Chapter 3
The State, Women's 'Movements' and WID / GAD

Women in Development and the State

The State's engagement with Women in Development originates in the 1970s with the establishment of several WID influenced State mechanisms and machineries. Legal mechanisms for the 'advancement of women' include an important article in the Constitution of Sri Lanka (drafted in 1977) on the fundamental right to equality, which guarantees freedom from discrimination on the grounds of sex (Goonesekere: 1995:20).

At the international level, Sri Lanka (propelled by WID-fuelled consciousness of women) ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (UNCEDAW) in 1981; and formulated the State policy on women – the Women's Charter with the assistance of the Women's Ministry, line ministries, local women's NGOs and groups in 1993. In this document, the standards of the Women's Convention are translated to suit the specific contextual situation of Sri Lanka without diluting the universality of its basic norms (*ibid*.). In 1996, as a mechanism for implementing the Beijing Platform for Action, the government of Sri Lanka formulated A National Plan for Action in consultation with local women's NGOs. This document identifies 8 critical areas of concern from those identified in the Beijing Platform for Action, which are assigned to the Women's Bureau and the National Committee on Women for implementation. These two mechanisms are currently under the Ministry of Women's Affairs, which possesses the mandate to formulate policy geared to alleviate the problems faced by women and to look into changes which might be required to ensure this (W&M Collective / NGO Forum / CENWOR 1997:2).

The Women's Bureau was set up in 1978. The ambient factors of the first UN Conference on Women: the WID consciousness created with regard to women's issues by numerous local women's groups in the 1970s; and the commitment made towards the UN Decade for Women contributed towards its establishment (*ibid*.). The main functions of the Women's Bureau are to promote the improvement of the quality of life of women, to be the link between organizations concerned with women's issues and the government, and to advise on the formulation and implementation of government policy relating to women. While a network of District Level Development Offices was established to bring visibility to the Bureau at local levels, the Bureau also focused on developing income-generating projects for women at grassroots level. For this purpose, in the 1980s Kantha Karya Samaja (KKS - women's action groups) were established throughout the country (except in the North and East) to mobilize women at village level. Despite the potential for this type of women's groups to act as local-level focal points, at present few are functioning. Nonetheless, the Bureau recently launched an island-wide program to revive and strengthen these voluntary women's groups. Other WID programs were also designed by the Bureau to empower women; in the form of legal literacy and consciousness-raising workshops on the Women's Charter (Wijayatilleke et al: 1994:8).

One major drawback in the functioning of the Bureau is the limited institutional support at sub-national or local levels (*ibid*.3). Moreover, in 1992 the District Development

Officers who were full-time workers for the Women's Bureau were withdrawn as a result of an island-wide program of decentralization of administrative powers.

The lack of operational and policy autonomy coupled with the attitudes of successive governments which saw the Bureau as a peripheral priority, further impeded its progress and rendered it outside mainstream development activities. In 1983, as a result of lobbying by women's groups, the government created a separate project Ministry for Women's Affairs and the Women's Bureau was brought under its purview. The Ministry of Women's Affairs was linked to various other Ministries such as Health, Teaching Hospitals, Transport, and Environment, until 1997, when the Women's Ministry came exclusively under one Minister and a Deputy Minister. The Ministry gained Cabinet status only in 1989, and has since attempted to function as the national focal point for women and the apex for the national machinery for women.

Originally the Ministry had a restricted mandate of supervising and controlling the functions and activities of the Women's Bureau. In the 1980s, the Ministry initiated 'Women's Cells' or focal points in key Technical Ministries, as a means of looking after the interests of women. However, these were not effective and were finally dismantled in 1992. In recent years, the Ministry for Women's Affairs has been involved in the formulation of national policies for the advancement of women.

Despite several attempts on the part of donors and concerned groups to strengthen the national machinery and legitimize its status among other State implementing agencies, there is a deficit in the formulation of a clearly defined mandate to convey the exact purview of the Women's Ministry. As a result, even networking with other Ministries is a problem, because often certain issues connected with women are considered to be within the perimeter of some other government department or Ministry.

Thus, neither the Ministry nor the Women's Bureau is as yet involved in planning at national or provincial level due to bureaucratic arrangements and traditions which prevent these institutions from acquiring the capacity to function as effective focal points. Nor do these institutions possess the powers to assimilate women's or gender concerns into mainstream development.

A key feature of the Women's Charter was the mandate to establish of a National Commission on Women. However, this did not materialize; instead, a National Committee on Women was established in 1993 as an autonomous body appointed by the Executive President to advice the Ministry of Women's Affairs in the implementation of the provisions of the Women's Charter. It has the mandate to entertain and monitor complaints of gender discrimination, evaluate the impact of legislative and development policies on women, help realize the objectives of the Charter through encouraging research and other methods, and make appropriate recommendations.

As such, there is a lot of potential for the National Committee under the Women's Charter for becoming an effective WID mechanism that can recommend policy changes and monitor government performances on efforts at promoting gender equity. However, in its present capacity the NCW lacks the teeth to carry out these functions effectively (de Silva: 1995:251). This is primarily due to its positioning within

the Ministry of Women's Affairs, which compromises its autonomy; as well as the possibility on the part of the government to politicize the composition of the Committee.

The State also attempts to integrate women into the national development endeavor through joint projects with the NGO sector. During the last two decades, programs such as the Integrated Rural Development Programs (IRDP), Janasaviya, The Janasaviya Trust Fund, Samurdhi and the Change Agents Program have promoted group organization at village level as a means of advancing the situation of women in WID aligned initiatives.

Consequently, there is a significant increase in Women in Development and Poverty Alleviation programs of savings cum credit leading to entrepreneurship / self-employment. However, as critiqued by Jayaweera (1995:16),

These projects tend to be limited to elementary economic activity with minimal access to vocational training and managerial skills, and to technology and market information.

Under the influence of WID, the State supports the UN and other international and national initiatives of consciousness-raising on women's issues particularly on Women's Day and other such occasions. Political parties have also commenced including women's issues in their agendas contributing towards the integration – at least superficially – of women into the mainstream political agenda.

Through the advocacy of women's groups, a number of legislative changes occurred which try to rectify the anomalies in the laws that openly discriminate against women, and laws that impact adversely on women in their implementation (WEDO: 1998:165). At the implementation level, special mechanisms such as women's cells in police stations and counseling centers for women were instituted to address women and children's problems.

On the whole, Women in Development consciousness inaugurated a number of significant changes at State-level that prioritize women. National machineries for women as well as supportive legislative changes and special enclave projects were established. There are also continuing efforts to create a national awareness with regard to women and women's issues. All these measures however, are conceived as 'special' and not necessarily endowed with sufficient political clout or legitimacy to fulfill their objectives, thereby resulting in the marginalization of these efforts within mainstream national activities.

Women's Mobilization for Development

The roots of the women's movement or mobilization in Sri Lanka go beyond the influences of feminist action in America and Europe in the 1960s/70s or the UN interventions of Women in Development dispositions of the 1970s. In fact, Jayawardena (1986:135) traces strands of women's mobilization to the movement for National Independence from the British during the early part of the century. The first women's organization was formed in the 1920s - the Women's Franchise Union - around a single issue which took the form of the demand for the female vote that was subsequently obtained in 1931. Other organizations were formed in the following years including the Women's Political Union and the All Ceylon Women's Conference. Women were also involved in the Trade Unions and the Left parties as they struggled for economic and social changes including that of anti-imperialism. The first autonomous women's feminist socialist group Eksath Kantha Peramuna was formed in 1948 (Jayawardena: 1986:135).

However, there are questions posed as to the very existence of a women's 'movement' in Sri Lanka. Particularly in comparison to the 'true ground swell and

mass support' of vociferous women's activism that is attributed to India (Wickramagamage: 1998:31); or perhaps, in terms of the highly visible radical action undertaken by the American and British feminists in the 1970s. Nevertheless, women's engagement in terms of a 'movement' in Sri Lanka is in its own sense noteworthy, and needs investigation on its own terms. In relation to the time-periods and the frequency, the disparate platforms of action and the varying groups of women and NGOs that mobilize on various ideological tenets into 'movements', the Sri Lankan women's movement takes the form of many 'movements' - rather than one singular movement. While it is not the focus of this book to analyze the evolution of this debated women's 'movement' or 'movements' in Sri Lanka (obviously there is a lot of research desired in this area), it is pertinent to consider the historical landmarks and the key features of this mobilization.

Firstly, it is a mistake to view women's mobilization in Sri Lanka as a united, homogenous totality that musters the efforts and support of all women and women's NGOs working with women and women's issues. In fact, it is the exact opposite; where women's groups and individuals are intently occupied with their own individual and collective endeavors for various forms of women's empowerment under an assortment of ideological configurations. The agendas of these organizations are multifarious and expansive: dealing from overall human rights issues to consciousness raising on women's rights; from rural extension services to relief for war victims; from policy issues to income generating projects; from a race / religion focus to psychological befriending programs. These examples convey the breath, depth and length of NGO interactions with the burning socioeconomic issues in the country.

However, grassroots women's groups, women's organizations and individual women activists / academics come together on urgent issues of national weight - for women's franchise in the early part of the century, and more recently, to oppose election violence against women. This type of allied women's movement into lobbying and pressure groups occurs infrequently and moreover temporarily, as most individuals and groups are not ideologically or methodologically in consonance with one another. While this is critiqued as a political and strategic weakness in the women's 'movements', it however signifies the dynamism and diversity of the women's constituency and emphasizes the fact that women cannot be taken for granted as a homogenous entity.

The earliest women's organizations as delineated by Wickramagamage (1998:3) are those:
Such as the Sri Lanka Federation of University Women (1941), Sri Lanka Women Lawyers Association (1962), Sri Lanka Housewives Association (1954), and the Zonta Club (1966), (*which*) organized on the basis of shared affiliation with self-help and, sometimes, "good works" on behalf of others, as principle objectives. On the other hand were organizations such as the YWCA (1882), Girls Friendly Society (1904), Sri Lanka Girl Guides Association (1917) and Lanka Mahila Samithi (1930) which were places for voluntary service by elite women imbued with a spirit of voluntarism and with time on their hands. Even the Lanka Mahila Samithi, with its avowed desire to establish links between the urban elite and rural women was organized on a principle of service by the privileged for the underprivileged women.

These are examples of the WID Welfare approach towards women and development, which with time also came to adopt other Women in Development approaches discussed in Part One of this book. This type of organization aims to provide infrastructure and related services, money and material goods to underprivileged women. Due to their interventions resulting in tangible rewards, such organizations tend to be high profile NGOs that have a significant amount of resources. Formal structures of decision-making based on top down procedures are adopted in interventions that consider women as 'beneficiaries' in programs.

These types of social welfare organizations are very active when it comes to emergency supplies in times of national crisises and other catastrophes. While the fulfillment of basic needs is crucial to women in the course of their daily lives, and in the sustenance of families during emergencies, it is increasingly realized that such crisises can also be the foundation for durable, social transformatory development interventions. Certain women's organizations are thus diverging from the strict Welfare approach and embracing other components of WID to address the long-term needs of women in these situations.

The increased awareness and interest arising out of the international debate with regard to Women and Development and the external flow of funds for women's projects resulted in new women's organizations being formed from the 1970s onwards. As observed by Sen and Grown (1987:44), it is noted that many of these organizations do not have a previous organic history, nor do they have an organizational or resource base independent to the project being implemented.

Today, Sri Lankan women's groups and NGOs utilize the many strands of the Women in Development approaches, and organizations subscribe to a number of programs centering on the transfer of education and skills, credit and technology. Offshoots of the Anti-Poverty and Efficiency developmental approaches are popular among State and semi-government organizations as well as NGOs that mobilize women into development. The State Women's Bureau implements IRDPs (or Integrated Rural Development Projects) for women; and other income generation, skill transfer and entrepreneurship development programs of NGOs like Agromart, Janashakthi Banku Sangam, and Siyath Foundation are based on Women in Development formulas of Efficiency, Anti-Poverty and Empowerment.

Needs-driven grassroots organizations such as the Vehilihini Development Center in Moneragala, or the Uva Welassa Women Farmers Organization or the Surya Women's Development Center in Batticaloa are essentially community-based organizations. The practical and strategic needs of women-target groups of these NGOs originate in the general situation of women in their communities and are associated with the socioeconomic changes taking place in the country. There are also organizations that mobilize around particular issues, which prioritize certain segments of women who are identified as requiring special attention. Examples include the Dabindhu Collective which originates in the Free Trade Zone, the Janashakthi Women's Development Society in Divulapitiya that is concerned with widows, and the Penn Wimochana Gnanodayam which addresses the problems of women in the plantation sector (SLNGO Forum: 1997:59).

Apart from the strictly WID-oriented organizations and programs, there are those that are stamped with a more ideological bearing; or those that are more issue-aligned such as the Voice of Women, Women and Media Collective, Women's Research and Action Front (WRAF), Women for Peace and Women in Need (WIN). These organizations have a wider scope in target, a diverse interest span and a distinct range of activity. For example, their interests might be multiple and include consciousness-raising and action on feminism, ethnicity, media, and violence. Due to their ideological stands and commitments, these organizations are generally 'activist' in nature.

The problems associated with NGOs and programs without a solid ideological base, despite having made inroads in terms of the transference of services and skills, are those of an attitudinal nature. Target groups regarded as 'Beneficiaries' are supplied with goods, services, skills, and credit. Yet, they continue to be exposed to class bias and patriarchal structures, and other inequalities of social interaction. Hierarchical structures of some of the NGOs themselves might result in decision-making processes that are confined to a few women. The responses of these NGOs to women's subordination or gender inequality can be extremely limited due to unfamiliarity or even resistance to such concepts.

In recent times the Gender and Development approach is becoming increasingly popular and women's organizations and other NGOs are adopting certain features of GAD as institutional mechanisms. Gender sensitization and gender trainings in particular, are very popular, and are swiftly replacing the earlier WID embedded consciousness-raising programs. Due to the gender inclusive disposition of the GAD approach, target groups are expanded to involve men as well as women. Organizations such as the World University Service of Canada, Intermediate Technology Development Group, Plantation Housing and Social Welfare Trust, engage with gender concerns through the gender mainstreaming of institutions. However, it must be noted that a majority of organizations, which accept the GAD approach to the extent of gender mainstreaming, are usually linked to international agencies.

Feminists who search for 'authentic' feminist bases and who promote revolutionary feminist action have ideological problems with WID and GAD. This is centered on the premise that on the one hand, Women in Development, is unable to engage realistically with patriarchal ideologies and structures. On the other hand, Gender and Development is seen as promoting change not on feminist terms but rather, through the reliance on existing institutional structures.

Research NGOs that focus on women's studies and gender issues are other organizations / projects that have influenced policy debates over the years. Center for Women's Research (CENWOR), Women's Education and Research Center (WERC), Muslim Women's Research and Action Front (WRAF) are some organizations that are in the forefront of this area. The work of other organizations along with these NGOs, is instrumental in increasing awareness of women's and gender issues in the governmental and other sectors; as well as in establishing linkages with internal, regional and international women's groups.

Virtually all groups recognize the importance of networking. There are several women's umbrella formations: the Women's Conference, the Women's NGO Forum, and the Hill-Country Women's Forum are examples of collectives that consist of several women's organizations with varying mandates.

Most organizations look to the State for the provision of complementary conditions and supports for the implementation of programs. However, there are women's organizations that also fulfil an advocacy and lobbying role for legislative and other changes. Alternative protest action under a common umbrella is prevalent; though infrequent and confined to selective issues as most women's organizations are loath to compromise their stand of political neutrality due to the caustic realities of Sri Lankan politics that perceive independent criticism as partisan politics. Consequently, women's groups generally prefer to be disengaged from the mainstream politics and have been lax in transforming themselves into powerful independent forces that can question the State.

Thus, even though there are a large number of women's groups involved in development activities, most of them are low-key in action due to strategic choice. This is compounded by the reluctance of the mainstream media to pick up adequately on women's issues. Even the women's action and activities that are covered get relegated to secondary prominence in the press and are generally ignored by the electronic media. However, in spite of these restraints, a section of women's activist groups are successful in responding to and highlighting a number of key sociopolitical issues in relation to women and gender.

Subscription to WID and GAD by NGO Programs in Sri Lanka

In relating to women as a target of development, women's organizations and NGOs draw from a number of developmental concepts. Since the 1970s, the development approaches of WID and subsequently GAD are the dominant concepts in many of their developmental activities. However, the precise linkages between international developmental theorization and local program action are complex, and are lodged in the convoluted interactions amongst funders and developmental organizations, between policy decisions at institutional level and field action, and within individual cognition and overall organizational activities.

Subscription to the Women in Development approach in Sri Lanka occurs with the gradual awareness of international WID initiatives and the availability of funding for women's projects; as well as the overall shift towards 'human development' consequent to turbulent political events in the country (see Background - Part Two).

The convergence of women-only NGOs and target groups into enclave projects reflects women's prioritization or exclusivity persuasions that are espoused by WID. Most grassroots programs are structured on varying degrees of the Women in Development rudimentary models of Welfare, Efficiency, Anti–Poverty, and Empowerment approaches identified in Part One, even though WID funding is also available for associated programs of feminist research and women's studies. Economic empowerment emphasized by all strands of WID theory is the foundation of many grassroots level programs, especially due to the urgent needs of the target constituencies.

GAD became an important approach from the 1980s onwards as a result of donor influence and the empirical evidence that unequal gender relations between men and women pose a primary obstacle to development endeavors being of particular benefit to women. This resulted in the adoption of GAD aligned strategies by NGOs in order to 'equalize' the power balances between men and women via the expansion of target groups and via measures of gender sensitization and institutionalization.

Though certain NGOs and development practitioners evince a keenness to 'update' their programs in accordance with the particular developmental specifications in vogue, others very often, are averse towards acknowledging the connections between their work at ground level and the contemporary developmental insights and responses that might frame their activities. This resistance is grounded on a number of reasons: the desire to view their program as an unique and original conceptualization; or styled as resistance to the 'western theories' that are considered to be culturally unsuitable for the local context; or due to the objection to theorization per se. It is also prompted by desires to ignite the mobilization of women indubitably from the grassroots and to formulate a 'home-grown' program. On occasion it is even provoked by a genuine ignorance of the current global developmental debate and test formulas.

Programs and projects do not operate in isolation, and contextually the direct opposite of this can be observed at field levels. Even in instances of declared non-interaction with theoretical frameworks of development, cogent linkages to popular versions of WID and GAD can be distinguished in many local programs. This communicates that though hostile to the subscription to formal theoretical models of WID and GAD paradigms, many organizations have developed their own domestic versions - particularly of the WID Empowerment principle and GAD methods. Then there are others, which chart formula reproductions of Women in Development and Gender and Development approaches. Yet, other programs offer WID and GAD combination objectives in their organizational visions and missions.

Further investigation of the programs that expressly conform to the theoretical paradigms of WID and GAD in their mandates, reveal that original objectives can be merged or pursued with varying degrees of interest and commitment. Actual ground programs might not necessarily reflect exactly what has been indicated in the statement of objectives. Often these policy documents are too vague and in some instances, divorced from the activities at ground level. Organizational objectives of WID and especially GAD are indiscriminately worded without too much thought being given to the implications of these aims. Sometimes, GAD organizational standards can come into conflict with original institutional or program visions. These are usually instances where WID and GAD aims are incorporated into organizational mandates and program goals due to motives of donor gratification rather than to a specific interest in women's or gender concerns. Clearly, these types of institutional policies are designed to enhance the image of the implementing NGOs and to appeal to donor agencies, rather than respond to the inherent needs of the constituencies they serve.

The local consciousness of the robust international development debate, and the power of successfully grappling with the accurate terminology within the development discourse, appear to lead to the drafting of organizational goals to coincide with 'in'

development concepts and approaches. There is a facile recourse to the popular nomenclature in relation to current program ideals and institutional methodology applied by global aid and development organizations without a genuine understanding or commitment towards these ideals and ideologies. Consequently, there can be considerable gaps in global theory and local practice as reflected in the articulation of organizational policy and program practice.

Chapter 4
Visions and Missions of Selected NGOs and Programs

As outlined in the introduction, this part of the book relies on six case studies of NGO programs classified by the researcher as adopting WID and GAD paradigms and practices. Three cases studies classified as WID refer exclusively to NGO development programs. The other three case studies classified as GAD take into account both the development programs and their implementing NGOs (due to the GAD disposition towards institutional mechanisms). In addition, individual interviews record the experiences of independent development practitioners and researchers to provide a more comprehensive delineation of the application of WID and GAD.

Are these Women and Development Interventions?
The book takes into account three cases studies classified as endorsing the Women in Development approach.

Case Study	Classification
WID1	Community health intervention base education and infrastructure
WID2	Income-generating programs center home-based agriculture / industry
WID3	Group mobilization initiative focussi savings and credit

Only one of these programs - WID3 - is implemented by an organization primarily run by women for women. The other two programs evince some degree of male participation both in the composition of the staff in the implementing NGOs and in target groups. Nevertheless, the three programs are still predominantly operated by women and are primarily selected as examples of WID interventions. All betray a deep resistance to being associated with developmental theory or being pigeonholed into a specific WID initiative.

The priorities of each program is dependent chiefly on the organization's perception of felt-needs at ground level and the funding available to satisfy these needs. They are equally dependent on the mandate and motivations of the implementing NGO - especially in terms of the NGO's ability to offer direct responses to sociopolitical changes taking place in the country. At the same time, the aptitude of the implementing institution to provide a special service as well as its subscription to a particular feminist ideology or worldview are vital factors relating to program conceptualization. In addition, the methodology supported by the program / NGO - whether in terms of ideological concepts or in the application of practical tools - form distinctive features in the design of programs.

The three WID related programs under study depart from the general theoretical conceptions of WID, which might overlook the ideological input in 'the advancement of women'. Thus, all three case studies evince varying degrees of sensitivity towards women's subordination, which are transfigured into consciousness-raising about women's issues; and advocate divergent forms of empowerment which are reliant on education, on economic empowerment and group strengthening.

There are commonalties associated with the motivation for program conceptualization and implementation. These programs are evolved through empirical experience and are thus flexible towards the changing needs and interests of their partners or constituencies. This experimental nature of these organizations and programs serve to furnish them with notions of their own distinction. The integral dedication of key program implementers and their intimate and intense involvement with their partners or target groups also contribute towards the enhancement of the individuality of their programs for the implementing NGOs. To this extent, these organizations and programs are operating within their own prescribed ideological spaces as per their program application.

However, this does not necessarily imply that these programs are operating in complete isolation from the development mainstream, or the community at large, or the ever-changing sociopolitical circumstances. The implementing NGOs do come together under various regional and national umbrella organizations, to lobby on issues of national concern and general advocacy, though they do so on selective and expressed terms.

The Encounter with Gender and Development

As stated earlier, the case studies classed as Gender and Development encompass development programs as well as their implementing NGOs.

Programs / NGO	Classification
GAD4	**Gender-training programs operated by Women's Collective**
GAD5	**Gender institutionalization in an incom generating program / implementing organization**
GAD6	**Gender-mainstreaming of a vocational training program / implementing organization**

Unlike the WID programs, these three case studies are overt in their espousal of GAD objectives and rigorous in pushing their GAD alliance with various accepted theoretical frameworks. However, it must be noted that despite their allegiance to GAD specifications, one implementing NGO is a Women's Collective, while the majority of target groups in case studies - GAD4 and GAD5 consist of women.

The fundamentals of GAD paradigms are appropriated without reservation and contextualized to suit the local and individual conditions and targets by these programs. This is facilitated by the overall integrationalist visual of GAD and the space in GAD methodology for organizations to commit to varying degrees of GAD practice. For example, some institutions / programs comply exclusively with gender sensitization training for their internal staff. Others conform to quasi integration of GAD analysis and planning in their projects. Yet others adopt a gamut of GAD institutional concepts and practices in dedicated attempts to completely mainstream gender into their organizations and programs.

In general, organizations with a male and female compass in their constituencies, which are part of the mainstream within development, can be seen as those who

technically satisfy the basic criteria of the Gender and Development paradigm. A majority of programs exhibiting a more comprehensive GAD proclivity are local counterparts of international development organizations and aid agencies. Differentiation is made in relation to case study GAD4, which is a local Women's Collective that conducts a combination of consciousness-raising programs on women's concerns and gender trainings.

From a broad-based perspective, there is overall ideological receptivity to GAD, particularly in mainstream development endeavors despite being resisted by some women's groups who champion the Empowerment approach at grassroots levels. Clearly, this is due to the contradictions between the women's exclusivity and individualistic embrace of the Empowerment ideal and the gender integrationalist and structural approach of GAD.

GAD5 and GAD6 are programs that address the practical needs of women and men. The prioritization and focus on common women's concerns and prevalent feminist issues by GAD organizations / programs is minimal due to the GAD bent towards equality and gender. (However, there is an exception of case study GAD4, which accommodates a WID+GAD synthesis in its sensitization programs). In addition, the GAD equilibrium of gender does not always lend itself to the partiality of lobbying for the women's cause outside of organizational enclosures. Thus, apart from GAD sensitization programs that interact with individuals and with the community to some extent, other GAD methods are cohesively linked to institutional structures. In this aspect, GAD programs are more introverted and structurally interred, as opposed to women's organizations / programs that are more socially responsive and politically activist.

WID / GAD and Program Conceptualizations

Program conceptualizations are dependent on the fusion of ideological visions; the needs of target groups; access to funds; and ground conditions. Foremost, women's NGOs are by-products of the growing consciousness of Women in Development, and the cumulative transformations wrought by the structural adjustment processes and other sociopolitical changes. As a result, programs are predominately conceived in terms of satisfying immediate practical needs (WID1), or in terms of long standing interventions designed to fulfil commonplace economic needs (WID2, GAD5 and GAD6). The critical effects of the civil war in the North and East, as well as the southern insurrection were stimulus for a type of program tailored to assist women who were adversely affected by the outcomes of these specific social and political circumstances (WID3). This book also focuses on the type of organization that was conceived to centralize on the furtherance of WID / GAD related consciousness via research, training, lobbying, advocacy and monitoring (GAD4).

Of course, there are random ideological feeds into all programs - particularly in a feminist sense. In the WID classified programs, this is dependent on the ratio of feminist consciousness in the key players in the organizations and the proportion of their exposure to external theoretical and activist inputs. Program conceptualizations and their subsequent growth are thus centered on the degree of feminist activism within NGO mandates and the overall personality of key program administrators.

On the other hand, the GAD approach is rooted in its own distinct ideology. As a result, although GAD is fast becoming a methodology, GAD programs tend to invariably be conceptualized in association with the array of GAD concepts that are outlined by GAD advocates (see Part One - Chapter 2). As pointed out earlier, the women / gender intermix in the sensitization programs of GAD4 form an exception.

The visions of programs / NGOs are inextricably linked with the perceived needs of target groups, and incorporate the NGOs' analysis of the circumstances in which the program is implemented. This section of the book considers the visions of NGOs and their programs in relation to the ideological circumstances that gave rise to their inception. The ideological perspectives of the six case studies form a continuum between gradations of WID and GAD and their visions of women and gender relations. It also considers the women and gender specific ideologies that are prevalent in the local development scenario, and which impact on program visions and missions. It also contemplates the images of women and gender that are in turn generated or debunked by NGO programs (The previous NGO experiences of the researcher also contribute towards the following overview of the ideological slants of WID and GAD-fueled programs)

'The Educated Mother'

At one extreme, there are examples of NGO visions of women only in their reproductive roles, and solely in relation to their families. These conceptions see women essentially as wombs that procreate children. Consequently, programs are formulated on the basis that the 'enlightenment' of these 'mothers' via education will lead to the invariable education of their children and the overall upliftment of the family. This kind of organizational perception fuelled by quasi-Gandhian tenets translates itself into programs, which imbue women with education: in the form of literacy, training skills, knowledge in nutrition, healthcare, contraception and family planning, with the ultimate objective of advancing the family. WID1's program on community health later developed to target 'mothers' awaiting their schoolchildren outside school-gates with instruction on nutrition.

These programs do not deviate from the accepted gender division of labour; moreover, the responsibility for the family is placed squarely on women. In fact, women are consigned to motherhood and wife-hood to the exclusion of their other roles in life. As such, these programs choose to ignore the complexity, the contradictions and the complicities inherent in the structure of the family, which, despite fulfilling certain social and psychological expectations of women, are also sites of unequal social-conditioning, oppression and violence against women.

'Community Education'

The original WID1 provides a visual of a program that is hinged on education - of both men and women alongside the provision of infrastructure. It identifies community health as a core developmental issue, and trains village communities and volunteer health officers in primary healthcare. As stated by WID1:

The main objective of the initial Community Health Program was to increase the knowledge, practices and attitudes of villagers towards improved village conditions. That is, to develop the communities through the promotion of primary healthcare. It

was intended that this program would contribute to the alleviation of some of the many health related problems…in communities where public services were inadequate.

At this point, the program does not isolate health concerns, or couple them with women's responsibilities; but rather, sees them as community issues. In this context, by attempting to combine women and men as community health agencies, the program transfers the private concern of health into the public sphere. This social transformatory aim of health education was expanded later on in the program to include consciousness-raising on women's concerns. Even though in a practical sense the WID1 was not a success (due to lack of volunteers and consistent funding as well as due to program divergence), this program provides an example of how a general WID intervention can be conceptualized in a gender equitable fashion. This grassroots basic-needs interaction gave birth to a number of other programs due to the identification of other community needs, such as a nutrition / home-gardening program for women, which however, was conceptualized in a more traditional fashion.

'The Ideology of Volunteerism'

As noted earlier, one of the contributing factors to the failure of WID1, was the dearth of volunteers for the program. This particular NGO has learned from its mistakes and volunteerism is no longer a key methodology in its programs.

However, in this context it is meaningful to examine the ideology of volunteerism in Sri Lanka. The notion of shramadhana or collective volunteer work in a community is the foundation of many village activities, where rural communities (men and women) are counted on to volunteer their collective labour for development projects.
The expectation from women that they would extend their labour for free or for a nominal payment is a feature of certain NGO programs. In spite of the consciousness raised by Women in Development studies, women are believed to be 'free' to volunteer their labour for the developmental activities that these benevolent agencies initiate for their target groups. Clearly, women's labour in production, reproduction and other community activities is devalued by this assumption. These programs are often doomed to failure in the long term, as they do not account for the multiple roles and responsibilities of women.

'The Woman Entrepreneur'

As argued in Part One, Women in Development paradigms emphasize the economic empowerment of disadvantaged women. It is possible to see the influence of WID in the inclination of women's organizations' toward income generation, skill development, and entrepreneurship development in development interventions. Overall, these programs offer integrated skills which train women in a metier as well as in business management, parallel to the provision of supportive information, and directives toward sources of capital. As such, "they attempt to make women better businesswomen as well as better-skilled" (Wickramagamge: 1998:12).

Case studies WID2, GAD5 and GAD6 consider economic empowerment based on savings and credit, micro-enterprise and vocational training as vital components of their programs. Yet, economic empowerment is not the simple isolated objective. There are associated ideological back up to programs, which transcend the mere financial empowerment of target groups.

Case study WID2 sees the potential of developing small businesses through the improvement of agricultural, artisan, business and management skills of target groups. Virtually 80 per cent of the participants in the program consist of women who run small individual businesses. The skills of these groups are bolstered by Revolving Funds (supported by the implementing NGO and the target groups) which provide the financial base for individual enterprises.

While income generation is the key issue, WID2 does not tailor its program solely towards the fulfillment of this urgent economic need. For instance, the Savings and Credit groups are envisioned as units that encourage social cohesion, mutual support and community intercourse. The program also incorporates a component of consciousness-raising on women's concerns and other areas of knowledge with a view towards personal capacity building. The overall program is seen to prompt psychological changes in women - in terms of "building self-esteem and self sufficiency" (WID2). As a result, women are "no longer limited to housework" but are perceived as rural entrepreneurs (*ibid*.).

A feminist consciousness does not necessarily pervade this program in the context of providing women with educated choices, for example, in regard to their multiple roles. Nonetheless, women are informed of their rights within the legal structure, and given 'general knowledge' on how to exploit the existing village systems to their benefit. As such, the program empowers women economically, socially and personally within these perimeters.

'The Better Re-payer'
Many savings and credit collectives are founded on the perceptions that women are 'naturally better savers and better re-payers'; therefore, women rather than men should be targets of credit initiatives. As noted by Wickramagamage (1988:10) with reference to the Janashakthi Banku Sangam savings and credit program:

JBS… also makes women the managers and recipients of their village-level savings and loan schemes – the core activity (*of the program*) – because they perceive women to be more responsible financially compared to their menfolk who have a greater tendency to default on loans due to drinking and gambling. JBS… has arrived at a stereotype of women as more hard working, responsible and reliable compared to the men. And feeding the stereotype is a culture-generated ideal of women as selfless, putting always the needs of their family before their own.

This type of gender stereotyping based on gender identities; especially in terms of roles and responsibilities are rampant in many NGOs - whose programs in turn, serve to further perpetuate the same ideologies. As illustrated further by Wickramagamage (*ibid*.):

(the program) targets women in their poverty alleviation programs because they believe that women in their wife / mother roles put the welfare of the family, especially their children, before their own, unlike male counterparts and, therefore, could be more relied upon to implement the program objectives of *(the program)*.

These assumptions are totally contrary to the reality of women's situations – where women might procure loans for men - both openly and covertly; and where women might be forced to meet loan repayments by pawning their jewelry (Gender Consultant H: personal interview).

The gender stereotypes of men as 'bad' or negative - violent in nature or irresponsible; and women as 'good' - self-sacrificing, or hardworking; which inspire the visions of these NGOs pose an insidious threat to attempts at social transformation due to their fixation on the artificial bipolarity in gender identities. This lack of gender consciousness - particularly with regard to the social and psychological construction of gender identities - result in the sustenance of gender myths and stereotypes at community levels. Consequently, men are written-off due to these perceptions of them as prone to aberrant behaviour (in terms of violence, drinking, and gambling); and as lacking in family responsibility, which are then considered to be biological norms. Antithetically, women are embraced into programs due to their perceived responsible and hard-working 'nature', which on the one hand, overload their assigned family responsibilities, while adding further pressure to conform to these socially constructed standards.

'Something for Women'

Case study GAD5 is another program that promotes economic empowerment through savings and credit collectives leading to micro-enterprises. The program is an accessory of a web of programs run by a leading NGO that targets poverty alleviation. This NGO promotes the empowerment of poor families via distinct interventions that are designed to compliment each member of the family. Thus, the parent-NGO professes "to have something for everyone" in a village.

The overall NGO visual centers on the sacredness of the family unit; where men are viewed chiefly as breadwinners / heads of families; and women are viewed as mothers and supplementary income-earners whose chief responsibility is to the family unit, while children are seen essentially as requiring education. Constituent programs of the organization also reach out to other vital targets such as the handicapped. Compartmentalized programs based on this ideology address these different target groups.

One program affiliated to this NGO, GAD5, thus conceptualizes of women within the family structure, and targets them in the same manner that children are targeted in the parent-NGO's pre-schools - primarily as subjects that need assistance. Formula type savings and credit collectives are encouraged on the basis that women are 'better savers and re-payers'. Facilitation is provided for home-based income generating activities and self-employment projects principally to uplift the family via women.

Within the borders of the program's goal of poverty alleviation, GAD5 incorporates elements of Gender and Development. The primary input is into the program's policy on gender and poverty, which is slanted towards the consideration of gender in relation to poverty. GAD5's policy document on Gender and Poverty states:

Poor women are doubly disadvantaged due to their situation in poverty in addition to the position they generally hold in society as women. (*This program*) considers women central to both poverty alleviation and growth and the conventional practice of treating gender equity as a peripheral issue as inadequate (*ibid*.).

This attempt to "integrate gender into all aspects of the program of poverty alleviation" is primarily due to donor coercion (GAD5). The resultant program structure conveys a lukewarm effort towards the institutionalization of gender - mainly through gender training; with program officers paying lip service to the idea of the wholesale mainstreaming of gender. This reluctance towards a firmer institutional commitment to GAD is attributed to the crucial conflict between the parent-NGO's ideology and the gender-equitable concepts of GAD.

There are many other economic interventions such as GAD5, which merely account for the roles and responsibilities placed on women in a superficial sense. Women's multiple interactions related to production, reproduction and community though perceived are not questioned. For example, though pre-schools are established by NGOs to care and educate children in certain instances, complimentary programs are not designed to ease, or for that matter, shift or share women's other reproductive responsibilities with men.

On the other hand, productivity related programs might be designed to seize the labour of both women and children into NGO prompted enterprises. This observation is not made to devalue the economic empowerment of women, but rather to highlight the structural deficiency of programs that do not challenge the fundamental forces of women's oppression.
The social analysis behind programs (such as GAD5) which are conceptualized within domestic WID frameworks, are limited to the critique of women's unequal position in communities as being primarily due to their disadvantaged economic placement. As such, women's 'empowerment' is fundamentally visualized on economic lines striving to 'enable' women within the existing socio-economic structures. No attention is paid to the transformation of these social structures or for that matter, the modification of ideological structures that continue to oppress women and perpetuate their subordination. The responsibility for change falls on individual women – definitively via the individual's economic empowerment (and on occasion via empowerment arising from 'conscientization'). Thus, to a large extent, these organizations and programs ascribe to a vision of development that is confined to the dominant model of development based on trade and economic growth, which is reproduced on an individual level at grassroots.

'She's a Motor Mechanic'
Skill training is conceived as the gateway to economic empowerment under the WID movement. Today, NGOs offer diversified skill training programs for women which are not necessarily confined to training in traditional crafts such as cookery, dress making, food processing or beauty culture. These new genres of training extend to non-traditional vocations such as masonry, carpentry, photography and motor mechanics in some programs.

Case study GAD6 reveals such an instance where the empowerment of youth is visualized through the provision of vocational skills and other supports to secure employment. Skill training is made available to men and women trainees, based on the market demand for particular skills in a given geographical area. In most program implementation areas however, surveys undertaken by the NGO show that the demand is limited to vocational skills that are generally assigned to men. Due to this

reason as well as due to the gender mainstreaming initiative undertaken by GAD6, women are provided with the opportunity to enter non-traditional or male-dominated vocations. It is interesting to note that the implementing NGO of GAD6 had earlier promoted income-generating projects for women's collectives. These traditional WID programs were phased out due to their failure to provide women with adequate incomes.

GAD6 sees youth as being the pivot towards social and gender transformation. The gender equalizing ideology of the implementing NGO is reflected in the gender mainstreaming efforts of the organization. The program promotes equal opportunity and equal participation as organizational principles and furthermore, envisions the rectification of gender imbalances through gender sensitization training of all concerned parties. Other GAD elements are also integrated into organizational practices and procedures (see Chapter 5 - Gender Mainstreaming). The program also anticipates the various forces of resistance to gender mainstreaming; and thus, builds in affirmative actions to sustain young women's participation in vocational courses and to strengthen their prospects for employment.

GAD6 views their trainees - women (as well as men) as young, highly skilled professionals – who are equipped with sufficient skills and confidence to explore all available job opportunities either through self-employment or under an employer. The program is devised to challenge the existing gender divisions in productive / reproductive labour by empowering women in non-stereotypical vocations. At the same time, it provides women with higher levels of income due to the higher value attributed these particular skills.

'The Sensitized Society'
Programs like GAD4 and GAD6 conceive of gender sensitization of societies as a powerful agency towards amending the imbalances in gender relations. This is plainly allied to the WID Empowerment principle of conscientizing women on women's issues and feminism. The sensitized society is thus expected to reform itself individually, ideologically and structurally on gender equitable lines.

GAD4 however, is an associate program of a women's NGO, and is basically formulated to support the integral NGO objectives of advocacy, lobbying, networking, and research. The implementing organization approaches gender sensitization as a serviceable tool, 'a co-optive method' of consciousness-raising that can appeal to men as well as women (GAD4). Consequently, GAD4 applies a WID/GAD combination design in training programs (see Gender Sensitisation Training).

The complimentary aims of the NGO has resulted in the organization achieving the singular status of the most authoritative research NGO on women's studies, and consequently, exerts a considerable amount of influence on overall policy research and advocacy. Working within a spectrum of target areas, (especially in higher policy echelons), the NGO brings a women / gender perspective to development work targeting individuals and institutions.

'From Victim-hood to Empowerment'
The stated development objective of the program WID3 is to raise the social / economic levels of disadvantaged and marginalized women - who are heads-of-

households, living in remote villages. This also includes the subsidiary aim of empowering the disadvantaged and marginalizd children of these women. The conceptual reach of this NGO was originally limited to women who were widows. To quote from WID3 policy document:

(*This program*) was established in 1992 to assist women who had lost their husbands due to political violence. The loss of the main breadwinner of the family had resulted in destitution and social ostracization for most women. The program has attempted to provide strength to these women and their families to cope with their losses and to become economically self-reliant and socially accepted.

The important aspect of the WID3 program concept is its attempt to respond to the urgent needs of the swelling women-headed-households in the country as a result of the Southern insurrection in the 1980s. The project discerns that its women participants need emotional support as well as practical assistance due to the trauma arising from violent sociopolitical events. Hence, equal weight is placed on the emotional empowerment of women - directed through internally trained Befrienders who provide psychological support for women. At the same time, collective mobilization is also advocated - with a view towards economic empowerment. As articulated by a program officer of GAD3:

Empowerment as I see it is obviously the possession of knowledge you did not have earlier. The development of skills which you either had or did not know you had or which you have acquired. The confidence that come with the acquisition of that knowledge and skills and knowing how to use this to get what you want. And learning to make decisions for yourself - and to stand on your own feet without feeling apologetic about it. That is what I feel empowerment is. Not necessarily to be better than men. But for yourself as an individual.

As the program targets heads of households - a majority who are mothers - it became expedient for the program to take into account the children of the target group. The program's concern for children is doubly prompted by the facts that the children only have one parent, and that these children themselves were in some instances exposed to violence, and in any case, traumatized by the loss of the father.

It is argued that the collective mobilization of these women provide mutual empathy, support, motivation and strength to face the challenges in life arising from their specific situation of poverty, victimization, loneliness as well as other gender centered disadvantages.

Over time, the interaction with target groups resulted in changes to WID3: in response to the varying developments at ground level such as social transfigurations, changes in civil status; and the evolution of the NGO program concept. Like a number of other programs, WID3 functions on an experimental basis – where trials and errors are major educational factors. The original aim of the program to empower women-headed households affected by violence was expanded to include other women-headed households. This was based on the perception that all women-headed householders experience similar problems in their daily lives. Subsequently however, the program was altered to include other women (non-heads of households) as well, due to the continued marginality experienced by the group of women-headed householders within the community. Currently, in a further development, the program

is considering the integration of men as well, due to the perception that certain men in the community are in an equally disadvantaged position.

Similar endeavors of utilizing crisis as a strategy are recorded by other NGOs, where a catastrophe or crisis which afflicts a community or women in particular, is taken as the entry point towards prompting lasting change. In fact, some programs are not only limited to the transcending of personal crisis but rather, also advocate correlating structural change from this point onwards.

'Anti – Jargon'

As argued earlier, a number of women's organizations prefer not to be identified with what they term 'jargonism'. Consequently, organizational aims are conceptualized on a distinctive individual basis. For example, Peiris (1997:19) writes:

There would be no talk of 'empowerment'. To us this meant - according to the dictionary definition - 'to give power to' or 'to make able'. Our belief in participation precluded us from being associated with the idea of a group that enjoyed power, distributing chunks of it to others who were helpless. We preferred the word 'autonomy' signifying 'freedom from oppression' and 'the ability to cross conceptual, institutional or even political boundaries' {Schrijvers 1991:103}. This conformed with our ideal of egalitarian social relations that 'create room, self-determination and self respect for everybody' (Schrijvers 1985:235) and not for some only at the expense of others.

Peiris describes the concept of 'personal development' of participants in coir-yarn collectives, where the individual's sense of worth, hope, achievement, belonging, justice and fair play, and human fellow feeling; as well as capacity for creativity, flexibility, critical thinking and decision-making are seen as crucial components of the process (Peiris: 1997:45).

First we had to facilitate and strengthen the mobilization capacities of the women workers. This aimed to transform their hitherto lethargic and stealthy survival strategies into open strategic maneuvers to strengthen their position vis-a-vis the power structures that combined to keep them in subjugation (Peiris: 1997:54).

This account of a cross between autonomy and personal development can be the final goal of a program. It also considers women's relationships with the larger environment as equally, if not more important. Women are motivated to gradually change themselves and their surroundings. However, the process of breaking away from the control of existing power structures is necessarily a very delicate matter, as it is vital that no one is offended or threatened. Thus, the required steps must be small and gradual so that women's strength is recognized and eased into the status quo as naturally as possible (Peiris: 1997:56-57).

'Breaking the System'

From a corresponding activist angle, the implementing NGO of WID1 records its current views indicating the ideological growth of the organization since its original program vision that was centered on the provision of infrastructure and health education.

A Sri Lankan model or "oriental model" of empowerment is visualized by the NGO. It is situated within the structure of the family - which might consist of either both parents or a single parent. However, the NGO visual is not confined to the family, as it talks of 'breaking the system' by addressing the bigger picture. This is essentially through the empowerment of victimized communities of women (such as rape survivors, women prostitutes and single mothers, as well as the 'differently-abled', poor women and children, and youth who are potential suicides). The ultimate goal is the long-term integration of these sections into the mainstream of community life.

Thus, certain NGOs like WID1 take-off from the personal realm, but advocate political / national interventions for the empowerment of women. This is attempted by adopting a non-confrontational, more insidious approach firstly, "by instilling the seeds of consciousness about women's subordination and gender inequality" (WID1). Secondly, by providing women with support and visibility *vis a vis* the community - so that "their capabilities are recognized and respected". Thirdly, through national level action in terms of advocacy and protest (*ibid*.).

Chapter 5
WID / GAD Applications

The study of the six case studies registers the accepted usage of Women in Development and Gender and Development as organizational techniques and program practices. The following section highlights the dominant applications of WID and GAD by the selected programs

These span actions such as savings and credit initiatives, micro-enterprises, vocational training programs, educational and WID / GAD consciousness-raising interventions, group mobilization and gender mainstreaming.

Savings and Credit

Most savings and credit centered women's programs are inexorably linked with micro-enterprises, that are clones of the much acclaimed savings and credit-driven, micro-venture model of the rural banking project introduced by Muhammed Yunus in Bangladesh in 1976.

His program blueprint identifies the lack of collateral as the main impediment affecting poor individuals (and poor women in particular) when applying for loans. This is quite apart from the other difficulties that underlie interchanges between poor women and bank officials in rural areas - not only in regard to the practicalities of the transactions with banks, but also in regard to the social, cultural and patriarchal values with regard to women.

This is surmounted by savings and credit groups, which offer their collective savings as security to banks and funding agencies. Most collectives operate around a revolving fund, which give loans to individual members, and insist on repayment by using group pressure as a weapon. This type of fund is also historically rooted in the *sittu* system already found in Sri Lankan culture (as well as in other countries); where a group of women contribute a given sum each month to form a causal fund, which is rotated amongst them (McDonnell et al: 1993:20). Women can thus be empowered financially from amongst themselves sans outside intervention.

The programs WID2, WID3, GAD5 are centered on revolving funds. (GAD6 also experimented with this point of entry at the inception of its program). The programs expect women participants to contribute their minimum savings (based on minimal affordability). This is particularly evident in WID3, where women in certain societies contribute monthly personal savings as low as Rs.5.00.

In some women's collectives, the accumulated savings of revolving funds are utilized as credit for individual women; whereas in others, these savings are matched by capital from parent NGOs so as to loan larger sums of money to the participants. In yet others, such as GAD5, savings are used as collateral to obtain additional moneys from funding agencies to set up rural banking systems. GAD5 also encourages individual and collective saving by members of the women's collectives.

Key features in rural savings and credit programs for women are: the flexibility in amounts being saved which are usually based on the affordability of each woman; elastic time-periods affecting repayment which cater to personal capacity; and low interest rates which even vary according to individual ability. Thereby, moving away

from cold, rigid, structured, bureaucratic systems of banking towards the institution of banking systems that are more sensitive to the individual needs and interests of clients. Programs that target both men and women such as GAD5 and WID2 contribute greatly towards the popular acceptance of this style of alternative banking.

Training in the functions of micro-banking as well as in dealing with established lending institutions in the larger society are at the crux of the assistance provided to these women's collectives. The connected micro-enterprise component ensuing from the savings and credit initiatives offer further training in agricultural, industrial, craft skills as well as in small-scale business management.

Yet, NGO sponsored programs operating on this winning formula of savings, credit and micro-enterprise can be limited to the exercise itself. The scope of the vision related to the programs might be confined to basic survival. Consequently, the programs become an exercise that is restricted to elementary banking / economic activities with limited access to entrepreneurship development or to technology or markets - as in the case of WID3. Here, the primary objective of the program is the overall mobilization of women. As such, it does not necessarily stress on other collaborative supports that can lead to a form of economic empowerment that is more than mere subsistence.

Here, we come to the essential question. Is the principle of asset accumulation as evinced in savings and credit societies the most effective method of triumphing over poverty? Certainly, there are many instances in which savings and credit societies have assisted rural communities in transcending absolute poverty lines by establishing a viable means of income through micro-industry. There are success stories associated with WID2 where the professional and expansive-reach of the implementing NGO has assisted individual micro-enterprises to become feasible small to moderate businesses. Yet, other endeavors stop at being mere survival strategies, and do not allow for the mobility over class lines in communities.

As noted earlier, savings and credit schemes at rural levels are instrumental in creating structural changes in banking systems. The overall participation in a program – as elected office bearers in societies, as savers, as loan-takers, as re-payers, as skilled producers, as businesswomen and income-earners serve to empower women due to a renewed sense of self worth and confidence. The image and status of these women are revitalized, and serve to strengthen their position in interactions with the power-holders in their communities. However, Peiris (1997:56-57) sounds a warning note:

Then there is the relationship with State and Bank officials, many of whom are used to treat(*ing*) poor, illiterate people with bureaucratic disdain or benevolent sympathy. When the poor gains strength and are able to speak their minds intelligently and argue logically, pointing out the shortcomings of the bureaucracy, many of these bureaucrats feel out of their depth and hence threatened. First they become defensive, then they feel offended and finally get angry and in extreme cases even abusive. In these circumstances, the people - who are considered ignorant by the bureaucrats - have to act and talk with care. If they take any false steps, they may endanger their own chance of obtaining services which should rightfully be theirs as

citizens, since these services are made available through machinery in which the power lies with these bureaucrats.

Micro-enterprise

Invisible to official statistics which are yet to recognize home-based women workers, a majority of women in Sri Lanka engage in various types of economic exertion from within or around the household - in addition to the travail of reproductive labour that is expected of them. This is due to the fact that because women are unable to find employment in the modern sector, they are compelled to more or less create their own jobs. Many NGOs are influenced by this recognition that women contribute silently to economic production, and thus, design programs to exploit and reinforce the potential available in homebound economic activity. Micro-enterprise – usually home-based, is considered a viable income-generating activity to empower women financially whilst going about their reproductive activities.

There are four kinds of micro-enterprise in Sri Lanka as identified by Samarasinge (1993:33): agricultural, agro-based, service or manufacturing. Micro-enterprises of the selected case studies range from banana cultivation to jewelry manufacture, and from the production of preserved fruits to poultry keeping.

As noted earlier, women's NGOs that advocate micro-enterprise, also promote localized revolving funds as the nucleus of their programs. Additional inputs - agricultural training, occupational skills, technical assistance, entrepreneurship development, information on marketing and distribution, economic and legal literacy, accounting, advertising, gender and women's concerns and other forms of supportive education are also provided as part of the programs. These types of collaborative supports are evident in varying degrees in WID2, WID3 and GAD5.

The success of WID2 is attributed by the implementing NGO to the fact that the program encompasses women who are already grounded in micro-industries. Therefore, WID2 is able to upgrade the existent industries through superior management skills and other training so as to enable the target groups to interact favorably with local and regional markets. The component of consciousness-raising on women's issues confers an ideological support to the program of economic empowerment.

Generally, funding for each individual micro-enterprise is modest; and is based on the rationale of the maximum targeting of individual enterprises by the implementing program. The cautious maxim of 'starting small' is adopted. The inputs granted by the catalyst program are practical and focused; and in the words of Peiris'(1997:45), serve to "…actively transform what is traditionally a buyer's market into a seller's market".

Peiris illustrates this with an experience connected to coir-yarn workers in the Southern coast of Sri Lanka (*ibid*.39).

The women had a rough method of calculation of profit. They felt that if by selling yarn they earned twice as much as they spent on buying fiber, their profit was substantial. However, they could not assess which method of selling was most profitable to them because the trader used the cunning technique of pricing yarn in different units such

as kilos, skeins, bundles etc. which were beyond the comparing capacities of these almost illiterate women. Through group discussion they learnt to consider the cost of fiber by weight as well as time taken to make each variety of yarn and thereby compare the profits.

Yet, there are serious deficiencies in the capacity of these women's micro-enterprise to enter modern mainstream markets. This is due to the sophistication of larger market needs and demands; and the constant competition with diverse foreign-made goods readily available particularly in urban markets; as well as the quality in standards that need to be adhered to; along with the large quantities required. The increasing subtlety and composite nature of advertising, and the capital required for extensive marketing are other factors that serve to keep micro-enterprises away from mainstream markets. Thus, the necessity to upgrade home-based micro-enterprise from a mere survival strategy into a high-profit generating activity of consequence needs to be explored by most programs. This is particularly in view of the evidence that 80 to 90 per cent of income earned by women in micro-enterprises is spent on household food purchases (Kottegoda: 1991 cited in Samarasinghe: 1993:35).

On the whole, a majority of women's micro-enterprises as envisioned within the Sri Lankan NGO context, are homebound and funded with low capital. They might utilize additional family labour and conform to *ad hoc* working hours. However, they form a vital intervention which is both a development mechanism to provide a means of income for the disadvantaged, as well as a viable entry point which can be utilized to motivate women towards a process of overall 'empowerment' as individuals. However, despite the fact that many micro-enterprise programs contained a consciousness-raising angle on women's issues, the primary focus has remained on the maximization of women's economic capacity.

In this sense, micro-enterprise as a vocation remains a bolstered version of the work that disadvantaged women already engage in - throughout their lives. Though providing women with a framework for such activities; as well as borderline to moderate incomes, this kind of WID intervention is inadequate for broad-scale social and gender transformation. If the empowerment potential in the basic structure of micro-enterprise is to be fulfilled, more expansive program visuals and corresponding funds are necessary than is in current evidence.

Group Mobilization

Group mobilization is the methodology employed by many development programs, especially at rural level. A widely accepted structure for interaction with target groups, women's NGOs utilize this means in promoting programs involving skill training, income generation, and the provision of infrastructure and services at grassroots. The implementing NGOs of case studies WID2, WID3, and GAD5 apply this mode of contact in their various programs.

Group mobilization is the chief grounding for WID driven credit and savings societies, where women are either directly or obliquely motivated to assemble themselves into women's societies, or groups. The implementing NGO's ratio of involvement is dependent on overall organizational approach of either explicit intervention or discrete support.

This methodology of collective focus is useful in terms of its simultaneous reach and the power potential inherent in united groups - as opposed to individuals. In practice, however, there is a risk that individual needs might be subsumed to the greater concerns of the collective. This is particularly evident in the *modus operandi* of forming societies according to a formula where the aggregation of groups at village level becomes the primary objective of the implementing NGO. Consequently, programs might indiscriminately expand into new geographical locations, assisted with the promise of material assistance to target groups as a means of satisfying donors and enhancing the image of the implementing NGO.

Peiris (1993:9) observes that:

Large organizations - be they State controlled or non-governmental - have a tendency to pursue membership drives in order that their visibility and thereby their popularity can be shown to be increasing regularly and rapidly. Hence, they are tempted to start new units or 'cells' even when the demand for a unit has not come from the community itself.

However, WID3 records an instance where the implementing NGO faced donor pressure and criticism due to the organization's decision not to expand its program of group formation. This is on account of the fact that WID3 is extremely sensitive to individual emotional needs, as well as to other needs of target women and as such, mobilization is conceived of as a careful and slow process. This program strives to give equal import to the individual as well as the collective.

Peiris' work *Weaving a Future Together* (1997) describes a similar experience of a slow and meticulous process of group mobilization, where the role of the implementing NGO is more catalytic than controlling. Here, the need to strengthen relationships amongst women within societies becomes vital in a context where disadvantaged women's opinions are rarely considered or even listened to in daily interactions. Relationships need to be "cordial but also open, even to the point of being confrontational when there was need to stabilize one's own standpoint and speak from a position of strength" (*ibid*: 56).

This notion of individual self-confidence is presented as essential to the overall process of 'empowerment' of women according to the following conceptualization by Peiris. Further, Peiris cites Frenandes' and Tandon's (1981) identification of the key features of participation (and empowerment): as involving the sharing of power and scarce resources; the deliberate efforts by social groups to control their own destinies and improve their living conditions; and the opening of opportunities from below (Pieris: 1997:70).

As evinced by the relevant case studies, these features can vary greatly according to the ideological background of the NGO and the institutional techniques adopted in each mobilization endeavor. Thus, the concept of 'empowerment' differs in relation to incomes, time-periods, individual women, and group awareness as well as the ideologies advocated by each program. For example, there are instances when key reasons for mobilization are solely material.

Peiris (1993:10) refers to a national NGO, which required the formation of a group in order to grant assistance to build a road to the village. However, once the road was built the villagers (except for those who held office in the society) did not see the necessity to sustain the mobilization; thus, another activity had to be initiated to revitalize interest in the society.

Consequently, Peiris (*ibid*: 11) argues that the motivation for collectives must necessarily emanate from the people themselves, and that the only role of a program is to galvanize the realization about the profits of such mobilization.

The only group that had a different origin was Group 2, which was initially started as a part of an experiment and was never intended to become a traditional society. The urgent need was to strengthen people's collective capacities and bargaining powers in order to work together to further their common interests. In this case, as all members were women, it was felt that they could function better in a number of small informal units to be later strung loosely together in a network collective. The realization by the members of their common problem, that is the oppression they suffered, was considered a necessary precondition that would automatically draw them together to plan collective action. Hence, it was after much individual discussion with a facilitator knowledgeable about their situation that they comprehended their common need to come together…(*ibid*.).

As referred to earlier, development programs conceive of group mobilization as an organizational framework for economic empowerment. WID2 and GAD5 tend to accentuate the economic gains of such mobilization. On the other hand, WID3 stresses a more comprehensive, holistic form of empowerment via personal and collective mobilization. The implementing NGOs of WID1 and GAD4 are organizations that give leadership to networking and mobilization efforts on a larger scale for more activist reasons.

It is important to maintain a balance of the practical advantages and ideological motives of group mobilization. Very often, organizations and target groups get lost in the material gain associated with mobilization programs. Conversely, there are instances when NGOs are unable 'to deliver' or direct target groups towards the expectations evoked by a mobilization program. WID3 illustrates one occasion where group mobilization into a village society became the only outcome of an intervention. This can test a program to a great extent, as it becomes very laborious to maintain the interest and commitment of participating women when there are no tangible profits. Participation becomes not the means to an end but the end in itself. While this approach might be taken to indicate the 'success' of a program from an NGO compass, the practical needs of women must be respected, as economic empowerment is a crucial component in combating women's subordination.

At the same time, relationships with the larger environment in which women exist and work in, are equally if not more important, in the context of the empowerment and autonomy of women's groups. Peiris (1997:57) observes that women have to gradually change themselves and their surroundings. This kind of subtle and artful attempts at social transformation is also adopted by case study WID3 in its attempt at group mobilization, indicating the attendant realities amidst which programs are implemented; and the scope of the capacities and strategies for social transformation inherent in target groups themselves.

Does collective unity lead to empowerment? This book does not focus on the results of these development interventions; neither does it evaluate the successes and failures of individual programs. Yet, the factors that can impede the process of empowerment need to be examined briefly.

These are reliant on the on a number of forces. The underlying group dynamics of collective action is crucial in this context. Forces and loyalties within villages that are based on existing power structures; such as political affiliations, age, caste, kinship, status, ownership of land or economic class can override the solidarity and even harmony founded on sex and gender. Privileged women in the groups can take up leadership positions within the collectives as their inalienable right and serve to perpetuate the existing status quo (Pieris: 1993:7). Facilitators (of NGOs) who gain entry into this scenario can therefore be deigned as crucial, owing to their understanding of and attitude towards the roles that they are expected to play in a mobilization process (Wickramasinghe: 1994:10). Virtually all programs record instances where the direction of a program itself can be influenced (negatively and positively) due to a particular mental make-up and personality of a facilitator.

Educational Interventions

Educational interventions by NGOs are conceptualized both as primary program objectives and as supplementary supports to programs. Practical knowledge on how to negotiate with banks, the police, village-level bureaucrats, and middlemen; on legal rights, administrative procedures, women's rights, primary healthcare; as well as skill / entrepreneurship / banking training form the nucleus of most educational interventions. The topics are related to lifestyles and daily interactions; and control over these socioeconomic activities is taken to be a form of empowerment. Thus, educational seminars, training courses, workshops that transfer these basic skills are formulated to contribute towards the better standard of living of target groups - either through direct exercise of the skills / information imbued, or through indirect application in daily lives.

WID1 consists of an example where the original program was conceived in terms of health training for the community. Alongside the construction of toilets, this training is an entry point to the community. The main objective of the program was to "increase knowledge, practices and attitudes of villagers towards improved health conditions" (WID1). Consequently, apart from basic health education, training topics included knowledge on nutrition, care of handicapped children, immunization, childhood diseases and accidents; as well as the identification and prevention of common heath problems and diseases. Large numbers of volunteer health workers from surrounding communities were also given training so as to 'uplift health conditions at village level' (WID1).

Later on, this health training intervention which formed the buttress of the NGO, developed in assorted directions in response to the needs of target groups discerned during the training interaction. These include additional training programs on legal literacy, women's issues and communication. It also led to the formation of a community health committee, a nutrition / home garden project, a home-nurse-training program and a community-based rehabilitation program. From a gender perspective, these programs target both men and women and to that extent, it reflects a dispelling of gender-based stereotypes of women as health service providers and basic 'carers' of families and communities. The additional input focussing on legal literacy and women's issues serve to raise consciousness within the scope of the program and the target community.

In contrast, GAD6 is more structured due to its strong organizational base. This program provides vocational training in many technical fields for male and female students. Due to gender mainstreaming of the implementing NGO, non-traditional vocational training is available to women trainees. This is because the market demand for services traditionally provided by women (or what are 'gendered' as women's vocations), such as food processing, dress making, beauty culture or hairdressing had declined due to market saturation of these vocations. Consequently, the program embraces a range of training courses - motor mechanics, carpentry, leather work, refrigeration, 3-D photography, metal work, and printing for men and women trainees. In accordance with the GAD organizational / program goals, the program incorporates gender sensitization training for multiple targets (from trainees to the community).

Case studies WID2, WID3 and GAD5 also contain similar educational inputs. As noted earlier WID2 and GAD5 have comparable objectives of savings and credit collectives leading to micro-enterprises and as such, the auxiliary educational components are largely incorporated to strengthen the principal program. Virtually all-educational interventions studied are seen to educate target groups on either women's concerns or gender sensitization elements alongside other forms of formal training. However, it is very rarely that either gender analysis or women's issues are integrated into the other topics on offer. As such, there is a general perception of women's / gender issues as an unrelated 'subject'.

WID3 however, uses a less structured format in the implementation of its educational program amongst target women's collectives. The educational program itself has fairly informal contents ranging into literacy, numeracy, legal rights, mobilization and organizational techniques, economic education, health and legal literacy and so on. Due to the economic, social and psychological supports offered by WID3, there is informal and intimate interaction between the implementing NGO and target groups, which can result in the overall educational angles of the program being incorporated into the practicalities of this interaction.

Women's Conscientization Programs
Consciousness-raising on women's rights and other concerns is seen as a prerequisite for the empowerment of women. As such, large numbers of women's groups and women's NGOs conduct consciousness-raising programs on 'women's issues'. These usually form separate attachments to orthodox WID programs of skill training, income generation, community education initiatives, and infrastructure interventions as noted earlier.

Techniques of consciousness-raising take the form of workshops, informal collective discussions, one-to-one dialogues and newspapers. However, as noted by Gender Trainer W (personal interview), the impact of each method is in direct proportion to-

The degree of commitment to a feminist perspective, the repertoire of women's concerns that can realistically be addressed; and the capacity in relation to the methodology and personality of the program officers to empathize with the participants.

Consciousness-raising can be conducted firstly as needs based, largely autonomous, self-motivated, grassroots process over a period of time; where facilitation is minimal. However, this needs to be carefully thought out and integrated securely into the program that is being implemented. A concise formula version of consciousness-raising centered on a more generalized focus on women's concerns, (more akin to the later gender sensitization programs), is useful in reaching bigger target groups and in providing a preliminary sense of awareness about women's subordination.

With the entry of GAD into the development mainstream, conscientization centering on women's issues are rapidly being seasoned by gender paradigms. GAD4 is currently classified as a program which implements both gender sensitization trainings as well as consciousness-raising programs. In fact, some of its sessions blend statistical and factual components of women's issues with the conceptual methodologies of the gender approach. The substance, tone and incline of programs depend on target groups, which can be limited to women, or cover both men and women.

The program originally started as a consciousness-raising effort targeting groups of women. At this point, the span of the program constituted of the following topics: women's legal rights - as civilians, within the family, and in relation to her ethnic community; gender specific forms of violence against women; health and reproductive concerns of women; women's economic contributions and the fundamental division of labour relating to women; women's time allocations; women's rights to education and training; and women's accessibility to decision making and political participation.

Discussions on other practical, psychological and social problems such as those related to low-income settlements, drug abuse; environmental concerns such as garbage disposal and the inaccessibility to essential services also featured in these programs as and when raised by target organizations and communities. Thus feminist and general educational objectives were merged in the preliminary programs of GAD4; before it moved on to incorporate GAD concepts and methods into this consciousness-raising process; and before it broadened its targets to include men. The reasons for this shift are both ideological and needs based (see Gender Sensitization and Gender Training).

WID2 conducts consciousness-raising programs as supplements to the major focus of the integrated program that encompass a spectrum of activities including micro-credit, skill training, literacy and micro-enterprise. The program also publishes a biweekly women's paper (on a more informal tone), which is distributed amongst the target community. The newspaper acts as the 'voice for/of rural women' and focuses on a range of women-specific and other issues; and blends a feminist consciousness with a more conventional outlook on women.

A major implementational problem in programs of consciousness-raising (and gender sensitization) is associated with their exclusive gender-specific or women-specific focus, which tends to isolate women and gender from other oppressive forces. While this is obviously related to the ideological vantage of each trainer, a number of conscientizing and sensitizing programs demarcate their concerns to women and gender within a rights framework. As argued in Part One, other extremely relevant

cross-cutting themes of class, race, cultural practices, are not always affiliated to the women or gender equations in these programs.

To illustrate this, Gender Trainer H (personal interview) makes the point that certain conscientization programs within the Free Trade Zone are confined purely to 'women's concerns'; and as such, are divorced from such issues as labour and capital which affect factory workers' who are generally vulnerable to multiple layers of oppression. Thus, conscientizing programs are at risk of operating at the level of abstraction. This is depicted in the educational supplements of WID2 and GAD5 where women's consciousness-raising elements are imparted alongside other 'knowledge'. However, as noted earlier, these initiatives compartmentalize issues relating to gender and women. Consequently, the 'degree of conscientization' achieved can become limited to the classroom.

The case study WID3 provides an exception in its manner of incorporating consciousness-raising into a program of group mobilization. Group cohesion and autonomy is stressed by the implementing NGO, which acts as a catalyst for the process of consciousness-raising. The primary goal of the program is the fortification of these groups to an extent that they will be motivated to empower themselves economically and emotionally. Consequently, consciousness-raising figures as a crucial feature in the program, and begins within the societies with the initiatory input of the NGO. Though activated by the implementing agency, the process is effected not necessarily in a classroom sense, but rather as an act of collective discussion and collective reflection arising from the discussion of the women's day to day, specific problems in relation to their incomes, their families and communities. The other complimentary input into the program is via a one-to-one, more individualistic approach that addresses the emotional needs of participant women. Here too, there are elements of consciousness-raising and psychological support - at a more intimate and unorthodox level. This combination of collective reflection and external consciousness-raising is an important contributor to the overall empowerment process as conceptualized by this implementing NGO. Peiris (1997:37) highlights a similar experience with regard to consciousness-raising among women's collectives.

Poor women do not think it important to spend time or energy if they are called only to be 'conscientized' by those who know. They will come together only if they see the meeting as one leading to a solution for their urgent problem, i.e. earning a few extra rupees to feed their families. From the beginning, therefore, they felt that they had gathered for a specific purpose, which was to look for collective solutions to their financial problem. We felt that, by not contrasting the two needs of income generation and awareness creation, we could seize the opportunity to creatively use their need of the former to achieve the latter. In order to help raise awareness, the facilitator joined every group discussion, not to give orders or find solutions, but only to ask probing questions to lead the women to think.

These two examples promote a more dynamic and hands-on attempt at consciousness-raising; which takes place over a period of time, perhaps with the long-term presence of a facilitator or coordinator. The ultimate goal of this vision is an all-round process of empowerment.

Conscientization about women's concerns signifies a different activity and a different approach to each women's NGO. The boundaries of the term are fluid within women's programs, as its meaning can relate to feminism and protest activities; women's rights; or merely educational and literacy programs; women's practical interests; or gender concerns. At best it can be a combination of the entire sum and substance. Yet, it will only provide a circumscribed visual if it is not linked to the 'realities' of women's lives.

Gender Sensitization / Gender Training

With the concept of gender sensitization earning currency in the Sri Lankan development context, many NGOs are energized towards the incorporation of a component of gender in their programs customarily in the mien of gender sensitization. Naturally, the style, content and methods of gender sensitization programs differ according to a number of factors. The element of gender awareness already extant within the NGO (within the internal staff), the skill of gender trainers as well as the degree of priority placed on gender training within the organization, impact on gender sensitization at individual and structural levels. At the same time, the key incentive for gender sensitization is equally relevant. There are several motivations for gender sensitization of institutions: these include donor conditions, as subscription to the latest developmental trends and notions of political correctness; as methods of institutional and human resource development. Consequently, there are those organizations that satisfy external conditions and pressures by perhaps performing a single gender-training for their staff. Then there are those organizations that go so far as to formulate their own long-term internal gender training programs for their staff.

Gender training institutions such as GAD4 direct training programs to numerous targets groups. Thus, apart from organizations that formulate their own gender training courses, there are today independent organizations as well as free-lance gender trainers that conduct gender trainings on request.

One of the rudimentary differences between the GAD and WID approaches (as observed in Part I), is the dual involvement of men and women in GAD and a more exclusive targeting of women in WID. While WID offers consciousness-raising for women only, gender training is directed towards men and women both on the rationalization that male / female attitudinal changes are essential for social transformation and gender equity.

As referred to earlier, GAD4 was initially involved in general consciousness raising on women's concerns (such as women's legal rights, issues of violence against women, drug abuse, rights within the family, problems related to living in low-income settlements), amongst various communities and organizations. The program's transition from consciousness-raising to gender training is a result of hands-on experiences at grassroots. For example, one community women's group participating in GAD4's legal rights program requested the NGO to conscientize men in the community about women's rights, and the implications of violence against women. A program officer of GAD4 maintains that this was on the basis that "…men might not be willing to accept this from women in the community but, on the other hand, might be willing to listen at a public forum…" As observed further by the officer:

A woman might as a result of being educated of their legal rights go and make a complaint to the police about domestic violence, but on the way back home itself the

man might take revenge on her for doing that. So in that sense, there can be a backlash, which will not help the women .Yet, if there is general awareness of the issue, it might make a difference…(GAD4).

According to the GAD4 experience, the necessity to address men alongside women, and to do so as a pre-emptive, preventive strategy originates from the target-women themselves. This gives an indication of the realities of the cycles of oppression faced by women in this particular context, where consciousness-raising for women alone is deemed to have limitations. "Men are not conditioned to respect women, and therefore, a structural backing for women's rights is required" (*ibid*.). The NGO's prior exposure to GAD trends assisted in the formulation of the initial gender training programs.

Gender sensitization provides a different focus, a different tone, and a different framework to that of the earlier WID encased consciousness-raising endeavors. Gender is used as a conceptual instrument that alludes to many bearings. Firstly, it marks the construction of gender identities, multiple roles and social relations of gender (see Part One). Next, it clarifies the fundamental distinction between sex and gender; signifying the social construction of gender identities, gender roles and responsibilities; and thereby dismantling the 'naturalness' assigned to women's positions in societies. In this process, the concept of gender is able to reveal the transience and flexibility of associated concepts such as culture or women's characteristics or women's work.

In contrast to the WID Empowerment approach of consciousness-raising which de-links women as a gender, and places the blame for women's subordination squarely on men, the gender approach stresses the social construction of gender identities and relations as the cause for unequal gender relations. This dilutes the accountability of men in perpetuating women's subordination. For the Empowerment approach, change in women's powerlessness is conceived both in relation to the individual woman's empowerment, as well as the collective empowerment of women. (See Part One). For the Gender approach, change in unequal gender relations is conceived of in collaboration with other men and women, accompanied by social and structural backing.

The precise content of a gender training program requires careful consideration. Gender Trainer W (personal interview) maintains that program constitution varies in relation to target groups. The explication of the concept of gender; the identification of strategic and practical gender needs; and related issues leading to gender analysis form the broad skeleton of a routine gender training. Apart from this, components such as training on gender-based needs analysis, gender policy planning, and gender mainstreaming are included particularly in gender training sessions for developmental planners and implementers. Gender in relation to different fields such as education, housing, employment and so on are contemplated in longer, more comprehensive training programs involving participants from specific professions. In this context, GAD4 adopts a flexible methodology in its gender training programs through the utilization of an array of gender training tools and techniques to accommodate the varying requirements of its distinct target groups.

Gender trainings are pitched as appeals for gender equality or equity, social justice and individual fairness based on liberal principles of equality, justice, unity, fraternity and democracy. "People don't like to be identified as unfair" observes a Gender Trainer of GAD4. The ostensibly 'noble' connotations of GAD principles allow for its social acceptance more readily, in comparison to WID linkages to women's subordination and women's rights frameworks. The potency of patriarchal conditioning in societies is reflected here; as the antipathy of some men and women towards feminist ideologies originates in the perception of women's rights as extremist (or as 'western'); while the gender framework is not as severely critiqued. Thus Gender Trainer W (personal interview) finds GAD a more strategic approach to lead up to feminist concerns.

Thus, after establishing the framework of gender, GAD4 introduces women's issues to gender sensitization programs. This is effected subsequent to the participants being made comfortable with notions of social and gender justice and, after a particular psychological mood receptive towards problems of women's subordination has been established. "This strategy can subdue negative impressions with regard to feminism" (GAD4).

The exact approach, content and methodology utilized in gender trainings can either stifle the training into a textbook rendition prescribed by internationally accepted gender formulas and modules, or bloom into a contextually-located pertinent interpretation that can also incorporate women's insights within it. In addition to the envisioning of the inequalities of gender in the household, at work, and in communities; gender training can also narrow the focus on to specific forms of women's subordination. For example, Gender Trainer W (personal interview) comments that the location of tangible forms of women's oppression like domestic violence in gender relations can provide a more acceptable account of women's subordination (to both women and men), than one that situates women's oppression in patriarchy.

Internal gender trainings effected by GAD6 for its staff and target groups as part of gender mainstreaming within the organization adopts a more traditional approach to gender. In this program, there is no evidence of a feminist perspective. The reason for this might be due to the integration of gender within the organization / program as a result of Head office institutional policy, in turn driven by donor policy.

Gender trainers apply a gamut of gender tools and techniques to create consciousness about the implications of gender. These might include time-allocations exercises, case studies and web case studies, videos, classroom dialogues as well as other workshop methodologies, so as to create an informal atmosphere which is conducive to the participation of all concerned.

The gender trainer has the immense responsibility of awakening gender consciousness, and in the forging of gender sensitivity in individuals. Without a personal engagement with gender, without a deep conviction with regard to gender equality and without the associated commitment towards the gender program, a trainer can reduce gender training to a simple classroom exercise. In one instance, a masonry instructor who was also trained as a gender trainer by GAD6 continued to

use stereotypical and discriminatory material as well as verbal examples in the classroom despite being conscious of the implications of gender.

Gender Trainer W (personal interview) recognizes that a gender trainer is greatly different to other skill trainers. Unlike a trainer who trains students in a specific subject and thus requires knowledge only of that particular subject, it is necessary for a gender trainer to have a vast knowledge bank in all areas. "The readiness to respond to any question is a key feature" observes Gender Trainer W (*ibid*.). Thus, apart from the discipline of gender, a trainer has to be familiar with a number of subjects, especially with history / cultural studies so as to combat cultural and other gender discriminatory ideologies.

Gender Trainer W (*ibid*.) goes on to comment that the function of a gender trainer is not to give solutions but to motivate rethinking and reanalysis of gender relations. In this context, "a gender trainer is an activist and a social engineer who can initiate social transformation" (*ibid*.). The importance of the trainer's ability to empathize with participants is crucial to the awakening of gender consciousness. Clearly, this requires a certain amount of strategizing on the part of the trainer who might be compelled to instantaneously revise material in response to the target group's ideological stands and evolving situations of the training process. The ideological and cultural situation of particular target groups requires correlating methods. Gender trainer W provides an example of "…a silver-haired lady who worshipped her husband, and asked for his permission to attend the gender training. This set the tone and method for the training exercise" (*ibid*.). GAD4 records an instance of a gender training conducted as a dialogue between gender trainers and participants at an employers' forum.

The selection and involvement of the target group is an indispensable criterion that affects the success of a gender-training. This is reliant on whether only women representatives of organizations attend gender trainings, or whether, only leaders of the organizations / communities participate or, on the contrary, whether organizational representatives sans institutional clout are sent for a training.

As gender has a tendency to be equated with women, men from various organizations prefer to send their women counterparts for gender training. This is not conducive to structural change (GAD4).

The above quoted employers gender training was entitled "Towards Better Efficiency - Towards Better Productivity", so as to solicit male participation. In addition, the program utilized the profit argument or rather, rationale, which stresses the importance of gender sensitivity for overall institutional efficiency. Gender Trainer W (personal interview) contends that in cases where there is animosity towards gender, training programs are promoted as 'women's awareness programs' or in some cases labeled as 'institutional development workshops' or 'management-enhancement trainings', that are normally associated with overall organizational efficiency and human resource development. This is a strategy utilized by organizations promoting gender sensitization to 'slip gender in' to the training agenda.

This form of resistance to gender is an invariable trait found amongst participants in many training programs. In fact, within the enclosures of gender-trainings, resistance to the rectification of gender inequality is able to manifest itself very visibly and articulately. This is apparent both in the dissenting presence of individuals as well as in the absence of institutional management. Gender Trainer W (personal interview) gives an account of how a particular target group of grassroots government and semi-governmental organizations were highly resentful of a particular gender trainer, which resulted in the skepticism of participants with regards the gender approach and the data compiled for the program. This led to a revision of strategies and a conciliatory

personal approach being adopted on the part of other gender trainers in order to achieve their long-term objectives of gender mainstreaming.

Yet, participant resistance can also be taken positively as according to Gender Trainer W (*ibid*.) "concepts and issues become clarified in the process of dialogue and also, it gives the gender trainer an opportunity to thrash things out".

Despite the popularity of gender training as a development tool (if not necessarily a paradigm) within the development circuit, some instances of resistance to gender training can issue from NGOs themselves. Certain NGOs are hostile to the overall concept of gender, while others disclose an incompatibility with the change in focus from women's concerns to gender relations. Gender Consultant H (personal interview) discloses an instance of the adverse reaction of institutional management to a gender cum consciousness-raising program due to its perceived linkage with women's subordination and the leftist movement.

The other side of the coin consists of the adoption of GAD to keep up with developmental trends. NGO programs administer gender training for women-only programs as part of 'an empowerment process'. These are generally extensions of women's consciousness-raising efforts that are packaged as gender training. In this context, gender training becomes equated with women's consciousness-raising under the 'gender' tag.

Gender training is an integral part of gender mainstreaming. GAD6 is an example of an organizational commitment to the gender mainstreaming of an existent project at both institutional and project levels. This led to the introduction of an internal gender-training program. The cover of this gender sensitization program is extensive, including administrative and field staff, organizational partners, target students and parents, as well as potential employers and the general public. In fact the nature of the project makes it essential that not only managers and decision-makers but also operational staff and field staff require adequate sensitization.

The quality and uniformity of gender training experienced by different groups cannot be assured. As noted earlier, there are instances in GAD6 where vocational trainers are educated with the concepts of gender roles and relations and subsequently expected to perform gender trainings for their students. The trainers' own disposition towards the gender roles and relations in their lives can come into conflict with the kind of attitudinal change that was being prompted by the gender training. Consequently, 'gender can be taught as a subject sans relevance or applicability outside the classroom' (Gender Consultant M).

Measuring gender sensitivity is a key issue. Whether it is confined solely to attitudinal changes or into transformative action? If limited to the personal consciousness of individuals, will gender sensitization invariably result in individual action? If it envelops institutional changes, then, to what extent is gender sensitization able to promote social transformation? Efforts at analyzing and evaluating the success of training programs are ambiguous.

The book reveals that gender training is either a horizontal one-way movement at present, originating from external sources into the cognizance of individuals within institutions: or a top-down movement emanating from internal institutional policies as

an organizational mechanism. In certain instances, gender training is seen to transcend its institutional boundaries in an inside-outside movement to reach particular communities and the general public. Nonetheless, there are levels and limits to which gender sensitization programs can penetrate among a target group. As such, whether gender sensitization assures corespondent individual or institutional action beyond a doubt remains a question.

Gender Mainstreaming

There are gradations of gender mainstreaming practiced in NGOs and development programs in Sri Lanka. Branches of international aid and development agencies are at the forefront of gender mainstreaming as a consequence of institutional directives from Head Offices. Local NGOs and their programs exhibit varying degrees of gender mainstreaming; there are those that merely comply with gender training, and there are those that adopt gender sensitive policies. Then, there are those that institutionalize a few gender sensitive organizational mechanisms; and there are those that go in for full-scale gender mainstreaming of all aspects of the organization and programs.

GAD6 provides a good example of an overall attempt at the integration of Gender and Development into an existing organization / program. Gender mainstreaming of this NGO / program is provoked by institutional policy formulated by the Head Office of the NGO. The program understands gender mainstreaming to be a continuous process of mainstreaming gender concerns within its policies and practices, which involves multiple strategies of gender sensitization and gender institutionalization. In the first instance, GAD6 ignites a process of transformation at the ideological level by boosting gender sensitivity of organizational staff and other personnel connected to the program via formal gender training and via consciousness-raising on a personal plane. Meanwhile, gender equitable ideology is translated into an overall gender policy framework, which outlines policy directions for the institution; and concrete institutional machinery designed to contest gender inequalities and encourage gender sensitive and equitable practices.

Gender mainstreaming measures include the establishment of a GAD unit and the creation of the position of GAD coordinator; the setting up of institutional practices such as gender analysis; the compilation of gender disaggregated data; and the incorporation of a gender perspective into all institutional activities. Efforts also involve the official promotion of an environment altogether favorable to the participation of women.

In comparison, GAD5 is viewed as an example where the subscription to GAD figures mainly as the institutionalization of a gender policy in concordance with a program policy on poverty. In its conceptualization and implementation, gender is a peripheral concern while the leading interest is poverty. As such, the gender policy does not manifest itself into definitive organizational practices. The reasons for this can be traced to the donor driven adoption of the gender policy in the first instance, the lack of gender sensitivity in program administrators, and the ideological conflict between GAD and organizational / program objectives that preclude the re-envisioning of program from a gender perspective.

As noted earlier, GAD4 is an NGO / program that has its roots in a WID framework. The current program incorporates GAD in its gender sensitization cum

consciousness-raising programs. The implementing NGO GAD4 espouses a gender perspective in some elements of research, and lobbying activities. The subscription to GAD in certain segments of program activity is an educated decision; even a strategic move, to transmit the organization's dual messages of gender equity and empowerment of women.

The common objective of GAD and WID is women's participation. Where GAD differs from WID, is in its efforts to promote women's participation on equal terms as men, as opposed to WID encouragement of women into segregated development projects. Of the three GAD case studies, two GAD programs take special measures to ensure the equal participation of women and men in their programs (case study GAD4 is an exception to this). In fact, GAD5 and GAD6 are illustrations of programs whose GAD policy initiative is bent towards the furtherance of women's participation.

However, gender sensitization of institutions and target groups is at the core of GAD approaches in all NGOs / programs. GAD4, GAD5 and GAD6 all reflect attempts at gender trainings. GAD6 has a specific goal in gender sensitization – to dismantle gender stereotypes with regard to male and female vocations while GAD4 offers a range of gender sensitization– from general awareness to target-specific trainings.

The reconstruction of gender roles and relations attempted by GAD expresses itself in peoples' attitudes within institutional / program structures. The transformation of stereotypical 'gendered' vocations undertaken by GAD6 sees the entry of women into male-stereotyped vocations. However, the reverse action of training men in vocations assigned to women, is minimal (this is attributed to the saturated demand for services generally provided by women in the target areas). This case study is an instance where the GAD approach is custom-made to be compatible with the combined needs of target groups, implementing institutions and the specific developmental project.

As noted earlier, the motivations for mainstreaming gender are diverse. Moreover, there appears to be some confusion within NGOs as to the exact meaning of the concept and practices of GAD (Gender Consultant M: personal interview). In certain programs, gender is a linguistic replacement for the term WID. Gender consultants who assist in drafting of gender policies for NGOs (especially those that are motivated by funding conditions) come across resistance towards the overall ideological signification of gender and related practices. Such NGOs prefer to adhere to institutional objectives such as the economic empowerment of women under the label of GAD (*ibid*.).

Thus, donor driven subscription to GAD can end in the paralysis of the GAD initiative in programs, as the overall gender equitable ideology of GAD can be in contradiction with organizational visions as in the case of GAD5. Another example referred to by Gender Consultant H (personal interview) relates to a GAD attempt to integrate women into a water supply and maintenance community project. However, the target group was confined to women - who were addressed only within the circumference of the project in terms of how they related to water supply and maintenance. Women's lives above and beyond the program were not taken into account. Class, race, and labour relations that were crucial to the project context were not addressed (*ibid*.). Consequently, the 'mainstreaming' of GAD did not engage with wider societal or gender imbalances.

As observed further by GAD Consultant M (personal interview):

Without the re-conceptualization of the entire institutional vision at the point of integrating gender; and without incorporating gender from an integral and consistent stand into each and every aspect of the organization and program, gender mainstreaming can become redundant.

Gender mainstreaming is undertaken by NGOs as means of enhancing institutional professionalism, as well as inputs towards maximizing on efficiency, human resource and organizational development. As noted earlier, GAD5 instituted its gender policy in combination with poverty. This linkage however, is more from a WID perspective, as evinced by the GAD5 policy, which prioritizes poverty over gender.

Thus, gender institutionalization and mainstreaming is not always attempted from a gender-specific ideological vantage or commitment. Some organizations develop NGO visions that consist of integrated goals. For example, NGO policy can emphasize crosscutting themes of gender, environment, livelihoods and sustainability (Gender Consultant W: personal interview). Then, there are organizations that connect gender with peace initiatives or poverty alleviation goals. These policy unions have paradoxical effects. One the one hand, they detract from the political project of GAD and might subsume gender goals amongst other policy directives. On the other hand, they serve to institutionalize gender on uniform terms with other organizational accents, and thereby serve to further mainstream the concept.

The GAD discipline generates its own melange of gender experts. Gender consultants are uniquely situated to inaugurate changes in institutional structures. Gender Consultant W (*ibid.*) stresses the importance of a dialogue between a gender consultant and an organization, as well as the adoption of a participatory approach in gender policy planning. She goes on to observe:

The NGO input must be there in the formulation of gender policy and planning thereafter. The organization should feel that they own the policy. Otherwise the policy will be different in practice (*ibid*).

Only cohesive interaction between the NGO and the gender consultant (perhaps taking a significant amount of time) can lead to effective gender mainstreaming (*ibid.*). In this context the external gender consultant plays a catalytic role within institutional structures. In some instances, the onus is on the consultant to make a relevant case for the extent of gender mainstreaming within an organization.

At the same time, gender planing also needs to incorporate an element of strategy in relation to the enforcement of action plans. For instance, GAD6 strives to make gender mainstreaming clearly visible by actively ensuring that there are both male and female course vocational-training instructors and demonstrators in classrooms.

Gender mainstreaming consists of a large number of integrated organizational practices as noted in Part One. GAD6 conducts gender-based needs assessments among target trainees. It also performs gender-specific baseline surveys in directing allowances to trainees. The location, timing, content, and reach of vocational-training programs take into account gender concerns (as far as possible) even though technicalities in implementation might divert from these objectives. However, target-

trainee input into other areas of planning is not in evidence due to the type of program and the continual flow of trainees. Institutionally, gender awareness permeates the planning and budgeting for gender concerns in most organizational sectors: such as on-going staff / participant/ partner/ community training in gender consciousness; provision for gender experts; collection of gender disaggregated data; gender-aware reporting and monitoring systems, gender audits; and participatory evaluations / impact assessments.

This program consciously ensures that gender is reflected in all phases of the project cycle. Correspondent institutional mechanisms such as a GAD unit and coordinator are positioned to ensure gender accountability. In addition, appraisals are conducted to verify that the project is of relevance to target groups, and in conformity with the overall gender objectives of the institution.

The creation of institutional / external conditions conducive to the realization of gender equity is crucial for the success of GAD programs. The precise gender mechanisms amenable to individual NGOs / programs need to be carefully thought out to cover all contingencies associated with organizational structures and program implementation. GAD units or cells as well as GAD coordinators are specific institutional mechanisms contrived to provide inputs into gender mainstreaming. The positioning of the GAD unit within the institution, the power invested in it and the organizational support provided for it also require careful consideration. For example, if a GAD unit is installed and given the sole responsibility of gender training without institutional backing, there is a risk that the unit can become marginalized within the organization. Similarly, if the GAD unit is located in the head office, it can be perceived as a top-down reflection of management. On the other hand, if the unit is not linked to management and given teeth to operate, it can lack the authority and effectiveness to apply sanctions. The station of Gender Coordinator requires the same consideration in terms of organizational prioritization.

The connectives between gender sensitization and gender mainstreaming were dealt with earlier (see Gender Sensitization Training). However, the question as to whether the consciousness raised by gender training programs progresses from individual cognition to institutional change - in terms of substantiation through gender-aware policies and action; or for that matter, through wholesale gender mainstreaming - remains unanswered.

In fact, it also needs to be explored further whether the prop of institutional gender machinery promotes change within organizations in terms of individual action or whether the whole process is a cosmetic exercise. For example, even when gender sensitive / equalizing institutional mechanisms are in place, individuals can lack the will to utilize these mechanisms. GAD6 records an instance where despite a component on sexual harassment being incorporated in the GAD training, a vocational training instructor sexually harassed a female student. Moreover, the student in question (despite being a recipient of gender training) was not sure of sufficient institutional backing to complain to program authorities.
As established in Part One, the main criticism levied against the GAD approaches is its deadlock in methodology or in this specific context - in organizational policy and practice. GAD5 is an example where gender institutionalization stops at policy and trickles into gender training. Gender mainstreaming in GAD6 is in danger of becoming

restricted to an implementation process. As pointed out by Gender Consultant M (personal interview), "The GAD concept can get caught up in the processes of implementation so that it can become the be all and end all".

To rectify this, GAD proponents conceive of a concept of gender accountability so as to ensure that the changes wrought by gender mainstreaming are consistent, relevant and effective. Mayoux (1998:174) states:

In a more recent formulation, effective accountability has been seen as requiring: firstly, a statement of goals; secondly, transparency of decision-making and relationships; thirdly, honest reporting of what resources are used (probity) and what has been achieved (performance) (*ibid*.).

To achieve this end, NGOs such as GAD4 conduct gender audits in order to gauge the status of the NGO / program in relation to its stated gender objectives. Though gender accountability is another concept that is gaining currency, its actual appliance as conceptualized by Mayoux (*ibid*.) is limited in the cases under study.

The GAD approach is an attempt to 'balance the existing equation' between men and women (Gender Consultant W: personal interview). However, ideological resistance towards gender mainstreaming can be traced to both men and women. One aspect of gender mainstreaming that tends to be overlooked is the fact that the concept is essentially a two-way movement; women are merged into men's provinces while men are incorporated into women's fields. This requires the relinquishment of power on both sides, by men and by women. In addition, this necessitates the procurement of space on both sides for the opposing sexes. On the one hand, men are hostile to surrender of their power to women; on the other hand, women are averse to making space for men in the circumscribed sectors that they occupy. As observed by Gender Consultant W (*ibid*.), 'as much as we want women into male-dominated areas, we do not want men in women-dominated areas'. This is due to the fact that in the current context, women are operating from an unequal position in relation to men. To this extent, there is the inherent danger that the contra-movement conceptualized by GAD (i.e. men merging into women's spaces) can marginalize women within the very areas that they already control. At the same time, there are doubts as articulated by Gender Consultant W (*ibid*.) that "men are not really able to understand women's experiences, nor can they really empathize with women". Yet, this ideological position is one that is risky, as the very same argument can be turned against women to prevent their entry into 'male' arenas.

Support Actions Strengthening WID and GAD Programs
The existing status quo (in terms of the social, political, economic and cultural contexts) within which NGOs and programs function, poses the biggest problem to development initiatives that attempt to initiate change for women, or for that matter, of the status quo itself. The challenges to patriarchy contained within certain Empowerment approaches, or the dormant social transformative components signified by the GAD approach, are severely threatened and scarcely allowed to mature at field levels due to societal and institutional resistances. Village structures within which the five case studies operate, are patriarchal and unequal; sometimes with all social, political and economic powers converging on the local rich and elite who are

extremely zealous in exercising their powers. Debt bondage of women to various local *mudhalalis* and middlemen is quite common as a result of rural women's economic and other forms powerlessness. Public and government officials are also able to exercise a great deal of power in their official and unofficial capacities due to their particular station in rural societies. In addition, both political patronage and political marking are widespread in villages, resulting in the politicization of the simplest of social relations. In many instances, NGOs are compelled to fortify their programs by re-strategizing program activities at field level in order to counter the entrenched hierarchies in the rural scenario. For example, WID3 had to expand its initial target group comprising of widows and women affected by violence, to include other disadvantaged women in its effort to integrate these socially ostracized women into the community.

The stereotyping of poor women as a homogenous bunch that is weak, stupid and subordinate colours perceptions about disadvantaged women. Sometimes, people in positions of power are unwilling recognize the empowerment of these women, or give up their 'social authority' over them. If women dare to antagonize these power groups they are liable to endanger their chances of obtaining credit, services, social assistance, which are crucial to their day to day activities, if not to their very survival (Pieris: 1997:57).

In this context, it has been theorized that WID programs operate in a vacuum, artificially removed from the ideological and material milieu of socio-political hierarchies and attitudinal blinds. However, in action, the WID Empowerment approach as applied in the Sri Lankan context, can be seen to utilize diverse means to prompt structural and ideological reformation. These attempts do not necessarily petition the status quo like GAD, but rather, function parallel to it and tend to defy existing structures of oppression. One such example can be seen in the bolstering action of the NGO implementing WID1. This NGO supports a crisis center for pregnant single-women, sexually abused girls, battered women, and others who are similarly violated. While there was ample antagonism from the community towards the mere sight of single pregnant women living in a commune, their constant exposure to society has served to diminish negative feelings to a large extent.

Enhancing the visibility of women in communities as economic producers, as skilled workers, as single parents, as heads of households, as decision makers, as leaders in communities; as protesters; as powerful, as independent, and empowered is without doubt a crucial aspect of changing patriarchal perceptions. The implementing NGO of WID1 engages in feminist activism at the public level as a form of support for its official programs. For instance, this NGO along with its partners has acted as a high-profile public presence in courts for the past four years. Dressed in white, they support a survivor of gang rape. Their constant visibility signifies their protest and condemnation of this act of male violation to the community.

Both WID and GAD approaches solicit State support as means of consolidating on their aims of social reconstruction and providing legitimacy in implementing programs. Due to previous State familiarity with WID paradigms, most interactions between the State and NGOs at village levels are complementary. Even though the State itself is lax and selective in its promotion of WID, it has extended bureaucratic support to most programs operating at field level. For example, all programs solicit village authorities

at various times; especially before entering a village as support action for programs. The implementing NGO of WID1 is part of a State and NGO task force, which collaborates on issues, related to the objectives of this NGO.

GAD interaction with the State on the other hand, though limited, is essentially propelled by NGOs, and is both an NGO / program objective as well as a support action for the advancement of gender equity in society. GAD4 conducts gender trainings for State agencies and individuals in order to promote gender sensitivity and restructuring of State policies and action, with the ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming State institutions.

Networking amongst women's / development NGOs, advocacy and lobbying in relation to State and other institutions are all part of overall NGO objectives. Networking is also utilized as an additional strategy to counter specific events, power structures and attitudinal oppression that NGOs face in program implementation. Thus, joint protest action is evident, as moves to consciousness-raise and protest against the subordination of women.

CONCLUSION

In spite of the lesser status ascribed to the approaches of WID and GAD by feminist / women's movements, these approaches are highly influential within the development core. The WID approach, though having some impact on development activities in the State and non-governmental sectors, has essentially served to 'integrate women into development' on unequal terms, and within special enclosures. The GAD approach, despite being able to conceptually move women to the center of development activities alongside men, is becoming girdled in its own methodology.

The study of NGOs and programs operating in Sri Lanka convey that there is a significant divide between global theory and local practice. Women's NGOs do not overtly profess any affinity towards WID theoretical frameworks in program formulation or implementation. Rather, these development practitioners prefer to conceptualize their programs as hands-on, needs-responsive approaches founded on target groups. On the other hand, there are varying degrees of GAD assimilation in NGOs; and programs are seen to subscribe more candidly and smoothly to the GAD approach.

The core features of the WID model prevalent among NGOs consist mostly of a women-exclusive focus, economic empowerment, and consciousness-raising on women. These attempts were originally restricted to special enclave projects for women where participation in credit-based collectives, development of skills and income generation were highlighted. Later, efforts were made towards more integrated forms of personal development through the transfer of practical knowledge and consciousness-raising on women's issues.

The GAD approach, despite providing a strong ideological focal point for individual cognition and social transformation, is stalled in methodology. There is facile appropriation of gender sensitization and training by development programs, however, more comprehensive attempts at gender mainstreaming are infrequent.

As broader political strategies that have gained currency and some degree of legitimacy within the development endeavor, WID and GAD possesses the potential to infiltrate and initiate major changes in the status quo in accordance to feminist ideologies. So far, however, the two approaches have evinced mixed results in State and NGO activities at ground level. Granted that individual women are empowered to varying degrees within the circumferences of WID / GAD programs. Granted also, that groups coming into contact with WID / GAD programs are becoming conscious of women's issues and of gender inequities in ideological and social structures. Yet, essentially these remain practical exercises within the respective program ambits and as such, have not impacted on the society at large.

Nonetheless, what needs to be specifically highlighted here is the fact that there is a gradual amalgam of WID and GAD paradigms and methods within NGOs, and equivalent cross movements between WID / GAD paradigms and methods in programs. Target groups that originally consisted exclusively of women are being expanded to include men, so as to assimilate women's development projects into the community. Consciousness-raising topics on women are merged with gender paradigms and methodologies to form more target-responsive sensitization programs

on women and gender. Networking and supportive actions are undertaken by NGOs in order to strengthen programs and prevent their distanciation from mainstream community activities.

Consequently, feminist developmental theory needs to consider the implications of these shifts that are taking place at project levels. Future development initiatives relating to women need necessarily be based on the ground activities of today. Thus, there needs to be further re-assessment of the WID/GAD combine - especially in terms of results; in line with its maturation into a combined WID / GAD approach at field level, and its capacity to profit women individually and as a collective.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abeysekere Sunila, (1999) *Feminist Perspectives on Gender,* paper presented at the Workshop on Gender and Organisational Development organised by HIVOS in Collaboration with CENWOR.

Agarwal Bina (1988) *Patriarchy and the 'Modernising State': An Introduction*, **Structures of Patriarchy: State community and Household in Modernising Asia**, Kali for Women, Delhi.

Anderson Cecilia (1992) *Practical Guidelines*, **Gender and Development - A Practical Guide** (ed.) Ostergaard, Routledge.

Batliwala Srilatha (1996) **Women's Empowerment in South Asia: Concepts and Practices,** Supported by FAO (FFHC/AD and ASPBAE, Aman Graphics.

Boserup Ester (1989) **Women's Role in Economic Development**, Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Buvinic M (1983) *Women's Issues in the Third World: a Policy Analysis*, **Women and Policy in the Third World** (Eds.) Buvinic M, Lycette M & McGreevy W, John Hopkins University Press.

Buvinic M (1993) **The Feminization of Poverty: Research and Policy Needs**, International Centre for Research on Women, Washington.

Canadian Council for International Co-operation / MATCH International Centre, Association Quebecoise des Organismes de Co-operation Internationale (1991) **Two Halves Make a Whole - Balancing Gender Relations in Development**, Ottawa.

CENWOR (1995), **Facets of Change - Women in Sri Lanka 1986 -1995**, CENWOR.

De Mel Neloufer, Wickramasinghe Maithree (1997) *The Integration of Gender and Development into the Project for Rehabilitation through Education and Training - A Practical Example*, World University Service Canada (internal document).

de Silva Wimala, (1995) *Political Participation of Women in Sri Lanka 1985 -1995*, **Facets of Change - Women in Sri Lanka 1986 -1995**, CENWOR.

Department of Census and Statistics / Ministry of Finance and Planning, (1997) **Changing Role of Women In Sri Lanka**, Department of Census and Statistics.

Department of Census and Statistics / Ministry of Finance and Planning, (1996)   *Men and Women in Sri Lanka*, Department of Census and Statistics.

Dias Malsiri, Weerakoon Nedra, (1995) *Migrant Women Domestic Workers from Sri Lanka - Trends and Issues*, **Facets of Change - Women in Sri Lanka 1986 -1995**, CENWOR.

Dissanayake L, (1994) ***Towards Gender Equity - Sri Lanka National Report to the UN 4th World Conference on Women***, Ministry of Transport, Environment & Women's Affairs, Colombo.

Evans, Alison, (1992) *Statistics*, **Gender and Development - A Practical Guide** (ed.) Ostergaard, Routledge.

Fernando Vijita, De Mel J Henry**,** (1991) **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Sri Lanka - An Introduction**, NGO Water Supply & Sanitation Decade Service.

Fernando Priyanthi, Fernando Vijitha, (1997) (Ed) **South Asian Women: Facing Disasters, Securing Life**, DuryogNivaran.

Gilligan Carol, (1982) Images *of a Relationship*, **In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development**, Harvard University Press.

Goonesekere Savitri, (1995) *Realising Gender Equity through Law: Sri Lanka's Experience in the Post Nairobi Decade*, **Facets of Change - Women in Sri Lanka 1986 -1995**, CENWOR.

Goonesekere Savithri (1989) **The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, some aspects of the Sri Lankan situation**, CENWOR, Colombo.

Goonesekere Savithri, (1993) *Women and Law*, **Status of Women**, Ministry of Health and Women's Affairs, Colombo.

Hassendeen Shafinaz, Jayatilake Wijaya (1997) *Review of the Centre for Family Services Empowerment Program*, (internal document).

Jayawardena Kumari, (1986) *Emancipation and Subordination of Women in Sri Lanka*, **Feminism And Nationalism in the Third World**, Zed Books Ltd.

Jayawardena Kumari*,* (1986) *Feminism in Sri Lanka in the Decade 1975 - 1985* **Voice of Women**, Vol. 11, No. 4.

Jayawardena Kumari, (1995) *The Noble and the Ignoble – White Women as Goddesses and Devils*, **The White Woman's Other Burden – Western Women and South Asia During British Rule**, Routledge.

Jayaweera S., Vitanen A., Wijayatilake K. (1992) **Mandate and Plan for the National Machinery for Women** (Report of Consultancy Team).

Jayaweera Swarna, (1995) *Women, Structural Adjustment and Employment – A Micro Level Analysis*, **Proceedings of the National Workshop on the Effects of Structural Adjustment and Economic Reforms on Women's Employment***,* organised by the National Committee on Women and sponsored by ILO and CIDA, BMICH.

Kabeer, Naila (1991) *Rethinking Development from a Gender Perspective: Some insights from the Decade,* paper presented at the Conference on Women and Gender in Southern Africa, University of Natal.

Kandyoti, Deniz, (1990) *Women and Rural Development Policies: the Changing Agenda*, **Development and Change**, Vol. 21, No. 1.

Kandyoti Deniz, (1988) *Bargaining with Patriarchy*, **Gender and Society**, Vol. 2, No. 3, Sage Publications.

Karl Marilee, (1995) **Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision-Making**, Zed Books Ltd.

Kottegoda Sepali (1998) *The Economic Empowerment of Women Since Independence*, **Options**, No.15 / 16, Issues 3 / 4.

Kramarae Cheris, Treichler Paula A, (1985) **A Feminist Dictionary**, Pandora Press.

Liyanarachchi Champika, Asirwathan Ronnate, Rajapakse Chiranthi, (1998) *NGOs under check: New Law stirs Debate on Control over Social Service Organisations*, **Midweek Mirror**, Wednesday, November 25th, Wijaya Publications.

Lakshman W D, (1995) *Structural Adjustment Policies in Sri Lanka: Implications for the Macro Economy & Vulnerable Groups in society*, **Proceedings of the National Workshop on the Effects of Structural Adjustment and Economic Reforms on Women's Employment**, organised by the National Committee on Women and sponsored by ILO and CIDA, BMICH.

Mackinon Catherine, (1987) *Difference and Dominance: On Sex Discrimination*, **Feminism Unmodified,** Harvard University Press.

Mackintosh Maureen, (1984) *Gender and Economics: The Sexual Division of Labour and the Subordination of Women*, in Young Kate et al (eds.), **Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination in International Perspective**, CSE Books.

March Candida, Smyth Ines, Mukhopadhay Maitrayee, (1999) A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks, Oxfam.

Mayoux Linda, (1998) *Gender Accountability and NGO's: Avoiding the Black Hole*, in Miller et al, **Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions**, Intermediate Technology Publications / UNRISD.

McDonnell Nancy S, Himunyanga-Phiri Tsitsi V, Tembo Annie, (1993) *Widening Economic Opportunities for Women - Removing Barriers One Brick at a Time*, In Young Gay, et al (Eds.) **Women at the Centre - Development Issues and Practices for the 1990s**, Kumarian Press.

Mies Maria, Bennholdt-Thomsen Veronika, Von Werlhof Claudia (1988) **Women - The Last Colony**, Zed Books Ltd.

Miller Carol (1998) *Gender Advocates and Multilateral Development Organizations : Promoting Change from Within* (ed.) Miller et al, **Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions**, Intermediate Technology Publications / UNRISD.

Miller Carol, Razavi Shahra, (1998*) *Gender Analysis: Alternative Paradigms,* http://www.undp/gender/resource/ mono6.html

Miller Carol, Razavi Shahra, (1998**) Introduction, **Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions**, Intermediate Technology Publications / UNRISD.

Miller Carol, Razavi Shahra, (1998) **Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions**, Intermediate Technology Publications / UNRISD.

Molyneux M (1985) *Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State and Revolution in Nicaragua*, Feminist Studies, 11:2.

Momsen, Janet Henshall (1991) **Women and Development in the Third World**, Routledge.

Moser Caroline (1989) *Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs* **World Development**, Vol. 17, No. 11.

Moser Caroline (1993) **Gender Planning and Development - Theory, Practice and Training,** Routledge.

National Committee on Women / ILO / CIDA, (1995) **Proceedings of the National Workshop on the Effects of Structural Adjustment and Economic Reforms on Women's Employment**, BMICH.

Oakley, A (1972) **Sex, Gender and Society**, Temple Smith.

Ostergaard, Lise (1992) *Gender*, **Gender and Development - A Practical Guide**, Routledge.

Overholt C, Anderson M, Cloud K (1984) **Gender Roles in Development,** Kumarian Press.

Parker A. Rani, Michelle Friedman, (1993) *Gender and Institutional Change in International Development*, Young Gay, et al (Eds.) **Women at the Centre - Development Issues and Practices for the 1990s**, Kumarian Press.

Parpart Jane L, (1993) *Who is the 'Other'? A Post-modern Feminist Critique of Women and Development Theory and Practice*, in Development and Change, Vol. 24, No 3.

Pieris Kamala, (1995) *Mobilisation for Community Action by Women*, **Facets of Change - Women in Sri Lanka 1986 -1995**, CENWOR.

Pieris Kamala, (1993) **Women in Local Groups**, Working Paper No 5, CENWOR.

Pieris Kamala, (1997) **Weaving a Future Together** - **Women and Participatory Development in Sri Lanka**, International Books.

Pushparani, Martha (1999) *Gender Tools and Instruments - Limitations of Approaches to Development*, Paper presented at the workshop on Gender And Organisational Development organised by HIVOS / CENWOR.

Rathgeber Eva M, (1989) *WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice* Paper presented at the meeting of the Canadian Research institute for the Advancement of Women.

Razavi Shahra, (1998) *Becoming Multilingual: the Challenges of Feminist Policy Advocacy* ed. Miller et al, **Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions**, Intermediate Technology Publications / UNRISD.

Reinharz, Shulamit (1992) *The Principles of Feminist Debate - A Matter of Debate* **The Knowledge Explosion** - **Generations of Feminist Scholarship**, Teachers Press, Columbia University.

Rogers, Barbara (1980) **The Domestication of Women - Discrimination in Developing Societies**, Tavistock Publications.

Rubin, G (1975) *The Traffic in Women: notes on the political economy of Sex*, in Reiter, (ed.) **Towards and Anthropology of Women**, Monthly Review Press, New York.

Salazar, Claudia (1992) *Unruly Women - Deconstructing Development Practices,* **The Knowledge Explosion** - **Generations of Feminist Scholarship**, Teachers Press, Columbia University.

Samarasinghe Vidyamali, (1993) *The Last Frontier or a New Beginning? Women's Micro-enterprises in Sri Lanka* in Young Gay, et al (Eds.), **Women at the Centre - Development Issues and Practices for the 1990s**, Kumarian Press.

Sen Gita, Grown Caren, (**1987) Development, Crisis, and Alternative Visions - Third World Women's Perspectives,** New Feminist Library.

Schalkwyak, Johanna, Thomas Helen, Woroniuk Beth, (1996) **Mainstreaming: A Strategy for Achieving Equality between Men and Women – A Think Piece**, SIDA, Department for Policy and Legal Services.

Shiva Vandana, (1988) **Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development**, Zed Books, London.

Sittirak Sinith, (1998) **The Daughters of Development**: Women in a Changing Environment, Zed Books.

Smith, Danielle (1997) *The History of the Women's Development Centre 1986 – 1997*, WDC, (internal document).

Sri Lanka NGO Forum (1997) **Moving Towards the 21st Century – A Handbook on Implementing the Beijing Platform for Action on Women.**

University of Sussex (1997) *Approaches to Institutionalising Gender* **Development and Gender in Brief**, Issue 5, Institute of Development Studies.

University of Sussex (1996) *Conflict and Development*, **Development and Gender in Brief**, Issue 3, Institute of Development Studies.

University of Sussex, (1995) *Environmental Policy*, **Development and Gender in Brief**, Issue 1, Institute of Development Studies.

University of Sussex, (1996) *Integrating Gender into Emergency Responses*, **Development and Gender in Brief**, Issue 4, Institute of Development Studies.

University of Sussex, (1995) *Poverty Reduction*, **Development and Gender in Brief**, Issue 2, Institute of Development Studies.

University of Sussex (1998) *Reforming Economic Policy*, **Development and Gender in Brief**, Issue 6, Institute of Development Studies.

UN (Fourth) Conference on Women, (1995) **Platform of Action**, Beijing.

United Nations Development Program, (1998) *Capacity Building for Gender Mainstreaming Topic Module*, http://www.undp.org/undp/gender/mainstreaming /gm-info-module.html

U.S Agency for International Development, (1982) *Women In Development*, A.I.D. Policy Paper, Bureau of Program and Policy Co-ordination.

Wallace Tina, (1998) *Gender on the Agenda - Non Governmental Organisations Fail Fairness Test*, *Institutionalising Gender in UK NGOs*, **Development Practice**, Wallace, http://www.id21.

Waroniuk, Beth, Thomas Helen, Schalkwyk, (1997) **Gender: The Concept, its**
 Meaning and uses - A Think Piece, Department of Policy & Legal Services,
 SIDA.

Whitehead Ann, Bloom Helen, (1992) *Practical Guidelines*, **Gender and Development - A Practical Guide** (ed.) Ostergaard, Routledge.

Wickramagamage Carmen, (1998) *What the Sri Lankan Organisations for Women do: a Critical Appraisal*, (Paper presented at the 6th National Convention on Women's Studies), CENWOR.

Wickramasinghe Maithree, (1994) Centre for Family Services - Evaluation Report, (internal document).

Wickramasinghe Maithree, (1997) *The Concept of Patriarchy - An Essential Tool for the Feminist Project*, **Options** Vol. 4, No. 12.

Wijayatillake Kamalini, (1992) *Legal Literacy and Mobilisation for Action*, 3rd National Convention on Women's Studies, CENWOR, Colombo.

Wijayatilake K, Zackariya Z, (1994), **Women's Bureau of Sri Lanka - A case study** (internal document).

Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO), (1998) *Sri Lanka,* **Mapping Progress - Assessing Implementation of the Beijing Platform 1998**, WEDO, 1998.

Women and Media Collective / Sri Lanka Women's NGO Forum / CENWOR, (1997) **WEDO Survey for March 1998 Beijing Progress Report-Assessing Implementation of the Platform of Action Midway to the Year 2000**, (unpublished).

Wright Joanne, (1997) *Deconstructing development theory: feminism, the public/private dichotomy and the Mexican maquiladoras*, http://searchbank.com/itw/sess**, The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology**, No.1, Vol. 34, Feb 1997.

Young Gay, et al (Eds.) (1993) **Women at the Centre - Development Issues and Practices for the 1990s**, Kumarian Press.

Young Kate, (1988) *Towards a Theory of the Social Relations of Gender*, Institute of Development Studies, (monograph).