position in society have to be overcome.

The goal of a sustainable improvement in the societal, economic, and political parameters for women, implies a change in the prevailing societal and power relations.

Therefore, men are also targeted as alliance partners for women's promotion, because achievement of sustainable improvements in the status of women is impossible without men's increased sensitivity for women's concerns and their readiness to accept change in the relations of power.

The political, economic and social advancement of women has always been an objective of the programs of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, in Germany, in Sri Lanka and in all other countries where FES is working.

In line with the then dominant Women in Development approach, during the 1980s, women were the exclusive target group of FES development co-operation in a large number of projects. These projects covered a wide range of topics, such as income generation, legal advice, trade union education and leadership training for women.

Since the 1990's it has been the explicit goal of FES not to address women's concerns as a separate issue in "women-only" projects, but to integrate a gender perspective into every individual project (based on the currently popular conceptual framework of Gender and Development), i.e. to evaluate the conditions in each country in terms of gender-specific aspects and to incorporate both women and men into development activities.

The present publication authored by Ms. Maithree Wickramasinghe describes and critically analyzes the theoretical concepts of "Women in Development" and "Gender and Development" which had and still have a strong influence on many programs and projects for women promotion and empowerment all over the world.

In addition, the book examines the application of these approaches in programs of Non Governmental Organisations in Sri Lanka.

Practice needs theory, because, as the Austrian-British science philosopher Karl Popper once said, theories are an indispensable compass to get orientation in the big ocean of social practice.

Practice without orientation and direction can easily become meaningless and even counterproductive as proven by many unsuccessful development projects.

Nevertheless, theory can never claim to reflect an absolute and ever-lasting truth. Only reality will show if its assumptions are correct.

Theory and practice must therefore go hand in hand, enriching and further developing each other.

This book "From Theory to Action- Women Gender and Development" is an attempt to do so.

It is therefore certainly a valuable contribution to the ongoing debate on how the much needed women gender empowerment could be further advanced in Sri Lanka.

Dietmar Kneitschel
Resident Representative FES

INTRODUCTION

Women were collectively excluded from the concerns of development when countries began adopting national development policies aspiring towards modernization in the 20th century. The discovery of this notable void in the 1970s, resulted in the founding of the Women in Development (WID) movement, whose advocates proceeded to focus distinctly on the work patterns and status of women in developing societies. Accordingly, numerous attempts were made to 'integrate women into development' by targeting women directly by way of development programs based on the paradigms of this movement. However, by the1980s, significant drawbacks in the Women in Development approach were identified. This resulted in feminists and other developmental theorists shifting their emphasis towards the importance of considering gender roles and gender relations in development policy and planning, and towards examining the ramifications of institutionalized gender bias in developmental action. This new approach focusing on gender as opposed to women, is referred to as the Gender and Development (GAD) developmental framework.

The Women in Development movement, by making women 'visible', has had global reach since the 1970s, with extensive impact on policies and programs both in the governmental and non-governmental sectors. In Sri Lanka, WID has most clearly manifested itself in the establishment of a Women's Ministry and a Women's Bureau; as well as in the formulation of women's projects and programs by these two state and other non-governmental development agencies. GAD however, has yet to make a similar impact in the government sector, though a number of State-sponsored Integrated Rural Development programs do evince limited GAD affiliation. On the other hand, within the non-governmental sphere, the concepts relating to both WID and GAD are increasingly

instrumental in drawing women into developmental activities through a number of development projects and programs.

The evolution of developmental theories was based substantially on empirical methods as evinced by the replacement of the WID approach by GAD in the 1980s, and the subsequent fusion of WID and GAD concepts to form a more effective developmental approach towards making development more meaningful to women. Up to now, the experiences of Sri Lankan NGO programs in formulating their women's and gender programs, as well as in evolving varied strategies to execute principles relating to WID / GAD have remained with the implementing NGOs. This book attempts to record the local versions of WID and GAD; analyze the problems encountered in instituting WID / GAD at grassroots levels; and aims to advance related concepts and strategies that address the existing disadvantages in theory and methodology. In itself, the book is exploratory, and endeavors to register the current concepts and methods utilized by developmental practitioners in Sri Lanka, and attempts to contribute towards the development of local theory in the field of women's studies.

The research content is centered on developmental theory and action from a global vantage as well as from a Sri Lankan locus: in the form of developmental concepts; ideological standpoints; theoretical frameworks; implementation tools and techniques; field strategies; hands-on experiences; support actions; and outcomes of developmental projects and programs. The research framework constitutes of the perspectives of global WID and GAD endeavors and the positions of non-governmental planners and practitioners working with women and gender.

The book encompasses the following:
- the investigation of the evolution of the theoretical concepts - Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD), that are in current appliance,
- and the critique of these developmental frameworks;
- the examination of the application / integration of these concepts into the program activities of selected NGO programs in Sri Lanka, and
- the research into the strategies formulated by program implementers to effectuate these concepts;
- and the analysis of the problems (organic / structural / external) associated with the implementation of WID and GAD.

Part One of the book titled **Theory**, examines the feminist input into development analysis and planning which has substantially impacted on development practice during the past three decades. Consequently, the book refers to the work of the caucus of theorists working on Women in Developmental (WID) issues at regional and international levels and the flourishing collection of literature on developmental theory founded on Gender and Development (GAD) of more recent times. It also takes into account the continuing debate on the ideological perspectives and methodological tools that need to be utilized for developmental praxis.

Part Two entitled **Action**, investigates the adoption and adaptation of the theoretical concepts of Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) in relation to the attendant conditions of the non-governmental sector in Sri Lanka. Six case studies of Non Governmental Development Organization (NGO) programs classified by the researcher as adopting WID and GAD paradigms and practices, are recorded as representative samples. The three case studies on WID refer solely to development programs implemented by NGOs; whereas the three case studies of GAD take into account the status of the implementing NGOs in conjunction with their development programs. The experiences of development practitioners attached to the NGOs are scrutinized, and examples of the program visualizations, entry points, strategies, problems, and support actions that are in conformity with WID and GAD practice are cited to provide a broad-based delineation. In addition, reference is made to individual interviews with other independent development practitioners, experts and researchers working in the field.

Having established that, it must also be noted at the outset, that the intention of this book is not to provide a comprehensive account of the literature dealing with WID and GAD theories, nor indeed, to evaluate at length the canon of theoretical texts dealing with these approaches. Neither is the intent to furnish an extensive chronicle of women's NGO program activity within the Sri Lankan locality, nor examine the complete range of WID and GAD initiatives at ground level.

Rather, the objective of the book is to provide a critical overview of the evolution of principle paradigms of WID and GAD, and to portray the ascendant 'action' of selected programs and practices of developmental organizations at grassroots level, by examining the connectives between global theory and local action. Very often development practitioners are indifferent to the theoretical underpinnings of their program policies and practices. Hence, this book attempts to illustrate the lengths and depths to which all projects are located within the specificities of developmental paradigms and political frameworks and to investigate the implications of these linkages.

At this stage, the title of the book requires some elucidation - particularly in relation to the application of the terms 'theory' and 'action'. The word 'theory' is employed to refer to the principal tiers of feminist developmental concepts that are extracted from the flourishing global corpus of work published during the last three decades. The word 'action' is utilized to connote the various programs that are being formulated and implemented by Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), albeit these might not expressly be in tandem with these theories. Accordingly, the term 'action' is adopted intentionally, in preference, for instance, to the word 'practice' (which is usually structurally affiliated to the word 'theory'), so as to communicate the conceptual and linguistic independence between the two words. In terms of its conceptual structure, this book depends on contraposition for purposes of symmetry and expediency: between theory and practice of global developmental concepts; and perspective and action of developmental projects in the veritable structuralist sense.

The term NGO is used to refer to Non Governmental Organizations working in the field of development. This includes not only the NGOs themselves: but also paid staff and participants, as well as membership organizations at village level and international organizations working in the national context.

In conducting ground research, the book does not distinguish in terms of the locations in which these particular NGOs are implementing their programs, though the majority in fact, are seen to be outreach programs operating in rural sites. Almost all programs are implemented by medium-sized NGOs of varying degree, whose Head Quarters are situated either in the capital Colombo or in other urban areas. All the programs under study commenced work either in the 1980s or in the 1990s. In some instances, the institution of the NGO is built on the foundation of the WID or GAD program in question. In others, WID / GAD inputs have given rise to new extensions in program direction or to the expansion or modification of the program concept itself over the years. Reference is made to these alterations only when relevant to the main argument of the thesis.

NGOs in Sri Lanka employ a number of modalities in relation to the implementation of their development programs involving women in target communities. In terms of participation, there are those that target women-only in membership. Then, there are those that target the equal participation of both men and women; and finally, there are those that contain a women's special project or specific unit alongside the 'main' program. The objectives of the book are to analyze -

- what are identified as **Women in Development** (WID) initiatives in the form of programs where the exclusive target is women, as well as programs
- where there is a significant input of what is recognized as **Gender and Development** (GAD), where the programs include both men and women.

The book does not distinguish between the local chapters of international Non Governmental Organizations, quasi State programs or local NGOs. At the same time, neither specific grassroots level organizations nor larger outreach organizations are excluded, thereby contributing a range of ideological visions and field activities for study.

Methodology

1) Field Research

- Field research consists of a representative sampling of six selected case studies - WID1, WID2, WID3, GAD4, GAD5 and GAD6.
- The author's previous experience of NGOs and Programs espousing WID / GAD.
- Interviews with program related personnel of NGOs.
- Interviews with independent development practitioners, gender experts, gender trainers and feminist researchers.

2) Document Research

- Document research includes primary and secondary published and unpublished literature on Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD).
- Internet data on development theories / WID / GAD.
- The internal policy and program related documents of Sri Lankan NGOs and their programs.
- Literature on the Sri Lankan NGO sector and NGOs in particular, and literature on developmental approaches relating to women and gender in Sri Lanka.

3) Theoretical Perspectives

- The book is structured on the analysis and critique of the theoretical concepts and strategies of WID and GAD in global appliance.
- The selective analysis and critique of the concepts and strategies of WID / GAD adopted and evolved by Sri Lankan NGO programs.

Limitations of the Book

To reiterate, the objectives of this book are to study the theoretical fundamentals of WID and GAD at one level, and to appraise the equivalent concepts and ensuing strategies of WID and GAD in NGO programs operating in Sri Lanka. As such, the book primarily functions on a conceptual plane and does not take into account the overall impact of the WID / GAD programs on the women involved in them. Hence, the experiences of the women (and men) involved in the programs at grassroots level are not recorded. Nor are the outcomes of the programs or the effects on the associated communities necessarily taken into evaluation. This is in spite of the fact that the linkages between development action, impact, results and outcomes, on target groups and partners form a critical component of any program and for developmental initiatives as a whole. Instead, the book is more concerned with the conceptualization by development practitioners of Women and Development and Gender and Development as benchmarks for analysis, together with the translation of these concepts into organizational practices and program activities.

As a result of the subject matter investigated in the thesis, the research methodology employed comprises of techniques of social / anthropological research methodologies that embody feminist principles and critiques, and contains alternative research paradigms of theory and methods to existing patriarchal ones. However, other 'new ways of doing research' promoted by feminists methodologists: such as the incorporation of self-awareness and the stated ideological standpoint of the researcher; or the scholarly

inclusion of women's experiences and hitherto un-utilized research sources, are not applied.

PART ONE

THEROY

BACKGROUND

Women and Global Development Endeavors

For centuries, poor populations in Asia, Africa and South America have lived in rural areas and practiced subsistence agriculture under the yoke of colonialism. With the dismantling of the British, French, Portuguese and Dutch colonial enterprises in the middle of the 20th century, the newly liberated countries in these areas began to place emphasis on national development ventures as never before.

Yet, externally, the colonial heritages of most 'Third World' countries leave them in a global location that is disadvantageous vis-à-vis the international economy, and exceedingly vulnerable to the fluctuations of world financial forces. This is further exacerbated by the unequal terms on which developing countries are compelled to negotiate with the industrialized nations on a daily basis. Internally, these neo-colonial states display deep inequalities in land ownership, access to incomes, employment and control over resources; and continuing deprivation of basic needs such as adequate nutrition, health, housing, energy, sanitation, education of consequential sections of the population (Sen and Grown: 1987:28-29). Despite decades of so called development during the post-colonial era; there is a lack of meaningful progress for a majority of the people living in these areas.

The entry of the world development agencies, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations into global economics and politics, consolidated the priorities and perspectives of various development measures adopted by these countries under a common model. The basic goal of this development model is the 'transition from traditional Third World to modern societies'. This produced a fueling of fresh methods and diversity in development approaches. However, at the basis of virtually all macro development plans that gained prominence over the decades, is the rudimentary premise of the so-called 'western model' of progress, that is cemented on the quartet of economic growth, modernization, consumerism and trade. Notwithstanding the ensuing trajectory of shifts in developmental paradigms at different times, (for example, in the targeting of economic growth, free markets, import-substitution industrialization, export industrialization, basic human needs, poverty alleviation, structural adjustments and human development), this basic development prototype remains intact.

The ensuing grandiose conceptualizations and affiliated schemes of these experimental modes though designed to combat 'the universal evil of poverty' and provide the peoples of these nations with a better standard of living, have not resulted in the anticipated benefits. Instead, as pointed out by the Coady Institute (1990: cited in CCIC, MATCH & AQOCI: 1991:15).

The resources and benefits…usually benefit those who are best placed to exploit the additional resources. This tends to be those who are better off, male, educated, and well informed…(and) those who are more accessible, rather than those who are in remote

areas. Development analysts have described this as an unconscious bias against the disadvantaged, especially against women among the disadvantaged.

Granted, that the varying emphasis of these developmental approaches results in pockets of urban replication in developing countries on the one hand, and in the transformation of rural subsistence economies into dual economies based on both subsistence and cash on the other. Granted also, that many of the landscapes of nations are undergoing wide transformations. There are demographic movements from rural areas to the urban; there are foreign-invested infrastructure development and construction of major cities; there are very visible attempts at industrialization and modernization that are detected within the enclosures of media, communication and transportation. Meanwhile, the contra effects of this process are equally manifest in the environment: in air pollution, in deforestation, in soil erosion, and in the contamination of water.

The currently popular structural adjustment plans grounded in neo-classical market-oriented solutions are devised solely to establish 'modern' economies in the developing nations. This model precludes the formulation of developmental designs that are compatible with the geology, weather patterns, demographical make-up, or dominant cultures of each country, or in other words, those that can be custom-made to suit the country context. The charge that only the face of poverty has transformed in accordance with the cosmetic changes taking place in selected spheres remains. In fact, these are further corroborated by the continuing effects of structural adjustment policies - such as phenomena like the overall heightening of the 'feminization of poverty'[1]. While the opportunities offered by structural adjustment and the myth of the 'level playing field' are exploited by some, even the basic needs of access to adequate nutrition or safe drinking water, basic shelter, rudimentary education, or primary healthcare of a large number of others still remain unsatisfied.

In today's context, recent developments in global markets as well as other political events are fueling the 're-think' of all hitherto developmental paradigms and efforts. The collapse of the Eastern European Socialist economies in the early 1990s, as well as the more recent disintegration of South East Asian 'Tiger' economies have led to a renewed interest in the welfare of the weaker sections of societies. They were the most affected by these events and are now even more at risk of being crushed by the austerity measures of the 're-structural adjustment' processes.

Developmental critics grounded in schools of Feminism, Marxism and post-Structuralism, Environment as well as other alternative movements are heavily instrumental in exposing the falsities of the dominant postulations of development, and the basic instability of the paradigms based on economic growth. For instance, the dependency of these conceptual models on universality and meta-theory; on the singular truth of economics; on notions of gender objectivity and scientific inquiry, on reason and sensibility, etc., are perceived as highly problematic factors which impede appropriate, equitable and sustainable development for developing countries. Consequently, alternative visions of development are introduced based on the affirmation of the importance of principles of pluralism; micro and individual focus; the value of listening to silences; the practice of

deconstruction; and the rationale for considering the environment, humane values, and gender within the development discourse.

On the whole, the principal critiques of modern economic and developmental methodology adopted by developing nations are rooted in a number of factors - as identified by developmental critics of alternative persuasions. The fact that most mainstream developmental planners and economic theorists are educated and conditioned by traditions informed by assumptions grounded in the historical ideologies of the last three centuries or so, is of primary significance to the development discourse. These include the philosophical influences of leftover Enlightenment philosophy and rationalism, remnants of the Orientalist movement and colonial attitudes as well as the ideology of patriarchy[2]. As a result, the basic concept of development is hinged on the notion that the 'primitive peoples in Third World Nations' have to be assisted to achieve *in toto* the 'superiority' that connotes Western civilization (Parpart 1993: 447).

Conceptually, it is assumed that modernization, which is usually equated with industrialization, would improve the standards of people living in Third World countries. Therefore, most development paradigms at national levels are macro conceptualizations based on modernization: such as, massive dams; irrigation schemes; industrial zones; switches to technology; maximization of land resulting in high rise urban complexes and re-location programs. The trigger effect of these development projects on other elements and domains - in environment degradation, in new demographical formulations, in alteration in the configurations of poverty, and in new forms of subordination of women are now being discerned.

Even though planners moved on to design more integrated development projects later on, the emphasis still falls on economic growth and that too, from First World experience and perspective. Yet, a critique of these tenets does not necessarily imply that the elements of Third World realities are therefore to be viewed as superior, ideal, or as the alternatives. Since, as argued by Jayawardene (1995:12), it is easy to fall into the trap of conveying a populist polarity between Third World idealization and First World censure in critiquing the dominant paradigms of development.

Feminist contribution to the development debate is considerable, both through the single discipline critiques and the synthesized analysis of feminism, Marxism, postmodernism, feminist-environmentalism and the feminist paradigms of WID and GAD. At first, Marxist Feminist investigation into capitalist development is merely confined to a bipolar interpretation of labour oppression versus exploitation. Very soon this type of 'orthodox Marxism was seen as no longer adequate' (Mies: 1988:3) to analyze the multiple layers of oppressions involved in the numerous structures of not only class and gender, but also of race, politics, and caste that depress on the processes of development. Hence, succeeding analyses have expanded to include a web of issues including the environment, in order to present a more integral alternative perspective of development (*ibid:* 4).
On the whole, feminist theorists analyzing the current trends in development paradigms and praxis from a post-modernist standpoint are disturbed by the manner in which

developing nations are portrayed even in feminist developmental discourses. There is a tendency for theorists to ascribe to symmetrically antithetical standpoints (Jayawardene: 1998:12). Consequently, there are polarizations between First 'Worldism' and Third Worldism; Modernization and the Environment; '"western decadence" and Fundamentalism and so on, in contemplating developmental issues.

Jayawardene (*ibid*.) problematizes the underlying ideological complexities of these feminist points of view, and cautions:

These debates have added another dimension to the struggles of Third World feminists, who, in their advocacy of democracy and social change, are already in a battle on the home front against nativism and populist nationalism. They also raise many other questions. In attempts to challenge class, caste, and gender inequalities in our societies, how do we react when foreign women say we are backward and needs 'experts' from the West to teach us how to improve? Such attitudes tend to make us culturally defensive, finding arguments to justify oppressive features of our own societies – from caste and religious fundamentalism to women's exploitation and subordination, and sometimes even sati (widow immolation on the husband's funeral pyre). On the other hand, how do we react when foreign women who have a romance with the Orient, appropriate the 'Other' and not only denounce feminism as irrelevant and foreign, but also tell us that our societies are the 'alternative' model, that we should not change by industrializing or modernizing but should reactivate and preserve traditional societies, and honour our self-sacrificing Third World Women? (*ibid*.)

These depictions of women from the Third World - (as subjects), also relegate women to the status of the 'the other' in ways that equally discriminate against women. Either as subjects that need to be appropriated into mainstream development processes, or as possessing the ideal, alternatives to the existent dominant paradigms. As postulated further by writers such as Rogers (1980:37), these attitudes of 'otherness' can be traced to the remnants of patriarchal ideologies relating to women in colonial cultures. In this context, the consistent perception and emphasis of these women's 'different' ethnicity, and poverty; and not in the least their sex, serve to perpetrate the existing power hierarchies that these developmental theories are professing to challenge (Parpart: 1993:445).

Other objections to mainstream development principles are posed by ecological and alternative development movements that are at the forefront of development initiatives (Sittirak 1998). But they are more inclined towards seeing a moral dimension in relations between the industrialized nations and the Third World, rather than the exploitative material relations such as the new global division of labour (Mies: 1988:4). By and large, the crucial criticism made by feminists is the identification of the cardinal assumption informing the development position of this era - that 'the norm of male experience was generalizable to females and that all would benefit equally as societies increasingly became modernized' (Rathgeber: 1989:2). It was perceived that developmental schemes and projects founded on this particular premise are gender blind, and did not take into account the varying situations of women or the gender specific needs of women in their

formulation. Nor do they examine the long term and short term impact of developmental activities on the situation and statuses of women.

On the whole, it can be reiterated that the most commonly significant features of development policies in modern times are their bias towards the macro level, their centering on urban growth, their dependence on industry and their partiality towards the male.

Chapter 1
Women in Development (WID) Movement

The term 'Women in Development' was coined in the early 1970s by the Women's Committee of the Chapter of the Society for International Development. The origin of the Women in Development Movement is traced to the milieu of the second wave of feminism to hit the West; and thus needs to be seen in the context of the vigorous activities of the women's movements in the U.S. and in Europe during the 1960s/70s.

Ester Boserup's seminal work *Women's Role in Economic Development* exposed the seriously flawed assumptions relating to the work performed by women in the developing countries. The first sizable drawback recognized by Esther Boserup in 1970, is the fact that women's work and their contribution to productivity and the labour force are 'not seen' because of the gender blind assumptions of development theorists. Nor are women's roles and work consciously 'looked for' or 'looked at' in development research. Therefore, women's work in production was not acknowledged until the entry of the Women in Development school theorists.

Subsequent to Boserup, there was a string of Women in Development theorists including Boserup herself, whose work centered on analyzing the position of women vis-a-vis their labour, and the possibilities of integrating women into the development processes of developing countries (Moser: 1993:3).

The crucial impetus to the Women in Development movement was provided by the adoption of WID concepts and methodologies by the United Nations Organizations and other international development institutions and funding agencies. In particular, the UN dedication of 1975 as the Year of Women, and the Women's Decade from 1975 to 1985, propelled women into the forefront of the development debate. As a result, women were 'officially recognized' by the highest of political and administrative decision-making levels in several countries such as the United States, Italy, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands who brought in legislation to focus particularly on women and development issues (Anderson: 1992:168).

The idea of women as a potential resource that could be tapped to contribute towards economic development made rapid headway in the United States, resulting in the 1973 Percy Amendment. This was instrumental in ensuring that women were specifically included in all bilateral assistance programs of the United States (cited in USAID: 1982:2). It was stated in the Percy Amendment and subsequently, in the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) policy paper on Women in Development that all U.S. bilateral assistance to projects and programs –

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

In a related development, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) along with the Harvard Institute of International Development produced a case study based methodology to identify the means through which women are left out of development (Moser: 1989:2). In 1980, the British Commonwealth established a Women in Development program supported by all member countries (*ibid*.).

With the support of global aid and development agencies such as the United Nations and the World Bank, WID was soon espoused by development organizations within national domains by local governments. Similarly, with the entry of the non-governmental sectors into development processes during the 1970s, and the resultant extensive input into regional small and medium-scale projects and programs, WID concepts and practices also became a vital feature in regional developmental frameworks.

Women in Development Concepts and Theory

Having secured the recognition of women within national contexts and as targets of the developmental endeavor, Women in Development theorists were particularly concerned with developing analytical frameworks and devising critical methodologies to convey the existing position of women in developing countries. For this purpose, a perspective focusing on and accentuating women is employed in most instances. This is based foremost on the recognition that the old assumptions of development being gender neutral could no longer be applied.

In this context, Boserup' work is remarkable. Her book *Women's Role in Economic Development* drew attention to the gender division of labour by examining the gender division of productive work in agrarian societies in relation to the changes in traditional agrarian practices that were being caused as societies modernized. Boserup points out the differential impact of the outcomes of developmental measures - such as industrialization, migration, education, and agricultural technology on men and women. As argued by Boserup (1970:5):

Economic and social development unavoidably entails the disintegration of the division of labour among the two sexes traditionally established in the village. With modernization of agriculture and with migration to the towns, a new sex pattern must emerge, for better or worse. The obvious danger is, however, that in the course of this transition women will be deprived of their productive functions, and the whole process of growth will thereby be retarded. Whether this danger is more or less grave, depends upon the widely varying customs and other preconditions in different parts of the under-developed world. My object was to identify these patterns and explain their significance from the point of view of development policies.

The book pointed out hitherto unrecognized dangers of development for women: that far from improving the lives of Third World Women, various development schemes can even deprive women of existing economic opportunities and more often than not, considerably affect their status in societies.

It is interesting to note that Boserup's study is based on the examination of data that had long been available to social scientists and development planners. By revealing the omission of women in existing developmental concepts and strategies, and by disclosing the different contributions made by women to productive work in culturally specific contexts, Boserup revolutionized the prevailing paradigms of development (Rathgeber: 1989:2).

Like Boserup, succeeding WID theorists also analyzed development data from a gender perspective by using gender as a variable (*ibid*.). Through this process they interweaved a feminist consciousness of women within the disciplines of economics, politics, sociology, anthropology and developmental studies, and created an essentially feminist canon of developmental theory in the form of Women in Development (WID). As observed further by Rathgeber:

Under the rubric of WID, the recognition that women's experience of development and of societal change differed from that of men was institutionalized and it became valid for research to focus specifically on women's experiences and perceptions (*ibid*.)

Ostergaard (1992:3) traces the development of the WID approach after Boserup's pioneering study:

After the appearance of this study, there was a lull and then a remarkable breakthrough in 1978 with a great number of new studies on Third World women. This productivity has continued since then with scientific papers, books, conference reports, and policy documents of various kinds. Methodological differences have also occurred over this period. The early studies were mainly surveys and were later criticized for being descriptive, empirical, and non-theoretical. They did however, serve the important purpose of rendering visible facts about the reality of women's lives, which were formerly unnoticed or invisible, such as the actual economic role played by women whose labour is unpaid and therefore goes unmeasured…(*ibid*.).

The core realizations informing Women in Development are identified by Momsen (1991:4) as firstly, the realization that all cultures conform to a discernible division of labour by sex, even though what are considered to be 'male' and 'female' tasks vary across cultures, races, communities and even households. Thereby, signifying that there is no 'natural' or permanent gender division of labour. Secondly, the importance of considering the roles of women within the households (as unlike men, women are assigned multiple roles founded on their productive, reproductive, and community activities), in order to fully comprehend women's contribution to production. Thirdly, the basic understanding that economic development has a differential impact on men and women; and that development policies applied hitherto have the tendency, both directly and indirectly, to increase the workload of women and make their lives more difficult (*ibid*.).

In addition, the WID analysis is successful in isolating a number of predominant assumptions that inform the overall ideology of development, and which result in severe

discrimination and disadvantage towards women in developmental practice. For instance, the allocation of land and the targeting of resources on assumptions based on developmental nomenclature such as 'head-of-household' or 'breadwinner' or 'farmer' as correlating with men, and concepts such as those of 'supplementary worker' or 'housewife' as correlating with women, have marginalized women. Aside from ideological discrimination, these patriarchal presumptions also prevent women from receiving equal material benefits of development as men. By unmasking these concealed but innate beliefs, WID serves to dismantle certain principal acts of discrimination against women (which are perpetrated through omission if not commission) within the developmental enterprise.

Key Strands of Women in Development

During the 1970s and 1980s, the main frame of Women in Development is seen to part into distinct conceptual strands. The key strands in Women in Development (WID approaches) were originally classified by Buvinic (1983:12) as Welfare, Antipoverty, and Equity; to which, Moser in her schematization of policy approaches incorporated two more classifications identified by her as Efficiency and Empowerment (Moser: 1993:55). Despite their shortcomings in terms of categorization, these approaches are very influential in ascertaining WID initiatives through the years. The late 1970's also saw the formulation of the developmental framework of WAD, devised largely to surmount the theoretical and practical limitations of WID approaches.

Welfare
The Welfare developmental approach, a residual model of colonial administrations, is the most prominent approach to development adopted by most Third World countries from the 1930s to the 1970s. Under the welfare model, the State's commitment to the maintenance of post-colonial welfare measures such as free education, free healthcare, food and other subsidies is high.

Development under welfare is fundamentally conceptualized as a process of economic and social advancement that is altruistic, equitable, 'genderless' and achievable in the near future. Women are seen as passive beneficiaries of development: for the most part, taken for granted as being included within the target group towards whom principal developmental efforts are directed; their contribution to development is not really taken to be directly participatory. Nonetheless, it is doubtful whether welfare developers and policy planners actually visualized the automatic inclusion of women, or were in fact, aware of their needs in the formulation of their national policies and in the designs of their macro programs. Or, enfolded women in their usage of vocabulary such as 'landless peasants' or 'poor farmers' / or 'industrial labour' or 'heads-of-households' (Ostergaard 1992:20).

As economic advancement is privileged under Welfare, resources such as job opportunities, training, credit, land are essentially directed towards men on the assumption that productive work is performed entirely by men. Even the targets of State welfare benefits are generally 'heads-of-households', who are in turn, presumed to be men. To this extent, these policies are unaware of the precise ways in which women

participated in daily activities: within the house; at work; in society; electing to view women instead, on the basis of patriarchal gender assumptions of women as 'housewives' and 'subsidiary earners'.

This vision is totally contrary to the 'real situations' of women manual workers, professionals, white-collar workers, entrepreneurs, farmers, service workers, laborers, and artisans in developing nations. Consequently, under this model, women are delegated to the fringes of developmental paradigms, and conceptualized primarily in their roles as mothers and wives. For example, due to concern about unrestrained population growth in the Third World, the reproductive role of women is acknowledged, and therefore figures widely in the area of population policy (Parpart: 1993:451). Due to the concern for the physical survival of families under Welfare, there is a dialectical response by development projects to provide goods and services focusing on the nutritional needs of mothers and children.

The elements of male bias operating in ideologies which subconsciously influence the work of development planners and practitioners are extensively examined by Rogers in her influential book, *The Domestication of Women - Discrimination in Developing Societies*. She identifies post-war developmental analysis as being based heavily on the concept of the ideology of domesticity for women: the importance of training in home economics; as well as psychological notions of maternal deprivation (Rogers: 1980:40), and the statistically visible male head-of-household. In certain instances, the focus on the reproductive role of women is essentialized to the extent that all women were presumed to be mothers, housewives and merely supplementary income-earners at best. These gender assumptions are particularly evident in the Welfare approaches towards development from the 1930s onwards.

In countries of South Asia, smaller welfare programs especially of the non-governmental sector began as relief services in times of crisis (Pushparani: 1999:2). Emanating from the prevalent ideology of domesticity, concerns identified with women's domestic roles such as nutritional training, home economics, maternal and child healthcare and family planning are the key focus of welfare development projects. As commented on by Pushparani, women entered into program planning "as passive recipients rather than contributors, clients rather than agents, reproductive rather than productive" (*ibid*.). At the same time, this approach also gave precedence to 'needy' women in the form of the destitute, the homeless and orphaned children as its target groups. Thus, Welfare does not evince an overall comprehensive analysis of women's gender interests nor provide an adequate response to the complexities of their gender needs.

Equity
This is classified as the original approach of the Women in Development movement and is seen to evolve after the 'discovery' of women in the development process. It was prompted by Boserup and other 'Equity' aligned Women in Development advocates.

This approach led to an entirely new field in developmental thinking in that it was highly influential in making women visible for developmental policy makers and practitioners. At the same time, it launched what are designated as women's 'concerns' into the

development agenda. Women's concerns have a broad span of meaning - from basic needs of women to feminist issues - depending on the situation in which they are expressed. The growing awareness of women's issues arising from the feminist action in the 1960s and 1970s, alongside the appropriation of WID by the United Nations, led to the widespread acknowledgment of WID issues by the development corps. Under the UN aegis, the catch phrase 'Equality for Women' became the popular concept to embody the new turn in the WID discourse, largely utilized during the Decade for Women 1975 - 1985.

Founded on liberal feminist thinking, Women in Development identifies inequality as being dependent on the unequal division of labour between women and men. This is in spite of the fact that the Equity approach does perceive the inequities associated with women's reproductive roles, as well as women's disadvantaged positions in connection with their interaction in the market place and in the community. Women in Development advocates urge that women be integrated into the existing male power structures and institutions in societies, through the foremost stress on equal opportunities in economic production and equal opportunities in employment. This strand of the original Women in Development thinking also seeks women's equality through improvements in other benefits of development - such as land, training, credit and access to education, in addition to employment. Yet, its insistence on the fulfillment of women's economic needs detracts from its initial valuable analysis of women's triple disadvantage, and the importance in particular, of accounting for women's reproductive role in development.

Under equity, for the first time, women are seen as active participants in development, and the necessity to provide women with political and economic autonomy is recognized. Despite this acknowledgment however, this stage of WID remained fairly marginal in the overall development process, though a few major achievements for women can be recorded.

As referred to earlier, in 1973 there was a significant amendment to the United States Foreign Assistance Act - the Percy Amendment was instituted to enshrine the principle that U.S. foreign assistance efforts in developing countries should henceforth try to integrate women into the development process. WID practitioners see this as an important victory, as the Amendment not only makes women visible by acknowledging their contribution in developing societies, but also attempts to make their integration into the development process mandatory.

Initially, the equity approach identified and attempted to meet women's material and other needs by linking development with equality. Due to this original thrust of redistributing power, there was some resistance to the approach, as its transformatory features were not quite acceptable to local governments (Anderson: 1992:173). However, despite the initial objections, the consciousness created by the incorporation of the WID paradigms and international action resulted directly in governments initiating the establishment of national machineries and mechanisms to look after the interests of women. As such, National Committees on Women, Women's Departments and Ministries, and special women's cells in administrative structures were measures incorporated at national levels through top-down policy interventions. Yet, in spite of this new consciousness and the

fresh policy approaches being adopted worldwide, and indeed within national perimeters, women themselves were hardly aware of these changes that were taking place in state polices and legislation (as is the case even in today's context).

There are important methodological difficulties associated with the equity approach. As argued by Anderson (*ibid*.):

It requires standards against which progress can be measured - ideally a single, unified indicator of social status or progress paired with baseline data on women's actual situations. Such information can only evolve through the accumulation of disaggregated data, increased research efforts, specific evaluations and collaboration and exchange of information. For these reasons most agencies no longer use the equity approach, though its official endorsement in 1975 by the International Women's Conference still makes it a point of reference.

Anti-poverty

This is identified as the second strictly WID approach and issues from the awareness of the failure of the expected 'trickle down effect' of contemporary development, as well as the looming population crisis. In addition, the unsuccessful First Development Decade also led to the homing-in on poverty, which was seen as the most crucial factor in the development debate. The Anti-poverty approach prioritizes the specific development target - the poor, and formulates correlating policies and projects to reach the 'poorest of the poor'. The swing of the development focus towards poverty resulted in the incidental recognition on the part of mainstream development communities that larger proportions of women were poor in comparison to the proportions of men who were poor. It was also recognized that women experience poverty differentially and more acutely than men.

Therefore, under Anti-poverty it is rationalized that poor women need to be targeted directly through the restructuring of policy in ways that would address 'the basic needs of poor women'. The resultant spotlight falls on food, water, sanitation, shelter, healthcare, nutrition and education. In this sense, the Anti-poverty focus of WID narrows further on to the satisfaction of basic needs through women, because of the traditional importance of women in meeting many of the basic needs of the family as argued by Buvinic (Moser: 1993:67). In this context, the fulfillment of economic needs also gains prominence as:

Underlying this approach is the assumption that the origins of women's poverty and inequality with men are attributable to their lack of access to private ownership of land and capital, and to sexual discrimination in the labour market (*ibid*.).

As analyzed by Moser, the Anti-poverty approach "aims to increase the productivity of poor women and see their poverty as the problem of underdevelopment and not necessarily as one of subordination" (*ibid*.). Consequently, the emphasis shifts from reducing inequality between men and women, to reducing inequality in incomes. Moser as well as Buvinic further identifies the Anti-poverty approach as one of 'toned down equity' (*ibid*.), where the crucial importance of women's reproductive roles and responsibilities is greatly expunged. The subsequent study of the Anti-poverty programs

indicates that in fact, the disregard for the assigned reproductive sphere of women's lives creates attendant problems for target women in relation to balancing domestic labour and productive labour (*ibid.*).

The Anti-poverty approach is most popular within the NGO sector as it presents itself as a sectoral approach that can prioritize its target group, its sphere of activity and its methodology. Thus, 'the eradication of poverty' becomes the new pivotal maxim, as credit, income generation, and skill training programs are formulated to target women from specific low-income groups with the intention of meeting the basic needs of the family. In this context, women-headed-households are increasingly recognized as an important target group. Based on the recognition of the fact that women experience poverty more intensely and differently to men, policy makers tend to allocate 'special reservations for women' in poverty alleviation programs.

Thus, under Anti-poverty, the developmental interventions do not amount to much, and are those that reinforce gender stereotypes - such as low-paid and production-related forms of employment and income generation projects, and the encouragement of sex-specific occupations in which women are already concentrated. Other criticisms of the Anti-poverty approach to women's development include the welfare-orientation of Anti-poverty projects; the stultification of projects due to their base in small-scale production; the categorization of projects into the informal sector; and the lack of participatory mechanisms in the implementation of projects (Moser: 1993:68).

Efficiency

This is the most prevalent WID approach since the 1980s, and like some of the earlier approaches, is in operation even today. Related to the currently recommended mainstream developmental impulses of efficiency, downsizing, maximum utilization of resources etc., the objective of the efficiency approach is to ensure that development is 'efficient and effective' through women's participation. Based on the awareness that policies of economic stabilization and adjustment already rely on women's contribution to development, it re-fuels the thinking that women are a latent resource that can profit the economy even more, if maximized correctly. The Efficiency approach promotes that women's unpaid time be utilized for self-help components in economic activities, especially in respect to human resource development, and in connection to the management of community problems. 'It assumes that women's unpaid labour (and time) in areas such as child-care, fuel gathering, food processing, preparation of meals, nursing the sick etc., is elastic' (Anderson: 1992:174). Hence, this strand of WID aims to make women more efficient managers of poverty. In a sense, women's participation is seen as imperative for efficient development and is therefore, equated with equity for women.

Accordingly, women's participation in development is ensured through their increased involvement in the spheres of health, education and training. Women are also targeted in allocations of credit and land, while corresponding legal reforms are also initiated so as to legitimize the participation of women in the development processes. Similar to the other ascendant strands of WID, this approach also strives to meet the practical needs of women.

The chief criticisms of the Efficiency approach are founded on the fact that women are seen primarily in their capacity to contribute to the still uncritiqued development model of capitalist growth and modernization. At the same time, women are also seen as a reserve that could compensate for declining social services under structural adjustment. This is accomplished by relying on all three - productive, reproductive and community roles of women and by banking on the elasticity of women's time by extending their working day (Moser: 1993:70).

All of these Women in Development initiatives - Welfare, Antipoverty, Equity and Efficiency accept the primacy of the 20th century modernizing state conceived through economic growth-oriented development, and furthermore, the necessity to integrate women into the prevalent developmental currents without questioning the core assumptions of this dominant model.

Empowerment

The empowerment approach is the alternative WID approach that is promoted to counter the dissatisfaction with what is perceived as 'western' feminist theorizing and interventions. This approach as been promoted by feminists, development academics/ practitioners and women's groups from the developing countries, since the 1970s onwards. It gained considerable popularity in the 1980s, and is still widely prevalent among women's organizations in developing countries.

Empowerment is a concept which intrinsically encompasses a woman's control: over the gender division at work and at home; over resources; over her sexuality, her body and fertility, over education; information and knowledge; over mobility; over governance and decision-making as well as control over the spirit and psyche (Pushparani 1999:11).

Pushparani (ibid.) forwards the above definition to indicate the personal component involved in the concept of empowerment - as feminists from the developing countries conceptualize it. Batliwala (1996:21) in turn highlights the material and ideological implications of the term:

Empowerment may be defined as a process - and the result of the process - whereby the powerless or less powerful members gain greater access and control over material and knowledge resources, and challenge the ideologies of discrimination and subordination which justify this unequal distribution.

Apart from the element of individualism, there are also strong connotations of collectivity associated with the term, as the formal organization and mobilization of women is equally crucial to the empowerment of women. As such, empowerment projects / programs may be conceived in terms of women's collectives and societies - particularly at grassroots levels. Accordingly, Empowerment is conceived as a bottom-up approach to development.

The main objective of this mode is to empower women through greater self-reliance and self-confidence, as it sees women's oppression as stemming from patriarchal attitudes as well as colonial and neocolonial oppression (Momsen: 1991:102). Empowerment thus, is

essentially conceptualized as an individual process more aligned to the original feminist goals of individual feminist consciousness and collective action associated with the second wave of feminism.

Unlike the more traditional WID approaches, the empowerment framework places uniform emphasis on all triple roles of women, though it might mobilize around basic needs at times to confront the most tangible forms of oppression. Adopting more creative woman-centered methodology, it upholds the importance of listening and learning from diverse women's experiences and knowledge, and fosters a commitment to formulating strategies designed to combat patriarchal structures. Hence, the control of and responsibility for development are transferred to women themselves - with resultant empowerment. In this aspect, the Empowerment approach forms a useful contrast to the WAD[3] approach, which assigns a greater degree of responsibility to the State.

This approach is potentially challenging due to its emphasis and ancestry in Third World women's activism and women's self-reliance. Despite the fact that empowerment theories and activities are largely unrecognized and unsupported by governments, they are increasingly being acknowledged by international funding agencies and development organizations. For example, as noted earlier, the UN Women's Empowerment Framework conceptualizes empowerment in terms of the provision of welfare services, access to resources and opportunities, conscientization in relation to gender inequalities within social structures, as well as increased participation by women leading to equal control (Karl: 1995:109).

Over the years however, the founding concept of empowerment has been problematized by theorists through questions that deliberate on the definition of the word, the qualifying standards of empowerment and the extent of the empowerment of women via a particular developmental project or program. There is also the question whether all women participating in a project become equally empowered. Similarly, theorists point out that the period of 'empowerment' may vary according to circumstances that motivate the empowerment process. In this sense, empowerment is a flexible term in relation to the development debate as the codification keeps changing according to the ground situations (Pushparani: 1999:10). Consequently, in practice, the concept of empowerment is perceived to become adulterated, and in some instances, the concept is used by developmental organizations to refer to mere entrepreneurial self-reliance. Whereas in others, it has come to mean a degree of women's participation in policy making and planning processes (Karl: 1995:108).

However, despite the awareness of the conceptual implications and accompanying flaws of the term, a large number of feminists in developing countries in particular, approach women's development from this standpoint. By 1985 (prior to the Nairobi Conference celebrating the UN Decade for Women), the WID empowerment movement took a new twist with the establishment of regional linkages, and the formation of extensive networks amongst feminists worldwide (Parpart: 1993:450). A significant development from this is identified as the creation of an international organization 'Development Alternatives with

Women for a New Era' DAWN, inaugurated to organize and confer on the development issues of women in the developing countries in the 1980s.

DAWN articulates its much-quoted vision of development in the book *Development, Crisis, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*, by Sen and Grown (1986:80):

We want a world where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country and from the relationships among countries. We want a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. Each person will have the opportunity to develop her or his full potential and creativity, and women's values of nurturance and solidarity will characterize human relationships. In such a world women's reproductive role will be redefined: childcare will be shared by men, women and society as a whole … only by sharpening the links between equality, development and peace, can we show that 'basic rights' of the poor and the transformations of the institutions that subordinate women are inextricably linked. They can be achieved together through the self-empowerment of women.

DAWN critiques the controlling models of development and also places a lot of significance on the relationship between the subordinate position of women and other international structures of domination - warfare and technology in particular.

Earlier, in a similar endeavor from women in Africa, the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) was formed. This Third World collective of women also presents a comparable vision of development, which is articulated in the Dakar Declaration in 1982 (Karl: 1995:101).

The empowerment approach evolves from the recognition that mainstream WID, WAD and later GAD approaches are failures due to their fundamental inability to construct a developmental paradigm that is autonomous from the dominant capitalist developmental model of modernization.

Women and Development (WAD)

The Women and Development or WAD is generally categorized as a development framework that strives to respond to the deficiencies in the preceding WID approaches. Consequently, many developmental theorists tend to locate WAD in a transitive state between the evolution of WID and the development of GAD. It is in this context that this book refers to WAD. Not entirely as a separate paradigm to WID; but rather, as straddling both WID and GAD concepts. Nonetheless, it is included amongst the other WID theories due to the fact that it does not pose a resolute challenge to the ideological fundamentals of gender.

An essentially, neo-Marxist feminist approach, WAD emerged in the second half of the 1970s, as a result of the critique of leading mainstream development patterns with their basis in modernization theory; and the critique of the integration of women into development on the basis that the exclusion of women from earlier development strategies was an inadvertent oversight (Rathgeber: 1989:4). Hence, the WAD framework

focuses on the relationship between women and development processes, rather than in the conceptualization of strategies to integrate women into development.

Along with women's productive work, WAD also highlights the reproductive work that women have to bear within the household; and argues that the dual bondage of women within the domestic and public spheres intensifies the oppression of women. Based on the dichotomy of the private and public spheres, this approach focuses on how women are made to sustain the capitalist State and the profit-making economies by providing free services within the household for the reproduction of labour. WAD recognizes that in the event of women abandoning their unpaid reproductive work within households, it would require the engagement of paid domestic labour to replace these essential services, which would invariably affect the margins of profit in the economy (Pushparani: 1999:5).

Leading from this perception, the Women and Development (WAD) approach suggests that the State bring in the necessary legislation to 'nationalize' reproductive work by charging for it. By pricing services such as cooking; child-care; washing; cleaning; tending to the sick, the disabled and the elderly; in line with other public work, the WAD approach works on the implicit assumption that women's position will improve if and when economic, social and political structures become more equitable. Thus, this perspective, which identifies itself with the feminist approach to production and reproduction, appeals to the State to rectify inequalities affecting women by transferring the responsibility for reproductive activities from women on to the State. Yet, even though WAD advocates State accountability for reproductive work, it needs to be noted that the approach considers the gender division of labour as a given and does not question the basis of the reproductive roles and responsibilities. Once the reproductive responsibilities are deposited with the State, the ensuing projects and programs under the purview of WAD are conceptualized with regard to the economic empowerment of women via such activities as income generation projects.

The WAD approach to some extent discourages the analysis of women's problems independent to those of men - in that the women's condition is seen primarily within the structure of international and class inequities that affect both men and women. Yet, though the crosscut of class is taken into account in WAD theory; in practice, WAD like other strands of WID tends to address women as a collective, and without the cogent consideration of other multiple divisions and influences within societies which produce and perpetuate the subordination of women.
Neither does it engage with the basic phenomenon of gender relations in terms of the inequalities and ethics associated with the primary division of labour between men and women, or reproductive rights, or men's control over women's sexuality or violence against women. In this context, Rathberger (1989:5) observes that:

WAD offers a more critical view of women's position than does WID, but it fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression.

Capitalism is seen as the prime force that subordinates women (and men) and as such, WAD theorists basically undervalue the power of patriarchy. The core powers of the ideology of patriarchy within the private domain then, remain untouched, while the solutions of WAD are centered on the public domain.

Women in Development in Practice

Global aid and development agencies and NGOs often promote and utilize the above mentioned strands of Women In Development (inclusive of WAD) concurrently. Those that meet with the greatest amount of success within the WID parameters are those that fashioned their policies and programs pragmatically, over a period of time, according to the felt needs and changing perceptions.

One of the central objectives of the Women in Development movement is to make women visible to development planners and policy makers so as to ensure that material resources as well as knowledge resources are specifically targeted at women. This required the specific undertaking of research and data collection about women to portray their specific situations in societies. It required the re-conceptualization of the concept of work, and of women's work in particular. New techniques and data collection methods were formulated so as to convey specific data about women's productive, reproductive and community work. Women-centered statistics were collected; time charts that encompassed women's work schedules were devised; case studies were analyzed; and life studies were recorded; giving rise to completely new methodologies and theoretical paradigms within the overall development movement.

Despite the plurality and differing emphasis of Women in Development, the interventions of governments and the non-governmental sectors were confined to certain chosen areas of national activity. The WID sponsored international visibility of women had substantial influence on larger national activities in the fields of data collection, establishment of executive ministries, legislative and policy changes, law reforms, and the positioning of alternative state machinery for the 'advancement of women'. On the whole, however, the WID focuses at national levels have been sporadic and restricted in their span of interventions. At the project level, WID actions identified and emphasized certain areas of direct interest to women - as identified by WID. The most palpable areas are noted below.

Land

Land ownership is identified by the Women in Development Movement as a crucial factor that contributes towards the empowerment of women. Quite early in the Women and Development analysis it was recognized that women as individuals and as a sex do not generally possess land. This is due to colonial and other interventions, which served to erase the traditional inheritances of women (Rogers: 1980:126). WID is instrumental in consciousness-raising with regard to systems of indigenous matrilineal inheritances, matrilocal descent systems, duel or joint ownership, control over land resources that are ignored in mainstream development policies affecting land (*ibid*.). For example, WID developmental theorists quote specific instances and raise awareness at national levels

of the numerous occasions where modern development projects suppressed matrilineal descent systems and needlessly alienated women in the redistribution of land.

Health

Certain strands of Women in Development stress the intrinsic interrelation between women's development and their physical and mental health; and contribute towards creating awareness of the differential health opportunities and hazards of men and women. For example, due to varying reasons based on cultural specificities, women in certain countries are pregnant most of their lives. As a result, statistics and indicators of women's health, particularly in relation to their reproductive role and health - rates of infertility and fertility, maternal mortality, and maternal morbidity are accented in status of women reports and other statistical compilations.

Ensuing WID interventions consist of many grassroots-level educational programs which perceive women as key figures in family healthcare and which incorporate family planning, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, child-care, sanitation, nutrition, mother-care, as subjects for consciousness-raising. Most of these programs decline to view women as individuals with diverse health needs but rather, attempt to address the assumed broad-based needs of women in their roles as reproducers. Thus, family planning in particular, is a key developmental intervention under many national development schemes as well as in terms of local level action.

Credit

On the basis of the recognition that women, due to their particular gender location, lack access to and control of material resources, Women in Development initiatives target capital to women via women's groups and projects. This most often takes the form of women's savings and credit collectives, especially at grassroots, which utilize mechanisms such as revolving funds in the apportionment of capital. These interventions are usually strengthened with corresponding skill training and opportunities for income generation activities.

Savings and credit societies are adopted by a large number of women's groups and NGOs as well as by local government programs and provide women with access to capital sufficient to establish a small-scale income generating activity. If taken within this WID principle, these initiatives are frequently successful, despite rapidly becoming popular as a WID formula intervention.

Skill training

During the early stages of WID, most projects were geared around training women to be better at the very tasks and duties that society had already assigned for them - better mothers, better housewives, better home-managers, better 'carers'. The elementary gender division, which originally conceives of men as engaging in productive work and women as engaging in household chores, remained unchallenged. As such, women in developing countries were targeted with courses centered on home economics, maternal / community health, nutrition, food processing and preservation, sewing, knitting, and needlework based on the ideology of domesticity as theorized by Rogers (1980:95).

The reality of the lives of rural women in developing countries where a greater part of life is lived outdoors - in agriculturally productive work, in community work, even in reproductive work (such as gathering water and fuel) do not always infringe upon the awareness of WID program planners and implementers. As such, in practice, the WID approach is weak in transferring skills that are complementary to women in the context of their locations and their lifestyles.

Income Generation

However, with the progress in WID theorization and the development of other WID approaches, a new generation of WID projects was born that claim to incorporate 'new elements such as small-stock husbandry, horticulture, and certain income generating activities like handicraft production, which involve a more useful approach to women's work' (Rogers: 1980:87). Yet, these activities usually involve learning new skills and therefore serve to increase the already heavy workload of women particularly in rural / agrarian societies as discussed further by Rogers (*ibid.*). In addition, the incomes generated by these activities are nominal; and they tend to further marginalize women into unrecognized, unacknowledged, already-marginalized sectors of the economy such as handicrafts and small-industries (*ibid.*). Further, Rogers (*ibid.*) observes that the demand for specialized goods produced on a small-scale, devoid of sophisticated machinery and techniques, such as in small-industries is very low, (especially without corresponding marketing capabilities).

Technology

New technologies that are developed to lighten workloads in recent times serve to displace women's traditional roles in agriculture. This is due to the fact that modern tools and machinery are usually handed over to the control of men, as technology is perceived as a man's province. In agriculture particularly, women who traditionally perform certain agrarian tasks are bypassed, when these tasks are mechanized through the allocation of modern technologies. Consequently, small implements such as presses, grinders, and cutters are sold; and even given on credit to men. Women's existing space and status in production areas are thus usurped.

While it is noted that these innovations challenge the divisions in productive labour; they do so at the expense of women's space in production. Ultimately, modern technologies might not be allowed to reach women at all. WID theorists and researchers distinguish the manner in which such actions perpetuate the stereotype that women cannot manage machines. At the same time, there are other alternative technologies developed to uplift women's reproductive responsibilities in both the rural and urban contexts. Though sympathetic towards the household burden of women, these equipages do not question the fundamental division of labour nor do they critique women's essential role and responsibilities in the domestic sphere.

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With time there is a re-evaluation of the WID compass and focus. For example, WID interests have expanded to include funding into areas such as women's studies, media interventions, research, and public awareness campaigns, that do not necessarily fall into the original orbit of the Women in Development scope (see Part Two). Finances and

other resources of WID are available to projects and programs that are in essence, women-centered, and regardless of their circle of interest, due to the growing recognition of the importance of simultaneous supportive actions to consolidate the achievements already made by WID. The growth of the feminist movement into divergent branches of activity, and its escalating influence also contribute to this 'mainstreaming' of WID interests.

Critique of Women in Development

The Women in Development model is based on the belief of 'the integration of women into already existing conceptual models of developmental processes', taking place at national levels. Feminist critics of varying ideological persuasions have critiqued the inherent naiveté of the idea of 'latching on women' to the mainstream developmental approaches on the assumption that merely by including women in the targeting of resources, there can be comprehensive changes made to the situation of women. Instead, these critics urge the fundamental re-conceptualization and restructuring of development frameworks from scratch.

One of the central criticisms levied against Women in Development is the tendency of the vision to isolate women as a group that needs 'special' targeting, with the effect of alienating this group from other mainstream development efforts. In implementing national developmental programs, NGOs, international aid / development agencies and national machineries of countries approach WID concepts in a textbook fashion. As described by Rogers (1980:79):

At the operational level, women are often allocated a special section of a development institution, and a special set of programs tailored to the 'social' role assigned to them by the planners. This tendency becomes more pronounced as demands for the 'integration of women into development' become more urgent, as has generally been the case since the International Women's Year in 1975. Many Third World countries and international development agencies have set up special offices to take care of women's concerns, in line with such arguments as those put forward in a resolution of the International Labour Conference in 1974, which requested all member states to consider establishing a central unit for co-ordinating the activities for women workers. Since then many countries have set up women's bureaus, or women's departments within Ministries of labour, social welfare and social security.

This isolated and intensified focus on women is the cornerstone of Women in Development theory and practice with the result of segregated women's programs or 'special' projects. In terms of conceptualization, the WID approach prioritizes women, and therefore provides women with the prominence and legitimacy required for developmental action. However, for women themselves, this means that they are still isolated from the mainstream - now in a different way, and identified as special cases with imputations of 'otherness' attached to them. This has also lead to the pigeonholing of women within various developmental structures and systems. For example,

The school text books included one chapter on women; the development workshops included one workshop on women; one women speaker among many men at a plenary session; the government(s) and NGOs have set up women's desks…(Pushparani: 1999:1).

Furthermore, WID conceptualizes women as a homogenous whole, and does not account for the differing characteristics and situation of women. The crucial determinant of WID is the economic situation of target women. Other factors which influence the felt realities of individual women such as geographical location - whether urban, rural or suburban; community affiliations - whether in relation to race, caste, religion, profession; class factors - whether in relation to rich, middle-class, working class; marital status - whether single, married, widowed, single-parent; are disregarded. This results in a majority of WID projects that generally concentrate on 'vulnerable' or poor women and their economic empowerment.

In some accounts of WID, the target groups also include children who are seen as 'natural extensions' of women - thereby taking for granted the gender roles and responsibilities of women. Consequently, projects and programs are formulated to simultaneously address children alongside women. As such, even though WID privileges women, it does not serve as an effective method in providing women with equality or equity.

Over the years, with the evolution of the WID approach, integration came to be equated with the participation of women in many of the enclave women's projects at ground level. Within the projects, there are degrees to the extent that women are involved in decision-making, in implementation functions, in the provision of labour as well as in the maintenance of the project or program. Advocacy for equal participation is an important feature in the WID movement even though it is obvious that women are still being marginalized within the enclosures of women's development projects.

Conceptually, women are continually perceived as the problem - in other words, the status of women in traditional societies is assumed to be the crux of women's subordination by developmental planners. From this premise arises the analytical framework of the Status of Women that is designed to indicate through related measurements or standards - the socio-economic condition of women. Researchers highlight and condense sociological, economic and biological detail with regard to women such as nutritional levels, economic status, educational status, fertility, and maternal mortality rates for this purpose. This notion of the status of women, and subsequent national census and statistical reports serve to give women a limited sense of visibility within the national periscopes, in terms of quantity, if not necessarily quality. Yet women are still accounted for as isolated subjects, and not necessarily in relation to mainstream national life and development. As critiqued by Rogers (1980:29):

The concept of 'the status of women' is one, which conceals as much as it enlightens. It ignores the enormous variety of situations in which individual women may find themselves according to position in the family, their own and their relatives' occupations,

their income, among such elements; the variations through time for each individual, relating to age, position in the household, health, and perhaps number of children; the fact that they have varying relationships with individual men and boys according to the various male structures, and life cycles: and innumerable other factors. It is perhaps the most obvious indictment of the reliance on the concept of 'status of women' that there is virtually no parallel use of the term 'status of men' (although a few studies are done in Africa on the status of men in matrilineal societies).

While there is recognition of women within the developmental debate due to WID research methodologies such as the above, it translates itself into action that is merely tokenism. The main reasons for this is the lack of conviction of WID to address ingrained power relations between men and women, or the corresponding commitment to introduce individual or structural changes.

The range of WID analysis, despite its many conceptual frameworks is narrow. Even though gender is applied as the unit of analysis, in practice, WID action is selective in its target zone. The incapacity of many WID theorists to discern the larger picture in the context of the multifarious divisions, forces, contradictions and complicities that lie behind the subordination of women, impose severe restrictions on the formulation of WID solutions. In spite of certain WID paradigms that do consider the patriarchal oppression of women; there are striking contradictions between theoretical frameworks and action, between policy and programs, and between planning and process. In this context, Moser's (1993:55) schematization of the WID policy approaches of Welfare, Equity, Anti-poverty, Efficiency and Empowerment, despite its shortcomings, is influential in demonstrating the extent to which various WID frameworks compromise on their initial policy objectives regarding the subordination of women.

In terms of a national vantage, many women gained employment or became involved in income generation activities - or rather, are seen to participate officially in production - as a result of WID awareness. The areas in which women participate have also differed and diversified. For instance, women are integrated into the various fissures of the economy that have resulted from contemporary development policies - such as the Free Trade Zones and other industrial sectors, migrant labour markets, informal sectors and service belts. Women gained some degree of control in access to land, labour, credit, training, technology and other resources through vital inputs that are pumped into subsistence agriculture and into growing urban economies by governments and NGOs under WID sponsorship.

A major weakness in WID programs and practices is their singular periphery of interest that is bound to the productive aspects of women's work. WID is hinged on the satisfaction of basic or practical needs of women, on the understanding that these come first, after which other inequalities could be readily addressed. Consequently, the responses to the issues raised by WID analysis are myopic and as observed by Rathgeber (1989:3), and 'in the realm of the quick fix'. For example, the provision of extension services and credit facilities for women or so-called development technologies designed to alleviate women's reproductive workloads.

Yet, the urgency of these practical needs should on no account be devalued, and the satisfaction of these needs must necessarily be prioritized in all development interventions. However, for these interventions to be meaningful to women, they should concurrently be coupled with solutions that address the deeper inequities and disadvantages inherent in women's situation in societies.

WID does not challenge the gender inequalities and inequities within the status quo, and therefore serves to maintain women in their secondary position. The aim to 'modernize Third World women' through economic empowerment omits accounting for other aspects of women's lives that are founded on their reproductive roles and responsibilities in community interaction and social management. In some countries women are pregnant most of their lives; they are engaged in productive work for both user value and exchange value, working from within the household and outside. They are crucial in the maintenance of the family through their reproductive work of cooking, cleaning, washing, gathering fuel and water, tending to the sick and the disabled. They form neighborhood networks, sustain kinship linkages, they effect religious practices and social ceremonies; they ensure survival strategies for the family and community; and engage in communal caring and sharing activities for power and status-making purposes. WID programs do not evince a comprehensive understanding of these women's lives and experiences, nor do they grasp the integrated nature of these key roles assigned to women (Momsen: 1991:42). Consequently, the objectives of WID are undermined by the separation of women's productive work from reproductive and community work.

WID does not place too much emphasis on other dimensions of social relations such as class, caste, age, and race which are also at the base of unequal social relations predominant in societies. As such, the WID analysis is fundamentally defective. Gender hierarchies, patriarchal ideologies and structures, and male institutions in societies remain, as these basic systems are unchallenged under WID. Thus, the comfort and security offered by variations of this model resulted in its popular ascription by national governments and the development core.

To reiterate, though various strands of WID theorize extensively on the reproductive side of women's lives, the majority of WID programs were founded on the fulfillment of women's economic needs. Here, the argument that WID intensified women's labour needs to be examined. Cost benefit analysis of development projects under the auspices of a WID lens tends to convey that rather than benefiting women, special WID projects might actually increase the workload of women by training women in areas that are not directly relevant to their lives. At the same time, parallel agricultural and other extension services for men might also increase the workload of women by physically removing men from farmhouses (Rogers: 1980:166). As a consequence, women's productive and even their community interaction patterns may change due to WID interventions, but their reproductive roles, relations and responsibilities remain static or even increase on the whole (barring instances when the reproductive role is shifted on to other female members of the household).

Another major critique of WID is grounded on the design of WID projects and programs by the NGO sector. Macro-scale development policies of structural adjustment programs in particular have usurped the traditional livelihoods of both men and women. The ensuing NGO efforts towards women are usually couched in terms of traditional values and via skills that increase their homebound nature, without serious attempts to integrate them into modern markets (*ibid*.). This resulted in the 'gendering' of development projects. At the same time, due to the localized scale of the conceptualization of projects and the parameters within which they are implemented, the returns for women are exceedingly limited. As such, WID projects cannot provide adequate personal or economic autonomy.

Within the WID development discourse, there is ideological polarization between the standpoints expressed by feminists in the First World and the Third World. Theory emanating from the developed countries is criticized on the grounds that it views 'Third World Women' essentially as subjects who are -

Created as an undifferentiated 'other', oppressed both by gender and Third World underdevelopment. They are presented as uniformly poor, powerless and vulnerable, while western women are the referent points modern, educated, sexually liberated womanhood (Parpart: 1993:444).

On the other hand, as noted earlier, there can be a tendency in WID Third World-centric development dialogue to romanticize 'the purity, the rural, the natural and under-developed' state of women. Jayawardane (1995:12) refers to 'a cultural defense' adopted by writers with a Third World-base that even justifies and valorizes the oppressive forces in Third World countries. The antidote to modernization-based development is conceptualized as being located in anti-technology perspectives, Third World cultural superiority, nature and environmentalism as espoused in the work of such writers as Shiva (1990) and Sittirak (1998).

Thus it is necessary to strike a balance between these two forms of essentialism when conceptualizing of 'Third World women' and development, if the lived 'realities' of these women and their aspirations are to be incorporated meaningfully into developmental projects. At the same time, the perspectives of women - for instance, in term of the strategies of survival and development that are adopted by target women need to be further examined and mainstreamed into the WID development debate.

Outcomes of Women in Development

Via the Women in Development discourse, women are accounted for in the conceptualization of development issues, and the obstacles impeding women's progress are identified and legitimized as needing redress. As a direct result, there is a profusion of WID academics, professionals and practitioners who have come into being, besides a considerable increase in WID research.

WID is notably preoccupied with policy formulation and the improvement of 'women's status' in societies due to its liberal feminist roots. These methodologies have proven popular and facilely acceptable to the development mainstream - for example, as evinced by the large number of reports on the status of women churned out during the last three decades by development agencies, universities and government bureaucracies.

Though post-modernist critics point out the instability and falsity of the methodology of compiling mass scale status of women's reports, the argument that WID serves as the most accessible method of making visible women's 'concerns' within the status quo of development, must be endorsed.
However, as discussed earlier, the two core problems of Women and Development are based on the segregation of women into programs, and the stress on the economic empowerment of women. WID evaluations of development projects repeatedly indicate the limitations of the approach to propel meaningful changes for the poor women it addresses. The impact of women's enclave projects are largely material - limited to a certain degree of economic empowerment that results in marginally better standards of living for the sections that are targeted. Another point that is persistently made in WID evaluations is the inability of successive WID approaches to break-down the gender-biased assumptions of the very institutions formulating and implementing WID programs at national and grassroots levels, let alone change the institutional limitations of governments and private sectors (Miller and Razavi: 1998**: 1). The integral power structures that affect women individually and collectively within the public and private domains remain intact under WID.

The most significant development to materialize with WID is the international awareness of the subordination of women in general, and of the impact of development on women in developing contexts. The benchmark in terms of international recognition and acceptance for the Women in Development movement, is the input of the United Nations through the four World Conferences on Women (Mexico / Copenhagen / Nairobi / Beijing). In particular, the explosion of women's groups and NGOs and the initiation and implementation of development projects and programs enhanced awareness in local contexts. The entry of women into the mainstream development arena sees women assuming the responsibility for their own development to some extent; especially in the dominion of economic empowerment; even though initial projects did not always include the participation of beneficiaries in project formulation. However, other vital forms of discrimination and disadvantage faced by women still remain to be addressed by WID.

The greatest achievement of the WID movement is considered to be the facilitation of an international dialogue on issues concerning women and development, and the formation of extensive networks between developmental agencies, women's groups, NGOs and WID practitioners and experts.

Gender and Development is the new alternative tradition in developmental theory that issued in the 1980s - out of the defects of Women in Development practice. Moving away from the initial exclusive WID focus on women, the early beginnings of Gender and Development (GAD) in the 1970s center on the gender differences between men and women. This is derived from the socialist feminists' identification of the social construction of production and reproduction as the foundation of women's oppression. This focus on gender rather than women is influenced by the work of such writers as Oakley (1972) and Rubin (1975), whose work drew attention to the manner in which problems of women were perceived in terms of their sex or their biological differences, rather than in connection to their gender or socially constructed roles (Moser: 1993:3). Succeeding theorization on gender has at its locus; the interrogation of the validity of the gender roles and responsibilities that are assigned to men and women in different cultures (or the basic feminist analysis of the gender division in labour). The implications of gender difference in gender relationships (Gilligan: 1982:29), the social relations of gender (Young: 1988:3) and the power differentials in gender roles and relationships (Mackinon: 1984:161).

While WID's is a tunnel visual that is limited to women alone, the gender approach widens out to encompass men's and women's roles and relations in both private and public domains. While WID takes women's situation in societies as a given, and formulates external responses to address their perceptible needs; the concept of gender on the contrary, analyzes the incisive reasons for women's particular stations - as being the unequal gender roles and relations between men and women. GAD forges solutions to address these key structural flaws that impact on women in these societies.

The Concepts of Gender

Within the discourse of feminism and amidst the development debate, gender is an incessantly theorized concept that is repeatedly defined and re-defined vigorously from a variety of different standpoints. As a conceptual tool, it is used to highlight various structural relationships of inequality between men and women as manifested in the household, in labour markets, in personal relationships, in ideologies and in socio-political structures. Within the confines of this book it is important that there is conceptual clarity about the term.

Gender Identities
At the base of GAD lies the concept of a gender identity - which is formed via multiple identifications with his or her race, caste, class, religion, profession, and political affiliations etc. While at the most fundamental level an identity is determined according to the sex or biological characteristics of an individual, gender is the next most strong and most visible feature in a person's identity. Here, the concept of gender refers to the essential notion of one's particular sense of being a man or a woman, and is reliant on the individual's and society's concept of what it means to be a man or a woman.

The concept of gender makes it possible to distinguish the biologically founded, sexual differences between women and men from the culturally determined differences between the roles given to or undertaken by women and men respectively in given societies (Ostergaard: 1992:7).

Consequently, sexual designation should not be confused with gender division. The gender identity is constructed both consciously by the individual and unconsciously by the forces that have conditioned her or him throughout her / his life. Therefore, a gender identity pertains to the identity that is assigned to a person, and assumed by that person due to influences of her or his parents, family, relatives, friends, through schooling, the community, race, religion, the wider society and the media.

Gender can therefore be defined as a notion that offers a set of frameworks within which feminist theory has explained the social and discursive construction and representation of difference between the sexes. Attention to 'gender' results in renewed emphasis being placed on the situated, that is to say local structure of knowledge, that one cannot speak on behalf of humanity as a whole and therefore that the scientific position cannot claim to represent universal values but rather extremely specific ones…(Masefield, cited by Pushparani 1998:6).

Young (1988:1) defines gender as referring to -

A whole set of expectations held as to the likely behavior, characteristics, and aptitudes men and women will have. It refers to the social meanings given to being a man or women in a given society.

On the basis of sex, men and women are socially assigned different gender roles, different behavioral characteristics, different dress codes, different standards of conduct and different professions. On the whole, gender roles of men and women are closely interrelated and may be similar, different, complementary or conflicting. However, gender roles are not static and we can "talk about the historical differences in masculinity (and femininity) in a given society, as well as the differences in them between societies…" (*ibid*.). External conditions and forces (such as development processes / war situations / family crises) can profoundly affect gender roles, and in such instances, gender roles might be interchanged between men and women, and /or multiple responsibilities might be assumed by either a woman or a man.

The following combine of a gender roles / responsibilities framework is rooted in the Gender Roles Framework[3] developed by Overholt and colleagues (CCIC / MATCH / AQOCI 1991:30) and the Development Planning Unit framework of Moser (1993:28). It is conducive towards the conceptualization and differentiation of women's and men's different roles and responsibilities.

Gender roles / responsibilities framework

Women	Men

Women's productive roles and responsibilities	Men's productive roles and responsibi
Include women's roles and responsibilit that yield economic remuneration whether f manual labour; professional labour; subsidiary activities; **part-time work or casual labour.**	Involve men's roles and responsibilities th yield economic remuneration whether for manu labour; professional labour; subsidiary ac part-time work; casual labour etc. *(Men are principa identified in relation to these roles and responsibilities).*
Reproduction roles and responsibilities **Include women's roles and responsibilities the household and the family: inclusive of nurturing, rearing children; cooking; clea washing; fetching water / fuel-wood; mark caring for the sick and the elderly, etc*. (W are principally identified in relation to thes and responsibilities).***	**Family roles and responsibilities** Involve the occasions and the degree to t men are involved in household / family mainter Depending on the many variables of cultu community, geography and era men migh contribute in the provision of traveling; protection **to the family; trifling household tasks, e**
Community roles and responsibilitie Include women's roles and responsibilit the community: inclusive of maintaining kinship relations; religious activities; social interactions **and ceremonies; communal sharing and activities; community survival strategies**	**Public roles and responsibilities** Involve men's public roles and responsibi that are inclusive of their visibility in the p and powerful spheres - of politics; in decis making bodies; in 'status' building activitie **international forums, etc.**

Apart from bearing children, all other women's roles and responsibilities noted here are created artificially by societies and cultures - through the provision of differing types of knowledge, skills, by setting different standards, and by allocating different tasks for women and men so as to 'gender' them.

(With the exception of childbearing), only in a society where men and women constitute unequal genders is there any reason why gender should be an important organizing principle in the social division of labour… For nothing in the fact that women bear children implies that they exclusively should care for them through their childhood; still less does it imply that women should also feed and care for adults, nurse the sick, undertake certain agricultural tasks or work in an electronics factory. A society where men and women were equal would be one where the arbitrary fact of sexual difference did not mark out the possibilities and limitations of economic activity for the individual (Mackintosh cited in CCIC / MATCH / AQOCI 1991:16).

Apart from gender roles and responsibilities, from childhood, girls and boys are socialized into 'appropriate' images of men and women according dominant concepts of gender via appearance, character traits, and behavioral distinctions that are deigned acceptable by various societies or according to permitted gender stereotypes. This is despite the fact that, in reality, neither a majority of women nor men display such attributes. However, men and especially women, continue to be conceptualized, and judged according to their approximation to these assigned characteristics. In most instances, these characteristics fabricate a polarity between the two genders, thereby, serving as signifiers of the sexual differences between men and women.

In addition, these 'gender' characteristics are pre-implanted with values in relation to each sex, and judged according to the individual's ability to approximate with his or her gender characteristics. Linked to these gendered characteristics are prescribed codes of conduct according to which women and men are taught to behave; gender differentiated dress-codes according to which men and women are taught to dress; and assigned professions that women and men are taught to aspire towards. Of course, the exact modes of dress, behavior and professions are relative to their age, the culture they live in, the time period in question, and local fashions. (However, it must be noted that there is very strong moral / social / ethnic / political signification attached to a woman's dress code and appearance in relation to a man's.)

The examination of the constitution of gender identities indicates the ways in which an artificial socio-cultural dichotomy is constructed between the two sexes, which takes off from biological differences. It also denotes the inequities related to gender differences as well as its transitory nature in relation to time and space. Woroniuk et al (1997:2) expand on this line of thinking:

The term gender refers to the economic, social and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female. In almost all societies, men and women differ in the activities they undertake, in access and control over resources, and in participation in decision making. The nature of gender definitions (what it means to be male or female) varies among cultures and changes over time. The use of the word gender highlights the insight that these differences are not innate or predetermined and are not the same as the biological differences between men and women. Rather, gender differences and definitions are built up over centuries and reinforced by socio-cultural institutions and conventions. Although they are often perceived to be 'natural' or 'the way things are', they are not and can be changed.

Gender Relations
Gender relations refer to the concept of the network of relations occurring between men and women in any given sphere: whether it be within the family and extended family, among acquaintances, colleagues, friends and relatives; at schools and in the workplace; among men and women in a bus or in a public auditorium; among wider society; between male State officials and poor women; and among strangers under circumstances of global interaction. These include both actual, or live or individual gender relations as well as the general collective perception of gender relations taking place within a given

society (Young: 1988:2). The overall cognizance of these relations between men and women arises from accumulated personal experiences, general observations, attitudes and values stemming from numerous ideologies and social structures. They are instrumental in guiding one's own day to day gender relations at all levels. This in turn is a contributory towards the perpetuation of prevalent notions of gender relationships both in actual gender interactions and within the cognitive plane.

From a social / psychological standpoint, Young (*ibid*.) relies on prevailing notions of gender identity and of gender relations in forwarding a theory on social relations of gender.

In general academic discussions of the relations between men and women do not refer to day to day empirical encounters between men and women (the outcome of which largely depends on specific individuals and their unique characteristics), but to an ideal or normative set of relations which permit one to say 'in my country men do this and don't do that, women do that and never do this'. In other words to a structured set of social behavior. Such relations are informed by the different social identities of the two genders inasmuch as people (who) at least initially relate to such expectations. But they are also underpinned by ideology … and reinforced by the different access of the genders to socially valued resources, and sanctioned by a range of mechanisms from social opprobrium to death. As such they are relations into which people enter involuntarily (*ibid*.).

Both individual motivation and structural coercion are important elements in Young's analysis of gender relations. In view of this fact, it is important to stress that gender relations occurring in daily life are complex or compliant, complicit or contradictory to the dominant ideologies and stereotypes of gender relations. Yet, the common element in gender relations - whether in lived reality or in the abstract, lies in the innate power play within these interactions. Not only are gender relations based on gender differences, but also, gender relations in any given context are power-packed relations and therefore, result in gender inequalities. Men have power; women do not. Or in other words, societies harbor pervasive ideas of phallocentrism[5] in the very construction of the binary oppositions of gender dichotomies themselves, which along with the external bias of sexism and the structural bent of patriarchy (Wright: 1997:4) tilt the power balance in favour of the male sex.

It must be noted at this point, that there is a continuum of dominant gender ideologies that dictate the material interactions between men and women and vice versa. Hence, beginning at the most basic level of gender relations: women are programmed to fear men's violence (while men are conditioned to violate women); women are instructed to please men (while men are impelled to 'be pleased'). Women are oppressed into submission (while men are encouraged to govern); women are suppressed in aspirations (while men are galvanized into action) and so on. The tangible gender interactions issuing from these patriarchal ideologies of gender lead to the generation of more patriarchal ideology.

Next, there are the dominant accounts of gender that are implanted in the ideologies of religions, political and other philosophies; in legal, media, medical, science, historical, epistemologies; in social and cultural structures; in fact, in the total compass of patriarchy, that oppress women in gender intercourse. As noted by Agarwal (1988:14):

Indeed ideology plays a crucial role in the social construction of gender and in the process of women's subordination. The family, the community, the media, the educational, legal, cultural and religious institutions, all variously reflect, reinforce, shape and create prevailing ideological norms - norms which may well conflict with and contradict one another, and usually vary in their specification and enforcement across classes and regions.

At the ideological level, as argued by Young (1988:2) abstractions of gender relations are most powerful in influencing the overall cognition of gender relations in individuals. Then, there are the imbalances in the solid gender relations related to the public sphere. Men from the bedrock of their gender, exercise control over numerous resources and the distribution of power in general. For women, the inequalities of gender relations also originate from their overall invisibility in public activities, their lack of self-esteem, education, training, political / economic / social resources, employment opportunities and access to decision making bodies.

The crucial aspect is that there are not gender differences, but that there are fundamental gender inequalities. No matter where in the world you are born, you will generally tend to have greater options, more opportunities, and more resources - if you are born male (Woroniuk et al 1997:2).

Apart from these gender relations that are alluded to, at the other end of the continuum there are yet more tangible gender relations in the form of the inequalities associated with the private realm of the household and family relations. Within the gender division of labour, the reproductive work generally performed by women is less visible, less valued, less valid than the productive work of men (or of women) - for that matter. Personal gender relations among family members and relatives are equally fraught with imbalances situated in men's and women's differing construction of gender characteristics and other behavioral codes. Consequently, gender relations in the private domain - within families - subordinate women. As stated before, these unequal material interactions between men and women in turn serve to perpetuate ideologies of gender inequality.

Though attempting a broad synthesis of the types and degrees of power built into gender relations, it is not the objective of this book to explore the precise origins or locations of the sites of men's power. Therefore, it suffices to simply refer to the feminist theories that forward deductions such as the gender division of labour or the advent of capitalism as the site of men's power. Or the differing views based on biological factors and reproduction as the site of men's power, or male psychology or physical strength or other such eclectic accounts as the site of men's power (Wickramasinghe: 1997:14).

Gender Interests and Needs

The gender approach demands changes at two levels - the ideological and material, or in other words what are identified by Molyneux as practical gender needs / interests and strategic gender needs / interests (Moser: 1993:37).

At the material level, change is discussed in terms of women's control over the benefits and resources of development, in the form of the fulfillment of practical needs. As observed by Moser (1993:40):

Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, healthcare, and employment.

As such, practical needs are those that are linked to the basic needs of women and are generally required by all individuals. These basic needs are those that are recognized as the right of all individuals by women as well as the State. Though providing women with the fundamental necessities in life, they serve to preserve the status quo.

At an ideological level, change is discussed in terms of the fulfillment of women's strategic needs, through the transformation of the more subtle, insidious social and ideological structures that promote and perpetuate the subordination of women. As defined by Moser (1993:39):

Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labour, power, and control; and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages, and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position.

Strategic needs are those that if fulfilled, empower women by challenging the ideological and structural subordination of women; and bring about greater equality and equity between men and women. In general, strategic needs do not have an equal amount of recognition as practical needs, as women themselves might not always identify their strategic needs due to their general preoccupation with the satisfaction of their practical needs.

The modes through which gender is conceived of - in terms of gender roles and gender relations, in terms of practical and strategic gender needs / interests, leaves room for transformation in individuals and in societies. The study of the variations in gender roles and relations: in different societies and communities; in different geographical locations and time-frames; and in different ideologies, social structures and institutions, communicates the pliant and transitory nature of the concept of gender, and offers

change through singular and collective processes. Of course, the question, which arises here, is whether the change is far reaching enough.

The above-theorized concept of gender still evokes mixed reactions in common appliance. Pushparani in her paper refers to the subtle replacement of the loaded concept of 'patriarchy' by the more unthreatening term 'gender' in feminist and developmental discourse (Pushparani: 1999:6). The concept of patriarchy is generally conceived as being rooted in the elements of men's power that are harbored in social structures and ideologies; which result in the oppression of individual women as well as women as a collective. The enormity of the concept tends to inhibit the notion of change while the attribution of blame makes it provocative. From a post-modernist viewpoint it works on a bi-polarity by positing the oppressors against the oppressed. Patriarchy is powerful, divisional, dramatic and weighted towards women. The concept of gender on the other hand, is ideally seen to conceptualize inequalities in gender roles and interactions within the various strands of the social tapestry. The specificities and transience inherent in the concept signifies the potential for change but does not posit a dichotomy that is threatening. Gender is equal, reasonable, reassuring and scientific. Where patriarchy is confrontationalist, gender tries to be persuasive.

Gender and Development Theoretical Implications
Young identifies the key element in the Gender and Development (GAD) approach as being pivotally, a more holistic perspective of looking at the 'totality of social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society' (Young cited in Rathgeber 1989:6). Consequently, the Gender and Development movement as a whole is marked by its identification of the relevance of gender roles, relations, and needs in determining the subordinate status of women in developing countries. The presence as well as absence of both men and women counts in Gender and Development analysis, as does the type of interaction or lack of interaction between the two sexes.

This is a crucial distinction and distanciation from the concept of women's exclusivity and even solidarity (and the ensuing suspicion and hostility towards the male sex that is particularly characteristic of radical feminists) of the Women in Development movement. The GAD approach is more partial towards the contributions of men who are seen as potential partners in the development project who share a comparable concern for gender equity and social justice (Abeyasekere: 1999:44).

Much of the early literature on Gender and Development converge on unequal gender relations within the family or in the domestic sphere. However, from the mid-1980s onwards, the literature focuses on the manner in which these same imbalances are replicated in the public spheres of the political, social and cultural institutions. This new genre of feminist work on gender, attempts to expose "the false impersonality and deceptive objectivity of organizing principles based on so called neutrality of public institutions and interactions" especially in development institutions (Miller and Razavi: 1998**: 2), and demonstrate the hierarchical and unequally 'gendered' formations that

are essentially against the women's gender interests. For example, Razavi (1998:27), points out this shift in perception with reference to development policies by stating that:

Rather than focusing on how structural adjustment programs have affected the welfare of women and children, their aim is to show how gender biases and rigidities affect adjustment policies and can ultimately frustrate them.

Today, Gender and Development has become a project to de-institutionalize gender bias in the public sphere. To this extent, gender is an insider approach. By promoting this 'organized consciousness' of gender, GAD also envisions the increase in women's access to politics and other decision-making areas and the reorganization of gender relations in the public sphere. At the same time, GAD promotes the redefinition of the existing divisions in labour, so as to bring about a shared work culture within the public and domestic spheres by bridging the gap between the private and the public. As such, a positive development of the Gender debate is its heightened awareness of the reproductive role and responsibilities of women.

Conceptual Frameworks of Gender and Development

Since the 1980s, gender analysis as a form of developmental approach has grown to envelop the thinking and operations of both local, national and international development agencies irrespective of whether they are from a WID or GAD perspective. Today, there are a number of Gender and Development paradigms that transform not only the practice but also the objectives of development planning and programs. These frameworks differ in their conceptualization of gender, their extent of institutional analysis, the scope of their ramifications with regard to development as well as in their significance towards social organization and change. Miller and Razavi (1988*: 1) identifies the following schema as portraying the influential currents in Gender and Development principles. It refers to the Gender Roles Framework, the Development Planning Unit Framework, the Social Relations Framework and Feminist Economics.

The Gender Roles Framework (GRF)
The Gender Roles Framework or GRF is derived from the concerns of the early WID approach of efficiency and was developed by the Harvard Institute of International Development in collaboration with the Women in Development Office of USAID. It has as its basis the 'sex' role theory that informs liberal feminism (Connell 1987 cited in Miller and Razavi 1988*: 4). In its conceptualization of gender, the GRF (promoted by theorist Overholt [1984] and her colleagues) converges mainly on the gender division of labour within the household. Thus, this framework was designed to demonstrate that there is an economic case for allocating resources to women as well as men.

Th GRF takes into account the 'constraints and incentives' under which men and women work, and the ways in which development projects can impact on their productive and reproductive lives, as well as on the lives of other members of the household. In addition, this framework also considers the significant differences in women's and men's access and control over incomes and resources (Here it is important to note the distinction made by the GRF between the access to resources and the actual control over resources -

especially in regard to women). The GRF then discusses the implications of these key differences and divisions in project formulation in areas such as the distribution of land, the targeting of technological applications, the reach of agricultural extension services and so on.

Through its methodical inquiry into gender roles and responsibilities or through gender analysis, the GRF is able to reveal the innate patriarchal ideologies and prevailing gender stereotypes that render women's work invisible. However, the GRF's cramped understanding of the gender division of labour neglects the paradoxes and dynamics that are found within households, which can be both, complimentary and conflictual (Miller and Razavi 1998*: 5). This is because often the management and responsibilities of women and men within family units though gendered, can fluctuate depending on outside variables such as crop failure, migratory labour, and war.

The main critique of the Gender Roles Framework arises in connection to its simplified assumptions with regard to gender divisions, and its negligence in expanding its methodology of gender analysis to conceptualize the precise means of social change. In addition, Miller and Razavi (*ibid*.) point out the manner in which the GRF does not account for women's lack of access and control over intangible resources such as information, contacts, and political clout that also impresses on the relations between the two genders. This reflects another conceptual block of the GRF, which impedes change stratagems.

Yet another factor that also impinges on the Harvard Gender Roles Framework is its basic neglect of the politics behind development institutions and planning, as it calculates largely on the appropriate methodology to gender-sensitize institutions. There is a naïve assumption that these organizations and processes are gender-neutral and egalitarian, and that the problem lies in "error, lack of information, or shortsightedness" which can be rectified by creating gender awareness in development planners (*ibid:* 7). As critiqued by Parker and Friedman (1993:118), this reliance on techniques to produce 'cognitive dissonance' results in tunnel vision towards the tools and mechanisms of gender as an end in themselves. This serves as a distraction from the core issues of power relations and unequal social structures.

Accordingly, the GRF (similar to WID approaches) is expressly pitched at the project level with special attention paid to community based projects. Consequently, the scope of the GRF is limited to the horizon of the household and project, rather than towards the envelopment of the conditions relating to the State, markets, and other social, religious, cultural structures and ideologies that impact on women.

As with the WID theories, the Gender Roles Framework is hinged on to the existing model of development based on the belief that this version of modernization is basically favorable to women - if GRF principles are correctly integrated into the processes of development. Once again, like the WID frameworks the GRF also envisions women as a homogenous category, and as such, the variant consequences of the current

development model on women from various classes, ethnic groups, and castes are not adequately understood (Miller and Razavi: 1998*5.).

The Development Planning Unit Framework (DPU)
The DPU framework[6] was originally developed by Carolyn Moser of the Development Planning Unit at the University of London and has since evolved into two main strands - identified as the Moser framework and the DPU framework (March et al: 1999: 123). This book will concentrate only on the commonalties of the two frameworks. According to the DPU / Moser frameworks, women's roles are examined beyond the workplace and the household, by acknowledging women's triple roles in societies. These are classified: firstly, as the productive role that encompasses market production and subsistence/home production, which generate incomes either in cash or kind; then, the reproductive role that includes child bearing/rearing responsibilities, and the domestic tasks performed by women 'to reproduce and maintain the labour force'; and finally, women's community role which comprises of women's activities that involve the provision and maintenance of collective consumption resources such as water, firewood, and healthcare at the community level. Activities of women that are hitherto blurred or rendered invisible because they are not valued in the 'marketplace' or because they are not culturally accepted, become discernible through this framework (Miller et Razavi 1998*: 8).

As opposed to the visual of GRF which is centered only on women's dual roles, the focus of the DPU falls on all three-gender roles of women. This is effected through the reliance on gender analysis, the concepts of practical and strategic needs, and policy approaches to development.

The concepts of Practical gender interests / needs and Strategic gender interests / needs as advanced by Molyneux (Moser: 1993:37) is incorporated into the DPU framework to help planners think in terms of more lasting and innovative interventions with regard to women. This further confirms the need for development planners to account for the different needs of men and women, and for specific gender-based planning which might be required to meet these gender specific needs. However, as observed by Miller and Razavi (1998*: 9),

While the conceptualizations of practical and strategic moves beyond the GRF framework in suggesting possibilities for a more transformatory planning agenda, it nevertheless tends to downplay the conflictual aspect of gender relations. Men, too, have practical and strategic needs, often opposed to those of women, which may account for male resistance to transformatory efforts.

Even though the triple role framework serves to display women's roles vis-à-vis the public sphere of the community, it falls short of illustrating the power potential in these gender relations. The "rules, regulations, practices and hierarchies of command and control that constitute households, markets and development agencies" (*ibid*:10) through which social and gender inequalities are constructed and reproduced are not discussed. In this

context, DPU also neglects to trace the empowering elements of women's interaction with the community.

At the basis of the DPU framework lies gender planning as opposed to gender analysis, which is advocated by the Gender Roles Framework. In view of this, the DPU framework devises methodological tools founded on the distinctive terminology and institutional procedures of development planners so as to provide credence to the gender approach within the mainstream development core. This strategy of 'professionalizing' gender diffuses the antagonism of those who find customary feminist concepts and jargon, threatening, and those who reject feminism on grounds of its lack of neutrality. Through the application of these 'professionalized' methods, the DPU framework aspires to introduce the re-examination of the 'personal' as well as the 'political' positions of women on the issue of women's subordination (ibid.).

The DPU vision of development is less complimentary than that of the Gender Roles Framework in that it recognizes the failure of the 'trickle down effect' and the problems associated with the efficiency interpretation. However, the DPU framework is limited in its critique of the State, and in its analysis of institutions that perpetuate gender inequalities.

Like the GRF, the DPU framework is also conceptualized primarily in relation to project level interventions. However, gender planning promoted by the DPU approach proceeds beyond the project to the sectoral level in connection to its sensitivity to the planning needs of women in various spheres such as employment, transport, and housing. In this context, the DPU has some measure of policy influence at national levels.

In addition, the DPU framework has a fair degree of influence on main developmental approaches, as it is adapted for field use by a considerable number of international aid agencies and Northern development organizations as well as by NGOs at national and local levels.

Social Relations Framework (SRF)
The Social Relations Framework is what is commonly referred to as the Gender and Development or GAD approach, and was developed at the Institute for Development Studies, Sussex in England by Naila Kabeer and her colleagues. It is derived from social relations analysis rooted in the prevalent Marxist criticisms of the Women in Development approaches, and informed by feminist analysis of patriarchy (Miller and Razavi: 1998*: 12).

Social relations within the family, market State and community are analyzed in accordance with the SRF to reveal the manner in which gender inequalities are constructed and reproduced in institutions, in societies and in processes and changes unleashed by contemporary development. Gender relations are not perceived in isolation according to the SRF, in that it acknowledges the significance of other determinants such as class, race, caste, age, and religion that crosscut one another in gender relations. Unlike the earlier frameworks, the SRF avoids insulating women or rather, abstracting women from the precise institutional contexts in which they experience their lives (ibid.).

In its conceptualization of the gender division of labour, the SRF also takes into consideration the elements of cooperation and exchange along with the elements of bondage and oppression that is necessarily involved in the process. Consequently, gender relations at the household level are contemplated both as a form of social connection as well as a form of social conflict. The SRF perceives gender relations as a process of 'bargaining and negotiation' (Kandyoti cited in Miller and Razavi 1998*: 2). Thus, the process of gender interactions among family and kin are also seen as being marked by 'more fluid resources such as claims, rights and obligations that for women embody a trade-off between security and autonomy' (Kabeer cited in Miller and Razavi 1998*: 11).

Another vital feature of the SRF is the space allocated for women to articulate the ways in which they perceive their own interests, and how these relate to their status and power structures within the family. For this purpose, methods such as case studies are utilized, constituting a more personal and participatory methodology in considering whether development interventions ultimately –

Enhance women's status or, by undermining certain familial or community rights to which (women) were traditionally entitled, place them in a more vulnerable position *(ibid*: 12).

In this sense, the SRF recognizes the negative interventions of development that can very easily reproduce gender and other social inequities. It also realizes that unless women themselves are empowered to 'identify and establish their needs and interests as legitimate policy within the bureaucratic planning process' (*ibid*: 14), changes are very unlikely. With this objective, the SRF urges the overall mainstreaming of gender concerns within institutions to promote change.

At the same time, the SRF intensifies the political dimension of gender by transferring the focus of analysis to gender relations and to the inherent power play embroiled in relationships where men are dominant and women are subordinate. Consequently, the eradication of gender inequities is held as more than the re-allocation of resources. Rather, it involves the redistribution of power - in that men will have to give up power if women are to gain power (Kabeer cited in Miller and Razavi 1998*: 13).

Simultaneously, the SRF also takes into account the latent resistance to the re-distribution of power. This emphasis on the power configuration in gender relations brings the importance of women's empowerment to the forefront (*ibid*.) As such, the SRF considers it crucial that development interventions are designed with the objectives of the transformation of unequal social institutions and the simultaneous empowerment of women. Development has to be evaluated "from the point of view of the possibilities and problems it raises for women" (*ibid*.). In the last instance, the SRF struggles for a goal of development that is synonymous with human well being - built on survival, security and autonomy.

Feminist Economics

An examination of the theories that converge on Gender and Development will not be complete without an allusion to the body of work related to development that is just

beginning to emerge as a discipline within economics and which is commonly referred to as feminist economics.

Basically, feminist economics examines the hierarchies in production and reproduction activities, and recommends macro-economic policy and legislative reform as the solution to women's subordination (Miller and Razavi: 1998*: 2). Feminist economics is novel and invigorating in its approach, primarily as it conceptualizes gender using the language and theoretical tools of mainstream economic analysis based on neo-classicism and other established economic theories and abstractions. So far, feminist economics is classified into two paradigms - that which is within the neo-classical approach to economics, and that, which utilizes the base of a number of critiques such as structuralism and Marxism (*ibid*: 15).

The first strand of feminist economics is referred to as the Gender and Adjustment approach, of which feminist economists such as Collier (1989) and Palmer (1991) propound narrowly differing accounts (*ibid*.). These center on how gender biases and rigidities affect structural adjustment policies, and how they in turn, can ultimately undermine their goals by causing the continuing misallocation of resources between tradables and non-tradables. Feminist economists point out that female labour for example, is integrated into these sectors of tradables and non-tradables on unequal terms due to the iniquities of gender roles and relations (*ibid*.).

The Gender and Adjustment approach considers markets as being a reliable and valid means of mobilizing resources, and in fact, conveys an overall dependency on markets. This approach is unquestioning in its acceptance of women's roles and responsibilities within the reproductive sphere. Therefore, while assuming that women's contributions to production will continue, the Gender and Adjustment approach focuses on policy recommendations that are designed to improve women's ability to participate in different markets (*ibid*: 2).

The other strand of feminist economics - the approach of Feminist Critical Economics - argues that women's role in social reproduction is not natural, and is conversely seen as a construct and a function of power relations within societies. Though not yet translated into a formal gender-training framework for application by policy making institutions, it provides a number of analytical tools that can be used for gender analysis at the program and policy levels (*ibid*: 15). Through its conceptualization of the construction and perpetuation of women's subordination and gender bias at the micro, meso, and macro levels and its inter-linkages, critical feminist economists are able to –
Examine the links between economic and human resource indicators and the need to redefine 'efficiency' to include unpaid resource use in the social reproduction and maintenance of human resources' (Miller and Razavi: 1998*: 3).

At the same time, feminist critical economics examines the controlling interests of development taking into consideration the politics of developmental interventions and, similar to the SRF, advocates the participation of women in the promotion of gender-aware development policy.

Apart from the above highlighted GAD approaches, which have a significant impact on the planning and implementation of development projects, there are other GAD frameworks that have also been developed over the years. For example, the Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) is one such, which is largely influenced by the realities and ideologies of participatory planning. This framework accommodates the constraints imposed by shortages in funding and time, illiteracy and insufficient or non-existent quantitative data on gender roles. Another notable approach is the Women's Empowerment (Longwe) Framework which is intended to question what exactly empowerment and equality means in practice; and assess critically the extent to which a development intervention supports the empowerment of women. At the same time, there is another category of GAD approaches that also requires some note. These consist of gender development initiatives that take off from a point of conflict or disaster such as the People-Oriented Planning (POP) or the Capacities and Vulnerabilities Framework (CVA) that are designed specifically as humanitarian interventions and strategies of disaster preparedness.

From the above trajectory of the Gender and Development (GAD) approaches, there are several salient features that need to be noted. These can be summed up by using a quotation from Miller and Razavi (1998:3):

The institutional focus of gender training frameworks have widened over time - from the household to other institutions through which gender inequity is reproduced. Second, the type of development interventions the frameworks target has moved from the project level to sectoral and macro-economic policies. And, there is an ongoing tension between the so-called 'integrationalist' and agenda-setting' approaches to development and the training frameworks which implicitly or explicitly embrace one or the other of these. Finally, the extent to which the frameworks view development institutions themselves as 'gendered' has changed over time, raising issues of organizational change for each of them (*ibid*.).

Gender and Development Practice

Despite the eager appropriation of Gender and Development as the new and revised alternative to Women in Development, there is still some confusion clouding the designation 'GAD' and its application within the international and local contexts. 'GAD' for example can refer to any one of the GAD frameworks and methodologies referred to in the previous section. The term GAD is also utilized as a substitute title for projects, which have at their heart Women in Development objectives and methodology.

While in theory Gender and Development gives equal import to both male and female angles of gender, in some developmental practices, gender is another synonym for women. The emphasis continues to be placed on women in relation to analysis and planning of projects, as well as in modes of implementation. Meanwhile, the expanding divergence in the paradigms of GAD, and related techniques cause further obfuscation of the objectives and outcomes of its application.

Moreover, in time with the growth and changes in the Gender and Development discourse, the concept has come to be correlated more and more as a methodological tool that is able to bridge the critical divide between theory and practice. The greater part of the school of Gender and Development theorists are integrally preoccupied with the methodologies of making the concept of gender tangible. In other words, in the fabrication of practical tools such as gender-based analysis and diagnosis, formulation of gender policy objectives, and the institutionalization of gender through gender planning and gender-based operational procedures, gender training and sensitization, the identification of entry strategies from a gender perspective, participatory forms of decision-making and execution, institutional notions of gender accountability, the practice of gender monitoring, consultation, evaluation, as well as mechanisms to address the wider social blockages and opportunities are conceived of as means of translating gender into practice. These are techniques aimed at facilitating the 'genderization' or gender mainstreaming of developmental projects and programs. In other words, to view gender not only in relation to organizational goals and objectives but also in relation to practical processes and outcomes.

Thus when it comes to practical methods of urging ideological and structural change, GAD is far more progressive than WID. To some extent, GAD even surmounts limitations of stagnation and abstraction in ideology often associated with feminist concepts such as patriarchy, the private/public dichotomy, women's rights or women's status through this stress on methodology.

Unlike in the Women and Development approach where women are an after-thought or rather, an attachment to development projects, the GAD approach consists primarily of the process of conceptualization or re-conceptualization of developmental projects according to the principles of GAD. Of course, there are also attempts at the integration of GAD principles into existent development projects with varying degrees of success within the gender paradigms.
The following GAD tools (adopted and amalgamated from the various GAD frameworks) are used widely to incorporate gender into development institutions and projects.

Gender Analysis / Diagnosis

Gender analysis (leading on to gender diagnosis) is a key feature in ascertaining the situation of women and men in a given social or domestic context. GAD theoretical frameworks bank on varying forms of gender analysis, which are adopted as a methodological tool in both WID and GAD development projects.

As its name implies, gender diagnosis is concerned to identify the particular implications of contextually specific problems of development for men and women, and the relationship between them (Moser: 1993:97).

Thus, a gender analysis is a consideration of the ways in which men and women participate differently in the household, economy and society. It seeks to identify structures and processes - legislation, social and political institutions, socialization practices, employment policies and practices - that can act to perpetuate patterns of women's disadvantage (Schalkwyyk et al: 1996:11).

In practice, simple questions are formulated in connection with the positive and negative impact of proposed development policies / projects on the target groups (men and women) - both directly and accidentally. The impact of the development intervention on existing unequal gender division of labour / tasks / responsibilities / and opportunities is questioned. There is a consciousness with regard to the consultation and participation of women: in the articulation of the problem - in terms of women's practical needs and strategic interests, and in the development of the solution - which considers the differential impact of the initiative on both men and women. For example, specific methods are proposed for encouraging and enabling women to participate in the formulation and implementation policy / program / project; despite their traditionally more domestic location and subordinate position. Opportunities for change or entry points that can best be utilized for the intervention - for consciousness raising on women's / gender issues - are identified; as well as the best ways to build on (and strengthen) the commitments of governments to the advancement of women. Questions regarding the relationship between the development intervention and other actions and organizations at local, national, regional and international levels are raised. Awareness is also generated with regard to the long-term impact of women's increased ability to take charge of their own lives and take collective actions to solve problems.

As seen from the above, gender analysis facilitates the diagnosis of the critical particularities of gender disadvantages and barriers bearing on women (and men). Yet, gender insensitivity and unequal gender relations within the implementing agency itself can still defeat the objectives of the GAD analysis project. The lack of institutional inputs in the form of corresponding policy and organizational mechanisms to support the outcomes of GAD diagnosis will undoubtedly affect the final goals of the project or program. Parker and Friedman (1993:117) can be quoted to expand on this point:

As a technical process or methodology, gender analysis fits in comfortably within the existing patriarchal structures. However, it does not address women's subordination and therefore cannot be equated with equity, nor can it be transformational.

Certain other vacant spaces that are beyond the scope of the specific GAD project also become discernible through the process of analytical questioning, which, unless correlating actions are undertaken at personal, community and state levels will render the development intervention of GAD invalid.

Bhasin quoted in Pushparani (1999:10) conclude on this point:

*Gender analysis is done mainly to understand what exists in the context of the project. Women's lives are however larger than projects and they cannot be seen in fragments. Areas like religion, culture, sexuality, violence etc., areas where patriarchy is strongest, are completely left out of these modules. If women are to be empowered (which is what women and many NGOs now want) and not just integrated into programs coming from above, then it is imperative to understand and challenge the whole system of patriarchy. These modules do not look at patriarchy as a system, do not challenge it. Their concern is projects. That is the universe. We find this a very limiting way to think analyze and act (*ibid.*).*

Gender Sensitization Training

The concept of creating awareness about gender and women's gender interests[7] as a political tool is traced to the ferment of the women's movement (the second wave of feminism in the 1960s / 70s), when women's civic groups gathered to 'consciousness-raise' about women's subordination and feminism. The GAD practice of gender sensitization prescribes to the view that ignorance or unawareness of women's gender issues is the key determinant of women's subordination, and as such, it prioritizes the 'gender education' of individuals. Accordingly, GAD theorists and trainers develop gender-sensitive educational methodologies in the form of gender modules to be utilized in structured gender trainings and workshops. These adopt and adapt GAD concepts of gender roles and responsibilities, practical and strategic needs, personal case studies and other practical exercises to create gender awareness.
Target groups usually comprise of institutional leadership, policy planners, organizational management, field and organizational staff, partner organizations, and project beneficiaries. At times, the target groups are expanded to include the general public as well.

The length of gender trainings vary from one day workshops to training courses spanning a few days, to ongoing gender sensitization programs that form part of institutional culture. As such, there are questions as to the overall impact of gender training on individuals and at organizational levels.

Gender training in application, can encounter a strata of resistance - from policy makers, management and institutional staff as well as from participants. It is a fairly common experience of gender trainers that male participants of gender sensitization trainings feel threatened by the concept of gender. Consequently, Parker and Friedman (1993:118) write of the tendency to adopt a more technical approach towards gender by organizations that may link gender training with overall institutional development and efficiency.

For example, if GAD training is appropriated into the organizational practice of institutional bureaucracies as a professed objective of organizational efficiency, then, gender training elicits prompt actions from the institutional leadership (*ibid.*). The underlying rationale here is the general WID developmental assessment that women are

key economic contributors and must therefore be tapped as an economic resource to make development efficient.

The question, which arises here, is whether gender training alone is sufficiently effective in terms of accomplishing a gender equitable balance within organizational structures and the allocation of resources. Parker and Friedman (*ibid*.) refer to examples of where political process or policy initiatives are successful in more equitable institutional changes.

Gender Aware Development Planning

Gender planning is advocated by Moser (1993) and the DPU school and involves the sensitivity of policy makers, donor administrators, local bureaucrats and implementing agents, who need to account for the specificities and differences relating to gender in project conceptualization and implementation. Stemming from gender analysis, gender concerns are considered at the time of project identification itself, while expected risks (including backlash) are outlined so as to develop strategies to minimize these problems. Project location, project timing, project reach, project content, contribution to the project by beneficiaries or partners, the impact of the project in the short and long term, are altogether designed from a gender perceptive.

For instance, participatory methods - with the contributions of project partners (inclusive of beneficiaries - female and male) in planning and in decision-making process are applied. At the planning stage, measurable targets are set, gender indicators are defined, and realistic gender goals are determined. Gender awareness enfolds the planning and budgeting for gender concerns in other sectors: in the form of the establishment of baseline data; on-going staff training in gender consciousness; provision for gender experts; collection of gender disaggregated data; gender audits; gender aware reporting and monitoring systems, as well as participatory evaluations / impact assessments. In fact, awareness of gender is reflected in the planning of all phases of the project cycle, along with corresponding institutional mechanisms contrived to ensure overall gender accountability. At the same time, planning for regular and consistent appraisals are conducted to ensure that the project is of relevance to the target groups (inclusive of both men and women), with the aim of securing project success in terms of sustainability and equability.

Gender planning is conceptualized as a transformatory process that situates gender concerns solidly both in the associated development project or program, as well as in the implementing institution. Gender planning can transform the GAD process into a scientific administrative exercise as well as into a component of institutional culture. Yet, once again the critical question arises in relation to the extent of its influence, as GAD development planning is essentially confined within the given circumference of the institution and project. Even within these parameters, without a range of ambient factors such as the institutional and individual cognition of gender issues; the long-term commitment towards gender equity by all concerned, and the ensuing supportive mechanisms geared towards this goal, the outcomes of gender planning alone are inadequate in achieving comprehensive results.

Gender Mainstreaming / Institutionalization

Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programs so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively (Platform of Action: 4th UN World Conference: Beijing: 1995).

Gender mainstreaming has today become the current aphorism in regard to the roaring Gender and Development discourse. While the Beijing Platform of Action (*ibid*.) calls for 'a policy of mainstreaming', there is still some confusion about the strategies involved and how best to pursue them (Schalkwyk: 1996:1).

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP: 1998:1) defines Gender Mainstreaming as "taking account of gender concerns in all policy, program, administrative and financial activities, and in organizational procedures, thereby contributing to a profound organizational transformation". The institutionalization of the concept of gender equity further 'mainstreams' gender concerns into developmental institutions and into societies, in terms of dominant ideas and development directions. In this sense, the GAD mainstreaming project also signifies the simultaneous de-institutionalization of gender bias in the public sphere (Miller and Razavi: 1998:2). This involves:

A simulations struggle on at least three main fronts: at the discourse level, where women's needs and interests are constructed and contested: at the institutional level, in defining the rules and procedures which shape the practice of bureaucratic actors; and finally, at the level of resource allocation - 'the struggle over the satisfaction of the need' (*ibid.*).

Hitherto discussed GAD methodologies of gender analysis, gender planning and gender training are at the core of the project of mainstreaming gender equity into developmental organizations. The integration of gender is considered to guide organizations towards institutional re-consideration and human resource development from a gender perspective. At the policy and decision-making levels, organizations make provision for gender mainstreaming in their institutional structures by adopting equal opportunity policies and ensuring a gender balance in staff participation as well as the gender sensitization of personnel at all levels. At the level of implementation, gender methodologies of gender-awareness generation, advocacy, organizational development, action-reflection processes, support mechanisms and procedures and team building must be realized. At the level of results, monitoring and evaluation, tracking of resources and outcomes are instituted with the ultimate goal of gender equity. Thus, gender mainstreaming can be identified as an organizational 'process' with an eye on the social and 'political' and transformational consequences of the process.

As noted earlier, because gender is the buzzword in recent development discourse, development institutions are almost compelled to translate the concept of gender into practice within their organizations for a number of reasons. These include funding conditions and pressures to be politically correct. However, the actual implementation of gender-aware practices and policies is not as simple as initially conceptualized by GAD

advocates. Results of a recent study conducted by the University of Birmingham suggest that the incorporation of gender into the various Non Governmental Organizations is a complex and contested process (Wallace: 1998:1). The resistance towards gender mainstreaming in this context arises from many quarters. Firstly, funding of many small NGOs tend to be in direct linkage to specific projects. Consequently, gender mainstreaming at the organic level can even be a financial problem. Cultural impediments due to ingrained attitudes and beliefs and the lack of substantive policy and conceptual frameworks within the organization on the one hand, and the lack of cohesive standard procedures, strategy guidelines, institutional tools and implementational checks and balances on the other, hinder the process of gender mainstreaming. At the same time it is extremely vital that organizations are committed to the promotion of gender awareness into organizational policies and procedures by allocating time, staff and resources to a 'gender-aware rethink' of their work. For example, Wallace (*ibid*) points out that ingrained elements of organizational cultures still reflect gender bias such as in the constitution of senior management staff or boards of trustees.

Wallace presents four basic lessons gleaned from her study that need to be taken into account in the gender mainstreaming of organizations. One - the formulation of a suitable gender policy can be a very time-consuming task, indeed even taking up to two or three years in some cases. Two - the gender policy has to set a baseline position that must be accepted by all concerned even though the breath of this baseline standard might make it less radical. Three - the translations of such a policy into standard procedures for a cultural mix of field officers is never easy and need to be accounted for from the beginning of the project. Four - a slick policy facade of compliance can mask conflict within the organization and a lack of real commitment towards the values of gender equity and fairness (*ibid*.).

If gender is to work as a transformational approach, then it requires an empirical approach which is flexible to the needs of the given situation; and which experiments with combinations of GAD concepts / methodologies. Moreover, institutions and projects need to transmit their unqualified and undeviating commitment to GAD principles. Espousing techniques of gender analysis requires the parallel commitment towards devices that are designed to stamp out rampant unequal gender inequalities in structures and relationships. Furthermore, a transformational gender method also requires attention towards the contradictions and conflicts that may arise as side effects of the changes promoted, and the establishment of additional anticipatory mechanisms to deal with them.

At the same time, a pervasive element of gender sensitivity at the individual level amongst the members of the institution is necessary. This includes personal assessments of individual values from a gender perspective. In other words, "An understanding of the social construction of gender relations and how they affect institutions must begin with a person's unique situation" as promoted by Parker and Friedman (1993:118). The specificities of each individual's position in relation to numerous social relations including gender serve as very substantial illustrations. As illustrated further by Parker and Friedman:

The analysis of organizational gender roles and relations must include all levels of the organization and must pass beyond the cognitive to the personal level. Invariably, such personal analysis also becomes political (*ibid*: 123).

Only this type of personalized approach can make a meaningful change in the balance of gender relations, and sustain such change at institutional level.

The primary challenge of institutional development in the gender context is on organizational flexibility and commitment to pushing the agenda past cognitive dissonance to an intuitive level that includes action (*ibid*.).

Critique of Gender and Development

As noted earlier, the Gender and Development approach - along with its differential accents, has over the years become integrated into mainstream development agenda. Its adoption is comfortable - mainly due to the popularization of its use as an analytical tool by funding agencies and NGOs; as opposed to its initial recognition as a concept of potential ideological and structural change. The rendition of gender as a safe and inoffensive concept has led to the undermining of the immensity and intensity of women's subordination and indeed - to the reduction of the women's struggle into more non-threatening and watery terms.

The mainstreaming of Gender and Development, as well as the further instrumentalization of the concept into a practice also raises several concerns about its potentiality to betray the feminist cause. For instance, the gender approach poses the crucial question for feminists - whether to utilize the oppressors' tools and methodology in presenting the cause of women's subordination. In this context, Bhasin (quoted in Pushparani: 1999:9) analyses one practice of gender - gender training and the formulation of gender modules.

I am afraid, the main gender analysis and training modules developed in the North for and through big official development agencies are also depoliticizing the issues. These gender-modules are the product of the modern market economy where everything even love, motions, knowledge, entertainment are turned into products, package deals for everything, ready made solutions for all problems. One person or group thinks, prepares, packages, patents and sells. Gender modules are also being prepared patented and sold (often forcibly) to Third World governments, to big NGOs. These packages have nothing to do with transforming gender relations or South North relations or poor relations, because they are part of the dominant paradigm, they follow the same logic, the same methodologies, and use the same power structures (*ibid*).

Abeysekere (1999:43-44) also poses the question whether it is possible to be effective when mainstreaming gender in a context where men already posses more power than women; and particularly through the use of strategies that are thus identified as compromising. The main problem of the gender approach is identified as an attitudinal one in the sense that the GAD approach interacts with power structures (i.e. the State, political / social institutions), through negotiations that are based on mutuality, compromise, and joint gender responsibility (*ibid*.). This is necessarily dependent on the goodwill of the power-holders. Through this non-confrontationalist, and in that sense even diplomatic approach, GAD tends to undermine the gravity of its intentions (*ibid*.).

Despite Rathbeger's (1989:14) observation that the 'professionalized' terminology of GAD legitimizes women's knowledge and experience; and clinches it within the mainstreams of development discourse and institutional practice, GAD can also fundamentally undermine the very validity of women's knowledge and experience, as it interprets women's reality in terms of the male norm. Thus, mainstreaming women's experiences in any form other than on women's terms would serve to mutilate the

distinction of this reality, even though the translation might render it more acceptable to the male majority.

Another area of criticism is the politics relating to the promotion of GAD or WID/GAD concerns in organizations, as it calls for a certain element of strategizing. This is related to the temper of the approach, which is generally pitched to appeal to the individual's intellect and sense of justice, and the tone of the approach, which is conciliatory and tactful. For example, consider the following rationales forwarded by GAD advocates in the promotion of Gender and Development. Rather than promoting the gender approach with a view towards gender 'equality' or 'equity', there is a tendency to take refuge in 'instrumental' arguments (Razavi: 1998:21); such as the synergistic link between gender concerns and other development goals of efficiency, poverty alleviation, social development and environmental sustainability. Theorists espousing neoclassicist economic frameworks have equated the gender approach with efficiency in development as part of this strategic move to promote GAD.

Thus, in view of the fact that the GAD approach perceives of women as possessing the possibilities for maximization by the capitalist development enterprise, there is a concerted effort to include a gender component into projects and programs solely as a bid to increase project efficiency. These GAD approaches that are linked to efficiency are critiqued particularly on this bias towards women's productive capacities to the exclusion of their reproductive roles and responsibilities. In this context, Abeysekere (1999:44), comments that the overall gender approach is not able to become acutely involved with issues that are more closely associated with the 'private sphere' such as the politics of domestic work, violence against women, other feminist issues as well as problems of cultural subordination which go beyond the project level. As such, the gender approach in practice, does not realistically address core power relations between men and women, and therefore can be seen as being selective in the territory that it covers - mainly the public sphere (*ibid*.).

Similarly, gender as it is predominantly practiced now - simply as consciousness raising and mainstreaming processes - also like WID, lacks the capacity to address other oppressive power relations based on class, race, culture and other circumstances.

Most gender packages also ignore the whole question of power in gender relations, they depolitisize the issue by giving the excludes 'we cannot interfere with local culture…' What women and NGOs want is gender justice but this word seldom appears in gender modules (Bhasin quoted in Pushparani 1999:10).

This is the reason why Abeysekere (1999:44) observes that discussions on gender in the context of development programs are sometimes completely divorced from feminism and the concerns of the women's movement. There is an intrinsic tendency in the GAD approach towards the theorization of the concept of gender in isolation; distinct from the 'parents' who gave birth to it - the trajectory of feminist action by local groups and the achievements of Western feminist movements (*ibid*.); or for that matter, even the awareness created hitherto by WID approaches. The GAD conceptualization of gender

can easily become in essence, a theoretical construction that does not realistically engage with the realities of women at ground level (*ibid*.).

In this sense, as discussed earlier, the Gender and Development approach has over the years been biased towards practice. In fact, the approach has stalled in practice; or rather, at practice - both at the project level and within institutions. The emphasis on methodology: in the forms of gender analysis and planning; training and sensitization; mainstreaming and institutionalization, is sometimes the end in itself, and not the means to an end. As observed by Pushparani (1999:15), "gender training can stop at being a profession of transferring knowledge without addressing the power relations". In retrospect this predilection towards gender practices and methodology impedes the GAD approach from the translation of gender practices into broader structural and ideological outcomes that transcend plain methodology.

However, in this context Razavi (1998:37) makes this keen contra argument, stating that:

Instrumentalism - as opposed to advocacy around a staunchly feminist agenda - becomes inevitable when advocates seek to bring a feminist agenda within institutions and bureaucracies that are immured intractably in their own particular procedural and cognitive mindsets… In this sense, "feminists engaging in the 'real' world (as opposed to 'abstract') politics, strategic alliances, compromises, and instrumental arguments are not aberrations; they are part of the everyday reality that constitutes feminist politics worldwide.

In the case of the WID approach, it cannot be denied that it is conducive towards making women visible within the developmental context, and in the case of GAD, this awareness is extended to embrace an overall gender perspective. Yet, there is the added anxiety that this type of awareness breeds tokenism at policy and program levels - motivated by reasons of funding, political correctness and global development pressures. Local partners who consider gender to be an alien issue and who are cajoled into participation via the incorporation of gender through pressure by donors, are categorically unwilling to pursue with the transformatory implications of gender on the basis that it would disturb the harmony of the community (Pushparani: 1999:10). The perceived friction that arises between cultural rights and gender rights is not resolved as yet by GAD interventions. There is a particular laxity on the part of organizations to address culturally oppressive practices towards women, for fear of being perceived as being contentious towards democracy or fundamental rights or religious / racial rights. Hence, GAD programs and GAD practices might ignore the most oppressive cultural praxis that impinges on women's rights.

Due to the popular subscription to gender in recent times, it is observed that there is a tendency to pay lip-service to GAD by renaming projects upholding WID principles as GAD - as noted before. Tokenism towards gender can also result due to the abuse of such methodologies as gender mainstreaming where the procedure itself may stop at purely increasing the number of women participants or staff in an institution, or with the execution of a specific number of gender sensitization programs.

Even within institutional borders, despite the appropriate 'gender sensitive' structures being in place, it is quite probable that without the parallel leadership that is needed to prioritize gender equity, and most importantly, allow for the funding for its processes and practices, the organizations themselves would remain unchanged.

One particular side effect of Gender and Development, which affects women adversely due to the specific ideological scope of the approach, is paradoxically, its inclusion of men. By giving men and women equal emphasis and space, there is an inclination to de-politicize feminist issues through the incorporation of men. The comparisons and contrasts that are generally attempted in discourse relating to women and men now have the opportunity of being legitimized in gender discussions, as there is space for men in the gender approach. As observed by Abeysekere (1999:43), these occur in situations where men already have the controlling interest.

Clearly, this shifts the focus from women's gender concerns to corresponding male application that dilutes the relevance and acuteness of the problems (*ibid*.). She provides the example of how in gender discussions of grave issues such as violence against women, there are quick ripostes referring to the fractional instances of women's violence against men and women (*ibid*.) At the same time, since gender programs are entitled to resources, and as gender programs are sometimes even prioritized within the development agenda, men are also eligible for these resources, under the umbrella of gender due to the compass of the concept. Resources that should actually be directed exclusively to women, in order to rectify the practical and strategic gender disadvantages of women; are appropriated by men for gender and men's programs, particularly in the field of research and academia.

The assumption that is at the crux of the Gender and Development approach, is that sufficient gender sensitization and mainstreaming would dialectically lead to the realization of gender equality and equity. While the Women and Development approach is confined to the project or program level, Gender and Development encircles both the project / program as well as the implementing institution. Nonetheless, both WID and GAD are constrained to the ambit of the development process and as such, from a feminist outlook, pushing for core changes which leaves the wider reaches of society unaltered.

If the gender approach is to become more productive in the sense of wide-ranging and wide-reaching action: socially; politically; personally; it needs to surmount the current preoccupation with instrumentalism - consciousness-raising and institutionalization. It needs more politicizing and expansive application to encapsulate gender subordination at all levels from patriarchal ideology to patriarchal structures, from the personal to the public.

Outcomes of Gender and Development

Both development approaches relating to women - WID and subsequently GAD are successful in cohesively positioning women within international development paradigms and processes. Furthermore, Gender and Development raises awareness about the contextual roles and responsibilities of women in local activities and national debates. It also draws the focus of development to the implications of the inequalities inherent in gender relations within public and private spheres.

Gender concerns attained a degree of acceptance in organizational structures as part of institutional procedure and practice, and in that sense, increasingly became institutionalized and even mainstreamed into the development efforts at project level. There is growth in new and innovative methodologies provoking the rethink or re-conceptualization of the fundamental make-up of institutions and projects from a gender perspective. On occasion the transformational influence of gender is seen to reach the wider society. All these are giving rise to novel organizational cultures and gender consciousness at large.

Within the academic and research spheres, Gender and Development forms a new discipline: with a surge of gender based research studies, gender conceptual frameworks, methodologies and modules; along with a stream of academics, practitioners and trainers who are systematically refining the discourse on Gender and Development.

A great many donor agencies have introduced gender polices that have lead to the increased support of gender initiatives by Non-Governmental Organizations. Due to these external pressures, as well as due to the internal gender lobbies within organizations, a number of Northern and Southern NGOs have formulated a common agenda for women's empowerment and for increasing gender accountability within their organizations. Along with the directional push of the Fourth UN World Conference and the resultant Beijing Platform of Action; and the growing influence of women's NGOs on national and international policy debates; gender concerns moved beyond fringe development efforts to become mainstreamed into general development consciousness (Mayoux: 1998:172).

The enormity and the intricacy of the feminist project and the politics that it essentially involves, compel feminists promoting WID and GAD to adopt straightforward as well as circuitous strategies in resisting patriarchy. They engage in tactical alliances and are bound by temporary complicities, in addition to the consistent lobbying and observable protestations of feminism. However, there is a necessity to critically and constantly assess these two development actions in the light of their achievements and outcomes, so as to ensure that there is no dilution or dispersal of the original feminist objectives. Meanwhile, these experiences of today need to be made into the foundations of future feminist action.

BACKGROUND

In 1948, after gaining Independence from the British, Sri Lanka continued with development policies aimed towards promoting the Welfare State until 1970. Under this aegis, critical expansions were made to sectors of health and education, resulting in improved health services and education offered free to the entire population. This period recorded the successful prevention of infectious diseases and an increase in the rates of average life expectancy. Infant mortality rates and death rates declined drastically from 1945 onwards. In the education sector, free education from kindergarten to university resulted in school enrolment and participation of both girls and boys in education activities.

With considerable post-independence financial reserves and boosted foreign exchange earnings from the country's primary exports of tea, rubber and coconut, by the 1950's Sri Lanka's future held a lot of potential. Yet, continued mismanagement of the economy due to the lack of a coherent economic policy, fluctuations in the global market for the country's exports and the high costs of maintaining welfare services undermined development activities. As a consequence, by 1970, large numbers of the workforce (the majority consisting of educated youth) were unemployed, leading to immense frustration and anger. The global oil crisis served to further unbalance the economic stability in the country during this period (Fernando and de Mel: 1991:8).

This, along with other factors such as the rapid growth in population, ethnic as well as caste tensions, and political patronage contributed to the first youth insurrection in 1971. The government brutally suppressed the insurgency; and counter action was formulated to address the social injustices and inequalities leading to the crisis. Consequently, the political passage of the country underwent a crucial change in direction, along the path of socialism guided by a planned mixed economy. However, reformist measures in the form of land reforms, youth settlements and co-operative farms modeled on quasi-socialist lines were not effectively carried out. Additionally, the nationalization of private assets did not have the anticipated impact of rectifying the situation, and by 1975 unemployment had reached 25% with food scarcities being experienced (*ibid*.).

With the change of government in 1977, momentous constitutional and economic changes were effectuated through a program of Structural Adjustments, which resulted in expansive social, economic and political transformations in the country. Sri Lanka became a precursor in the adoption of policies of economic liberalization in South Asia; supports for private enterprise were encouraged, promoting foreign investment and attracting large amounts of foreign aid. The resulting growth in the economy was considerable, albeit its confinement to urban areas and its impact on selected sections of the populace. The exposure to international linkages created due to globalization and modernization resulted in the sophistication of people's needs. Interventions made by the

traffic of the import-export-oriented economy, as well as the increased international mobility of labour - were all indicators that the country was poised firmly towards the industrialized model of development.

However, political developments in the early 1980s as well as inequitable distribution of the newly generated wealth by the deregulated economy brought about other problems. Political and civil unease erupted into the ethnic conflict by the-mid 1980s and subsequently, into another attempt by youth and other dissatisfied sections in society to seize political power. Again, the insurrection was quelled violently by the incumbent government.

Approaches to development in Sri Lanka have vacillated in accordance with the varying stress of global trends that are impelled by the dominant international development agencies. The country's economic history evinces experimentation with the divergent development approaches of Welfare benevolence, Structural Adjustment in stages, and the keen demarcations of Poverty Alleviation. Currently, Sri Lanka is identified as undergoing the third phase of its Structural Adjustment Program sponsored by the World Bank.

The combined effects of structural adjustment policies and the internal armed conflict in the North and East of the island, as well as the youth uprising in the South impacted on the country's social sector adversely. For a number of years there have been intermittent drought and floods that compounded the already aggravated economic and social situation in certain parts of the country. Today, large quantities of national moneys are channeled towards military expenses and the war endeavor. Yet, it does not seem plausible that the civil war in the Northern arena can be resolved in the near future. Neither is it likely that the State is in a position to address the urgent economic and social needs of vast sections of the people, nor create conditions that are conducive towards the satisfaction of the aspirations of the majority of the population.

Effects of Contemporary Development Measures on Women

For women in general (taken as a homogenous unit for the purpose of expediency), macro-level economic interventions have slow but significant, indirect but far-reaching implications. As to be expected, Structural Adjustment Programs affect different groups of women in different ways. However, the lack of comprehensive research and gender disaggregated data clouds the overall view of the exact numbers that are being affected by the long-term direction of SAPs and the short-term changes wrought by its implementation at national, regional and local levels.

On the whole, micro-studies indicate that the living conditions of women from low-income families have improved marginally over the last two decades of Adjustment (Jayaweera: 1995:15). Despite the fact that the women's work force records a faster growth, available statistics convey that only 32.1% of the estimated female labour force is employed. This is in contrast to 63.8% male labour force participation (Department of Census and Statistics / Family Planning: 1997:2). The SAP process unwittingly created new employment opportunities for women in the hospitality / migrant / export / garment /and informal sectors, despite patriarchal assumptions and the overall exclusion of accounting

for women in mainstream development planning. In fact, under SAP, women also integrated themselves firmly into the global economy via worker migration and garment industries. However, this is a process of integration on unequal terms - where women are compelled to work in subordinate capacities and where the standards and levels of employment are low.

In the early stages of the SAP large numbers of women were displaced due to the collapse of the handloom and other cottage industries, as a result of the SAP's bias towards large-scale industry. On the other hand, there was an increase in the employment of women in the newly formed Free Trade Zones and garment factories. In fact, as observed by Jayaweera (1995:15) 90% of garment factory employees are women. However, this was more a side effect in the structural adjustment intervention rather than a deliberate move to provide employment for women as observed by Lakshman (1995:14). Further, Jayaweera (1995:15) points out that these women work in ranks compromised by adverse work conditions, low remuneration, lax skill acquisition, and lack of occupational mobility; where the transfer of technology to women workers is minimal, despite their having a sound education (*ibid*.).

Work in the informal sector via the sub-contracting industry divorces labour from the formalities of legal structures and the support of unionization. This form of flexibility afforded to women in deference to their multiple roles does not address the fundamental inequities of women but rather, exposes women to further exploitation through the relaxation in labour laws, lack of unionization, pay anomalies and the pressure of deadlines (*ibid*: 16).

Another visible phenomenon of Structural Adjustment is the export of women in the form of unskilled labour to countries in which there is a demand for labour. Women who use channels regulated by the government are supported by recent efforts of the government to provide transport, insurance and such. Yet, other women workers using unofficial routes are an extremely vulnerable sector, open to a gamut of exploitative forces from unscrupulous labour-recruiting agencies to employers who do not offer formal job contracts and who indulge in violence. Despite bilateral efforts, there is still no legal protection for these workers, and their position is further complicated by the insufficiency in training and access to child-care services or advice on savings and investments. Acquisition of new skills or opportunities to facilitate the advancement of these women after their assignments are concluded is also limited. (Dias and Weerakoon: 1995:218).

SAPs integrated Sri Lankan women into certain sectors of the country's processes of economic development and into the margins of the new international division of labour – albeit on subordinate terms, basically as "low-cost, dispensable and pliable labour" (Jayaweera: 1995:15).

Non Governmental Organizations and Activities

As noted earlier, factors such as the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program in the late 1970s, and the subsequent opening up of the Sri Lankan economy resulted in extensive transformations within the State, and non-governmental sector interaction in the country's development processes. The State increasingly relinquished its public service activity and has become lethargic in responding to the crucial

socio-economic and psychological repercussions of the ethnic war / civil unrest, as well as the social consequences of the economic, demographic, structural alterations of rural and urban communities.

As such, alternative approaches to development designed to ameliorate living standards and fulfil the hopes of people are imperative, and it is increasingly becoming the responsibility of civil society to attempt to fulfil the multi-faceted requirements of people through the formation of non-governmental organizations financed by external funding agencies. Consequently, the 1990s see an augmentation of NGO activity in response to the aftermath of the sociopolitical exigencies in the country: which resulted in rising numbers of the territorially displaced, in large numbers of women-headed households, in the mentally traumatized, and the physically handicapped.

A significant expansion in NGO activities in the island began in the 1970s based on objectives focusing on developmental activity related to health, education, women, children, community development, crisis management and environment. Fernando and De Mel (1991:10) attribute the reason for this increasing developmental activity on the part of the civil community during this period to three major factors. Firstly, the youth insurrection of 1971 which created awareness about the weaknesses in the social, political and economic fabric of Sri Lankan society. Secondly, the recognition that the government and public officials alone were incapable of solving problems of under development. And thirdly, the consciousness which arose from the intense global debate on development during the 1970s, which converged on the failure of hitherto developmental models to benefit the poor; and the growing necessity for more integrated methods to directly target disadvantaged groups (*ibid*.). In the 1980s, these factors were compounded by social services and welfare measures that had become inadequate to combat persistent injustices and socioeconomic imbalances affecting disadvantaged groups.

Currently, NGO activity in the country is vigorous with a wide geographical span, and impact on a broad selection of underprivileged groups including women affected by violence, communities in 'border villages', women-headed households, urban poor, rural youth, the differently-abled, etc. Various NGOs prioritize the varied needs of the people as the focus of their work; and adopt a diverse number of developmental approaches and project formulas in devising programs.

However, this flourishing activity has meant a simultaneous increase in the politicization of issues and actions relating to these organizations. NGOs are becoming a substitute to State activity; and are a substantial force in their own right having assumed certain responsibilities of the State in alternative spaces, through specific actions. Fast providing leadership to civil society, NGOs have on occasion marshaled people's action against the State.

Consequently, interactions between the State, the NGOs and the people are fraught with complexities. The relationship between the State and NGOs vary according to the incumbent regime in power; at times the State has ignored the presence of NGOs, and NGOs have carried out their activities in relative isolation confined to local levels. At other times the State has adopted an overall attitude of coerced co-operation - particularly in

activities in the conflict zones. Yet at other times, the State and NGOs have been on a collision course, with NGOs opposing State actions outright; and governments formulating measures to restrain NGOs and undermine their activities in various ways.

A controversial amendment to the Voluntary Services Act was passed in Parliament recently, assigning the government more powers to intercede in NGO activity; thereby undermining the very foundation of the concept of non governmental activity. There are also constant allegations against NGOs centering chiefly on monetary abuse. Admittedly, some NGOs are culpable of misrepresentation and even fraud, yet all organizations are indiscriminately tarnished with allegations of maintaining 'luxurious' offices, travelling in rural areas in air conditioned comfort, siphoning funds from foreign donors, and conducting non-existent projects. Certain organizations with an island-wide reach are regarded with suspicion as platforms for political take-off by the State. Other NGOs are at the butt-end of conspiratorial indictments by the pro-nationalist lobby; and identified as being in cahoots with the LTTE[8]. On a different level there are concerns expressed about NGOs being manipulated by unseen foreign hands, pawns in 'western imperialism'. Hence, there are fundamentalist fears of 'western decadence' permeating the rural areas of the country and corrupting the 'innocent' people.

A majority of non-governmental organizations have development-based objectives and target the rural areas. Village communities are now familiar with NGO activities and thus NGOs are to a great degree accepted by the people. Yet, due to welfare methodologies adopted over the years by preceding projects, there is a common perception of NGOs as being rich with foreign funds. As a result, there are expectations of cash and other material benefits from organizations entering the villages.

There are several types of NGOs currently working in Sri Lanka. In terms of definition, some of these organizations do not strictly fall into the category of Non-Governmental Organizations though roughly classified as such. For the purpose of this book, the term NGO is applied loosely to include:

- semi - governmental agencies partly funded or managed by the government,
- international Non Governmental Organizations that have their branches operating in Sri Lanka,
- national Non Governmental Organizations which operate outreach programs, and
- community-based Non Governmental Organizations with limited reach.

Funding Agencies and Priorities

As noted by Fernando and de Mel (1991:40), the entrenched stereotype of the poor professional skills of NGOs', and their inability to work on an adequate scale are gradually being eroded; resulting in bilateral and multilateral donors viewing NGOs with more confidence. Currently, there are representatives of multilateral development donor organisations and a number of bilateral development funding agencies which provide financial and institutional assistance to NGOs in Sri Lanka. These include the UN agencies, the World Bank as well as the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), NORAD, OXFAM, HIVOS, and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) among others.

Most local NGOs and women's organizations prefer to be funded by foreign donor agencies. With a few exceptions, most organizations do not apply for State grants or depend on State patronage due to inferences of political association and the possible political pressures that this involves, as well as the bureaucratic red tape related to State funding. However, as observed by Wickramagamage (1998:7), these organizations:

Do not seem particularly concerned with another kind of dependency, interference, and covert subversion that acceptance of foreign funds leaves them open to since their program objectives now depend on those foreign agencies.

Yet, it must be recognized that there are both negative and positive angles to foreign donor assistance. In fact, the considerable growth in the inclusion of Women in Development objectives and Gender and Development aims in projects and practices is a result of donor pressure in addition to NGO exposure to dominant development approaches.

The prioritization of women's concerns within international aid forums, and the resulting availability of funds for utilization by women in the developing world, impacted on a majority of Sri Lankan women's NGOs and programs. Many NGO objectives thus tend to coincide cryptically if not precisely with WID and GAD guidelines. Yet, conversely, as observed by Feminist Researcher J (personal interview), donor groups also make available funds for a range of women's endeavors including research and scholarly activities, which do not strictly fall into the ambit of either WID or GAD. In this sense, today there is a certain degree of versatility in the funding mandates of aid agencies towards women, based on a more comprehensive and integrated outlook of women's development.

Of course, the exploitation of the development priorities of funding agencies transpires in the process of donor / NGO interaction. For example, with the precedence placed on women under the Women in Development initiative, NGOs began to include programs with a women's interest into their funding proposals. While some are genuine requests by women's groups wishing to work for the development of women, there are also opportunists who are bent on exploiting the leeway afforded by the WID and GAD dispositions of development policies (Gender Consultant W - personal interview).

The relationship between donor agencies and developmental organizations is one of power negotiation. On the part of the donors, this interaction is based on the implicit pressures of international developmental politics, finances, institutional mandates and inputs. On the part of the local development organizations, it is founded on the finer balances of organizational survival, project responses to ground needs, institutional priorities and outputs. In this context, NGOs and donors are traditionally involved in a hierarchical relationship due to the very nature of the interaction. Of late however, with growing awareness of the artificial dichotomies and power structures in all relations, there are efforts towards a more equal relationship in the form of 'partnerships'. Certain NGOs dismiss these aspirations as being impracticable given the benefactor / beneficiary basis

of the association. In more ideologically based NGOs this has led to an awareness of partner rights.

Endnotes

[1] Widely held view that a 'feminization of poverty' is underway on the one hand with the perceived rising incidence of female headed households (Buvinic 1993) and the general understanding that more women than men are poor.

[2] refer to a social system characterized generally by male domination over women

[3] the Women and Development approach conceptualized as a response to the defects in the divergent WID strands

[4] An amended version of this chapter was presented at the Center for Women's Research (CENWOR) 7th National Convention on Women's Studies, March 2000.

[5] Male centeredness which places the male identified subject at the center of intellect, perception, experience, values, and language (Kramarae: 1985: 335).

[6] also identified as the Triple Role Framework

[7] can be related to the WID Empowerment model of consciousness-raising

[8] Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

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