Investigating Gender and Development Discourse:
An Examination of the International Development Research Centre's Practices

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how the discourse of Gender and Development (GAD) is practiced through the work of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). The investigation focuses on the integration of gender considerations in four projects that use Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) for economic and social development. The research process includes interviews, visits to the project teams, participant observation, and analysis of project and other IDRC documents. The data indicate that the implementation of GAD is dependent upon textually mediated procedures and the social and gendered contexts of the communities in which these projects are located. A number of emerging themes in the research findings include the significance of a gender expert, of women's organizations, and of establishing common conceptualizations of gender. The research suggests that the Centre should further open discursive spaces for a more holistic incorporation of GAD principles, as defined by academics and activists.

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Introduction

The development of ways of understanding our world, the societies in which we live, and the roles of women and men within various cultural settings, have been constructed historically by men in privileged positions of authority and influence. Perhaps the greatest impact of these conceptual practices of power has been the systematic creation of discourses of knowledge based on culturally biased and objectified theorizing.[1] The practice of establishing bodies of knowledge based on male perspectives has resulted in the exclusion of women's voices and opportunities for action as alternatives to the mainstream process of knowledge creation and theorization. When these 'ways of knowing' were transformed discursively into practical application, through research, policy development, and direct action, issues relevant to women and the contributions of women in different contexts and socio-economic positions, have often been obscured, ignored, and even discounted.

The marginalization of women's voices continued in the aftermath of World War II, when global institutions were established to narrow the economic disparities between the 'North' and 'South'.[2] A number of policies and strategies were institutionalized to

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[1] Dorothy Smith (1990) discusses conceptual practices of power as ideological practices that "subdue the lived actualities of people's experience to the discourses of ruling". She argues that socially organized practices of using language develop objectified knowledges that are embedded in relations of ruling (4).

[2] Terms such as developing countries, First World and Third World, and North and South are used in the literature on development and will be used in this thesis. The term developing countries emerged in the 1950s by early development economists who theorized that countries had to pass through certain stages in order to become developed or modern. The term Third World was developed in 1955 when newly independent states met in Bandung, Indonesia. They used the term Third World to differentiate themselves from the First World-the North Atlantic capitalist world, and the Second World-the centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. There are many criticisms of this term since it suggests a hierarchy of nations, with the Third World having the lowest status. The term North-South became popularized around 1980 after the publication of the report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, known as the Brandt Commission. According to one source the terms North and South emphasized the divide between Northern rich countries, and poorer countries of the South. These terms are not geographically accurate since some economies in the North, such as those in Eastern Europe have little in common with capitalist economies of North America for example (Reddock 2000:26-

respond to global inequities through a 'development industry'. However, development organizations and agencies continued to exclude the voices of women from First and Third World societies.

Since the 1970s, however, research, theories, debates and policy recommendations on women, gender and development began to emerge in response to the biases of development organizations. The ideas of academics, activists, and policy-makers interested in women's participation in development permeated mainstream development thought and practices. Initially, liberal feminists like Ester Boserup (1970) studied how women were an underused or unacknowledged resource of development. Liberal feminists contributed to a body of knowledge, often referred to as WID (Women in Development), on how to integrate Third World women into development. Their work has been addressed by mainstream development agencies, like the World Bank, to ensure that women are not left out of economic and social progress defined by First World prosperity.

Marxist, socialist, and radical WAD (Women and Development) feminists challenge the assumption of WID advocates that development processes necessarily better the lives of men and women in Third World countries. Feminists such as Maria Mies (1986) and Patricia Maguire (1984) argue that a critique of global political economic structures show how 'development' is problematic in and of itself. This

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28). Also, these terms do not reflect the striking differences including culture, languages, varied histories and stratified economies between and within nation states. In addition, a "Three Worlds" model does not take into account that a distinctive Second World no longer exists since the collapse of the former Soviet Union (Benoit et al. 2002: 207-210). Furthermore, this terminology implies that all Third World countries share a lack of 'development', a solution that the 'First World' can provide (Ferguson 1994:xiii). Nevertheless, such terminology will be used in this thesis since they have meaning within the discourse of development, and are used by governments, policy-makers, and development agencies, to legitimize the funding of aid and projects in developing countries. Therefore, concepts such as the "Third World" have value in that they justify 'development' efforts, which have real social and political effects within countries.

perspective of development is largely unacknowledged by mainstream development agencies.

In the 1980s, research on gender as an analytical approach to development began to inform mainstream development policies and practices. Academics and activists interested in gender research argued that development agencies should consider a more comprehensive understanding of how women are socially constructed within gender relations, which intersect with other relations of social differences such as class and ethnicity. Kate Young (1993, 1997) and other Gender and Development (GAD) theorists encouraged agencies to restructure their development processes to incorporate gender perspectives at all levels of planning and implementation. GAD advocates assert that this will help enable agencies to engage in transformative processes towards social and gender equality. Many activists are highly critical of the means through which GAD is mainstreamed into development organizations, and argue that many organizations 'depoliticize' the feminist intentions of a GAD approach to development.

These debates and theories are explored in this thesis (Chapter One) to contextualize my research on how Gender and Development is actually practiced. My research is focused on four projects supported by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. These projects are implemented by different research institutions based in Colombia, the Dominican Republic and India. As a methodological entry point, this work emphasizes IDRC's role in creating discursive spaces through which gender considerations become activated. The argument flows from an assumption that GAD discourse is implicated within institutional practices, such as the Centre's commitment to gender (described in Chapter Two), and IDRC's textually mediated

processes of supporting research projects. These practices have implications for making explicit social and gender issues, and integrating them into the objectives and implementation of IDRC supported projects.

These ideas are explored through research that includes semi-structured interviews with IDRC Program Officers who are responsible for each project, and with members of the project teams located on site in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Southern India. The research also includes an analysis of project and other IDRC documents, as well as participant observation at the Centre's headquarters in Ottawa, Canada. These methods and the limitations of this approach are also described in Chapter Two.

The research findings show that IDRC's requirements for gender considerations, the Program Officer's role in supporting projects, and the larger social and gendered contexts of the communities in which the projects are implemented, all play significant roles in establishing research objectives and methodologies from a gender perspective. The findings also highlight the most salient emerging themes about GAD in action, including the importance of a gender expert, of women's organizations, and of establishing common conceptualizations of gender (Chapter Three). These findings, based on specific research projects, are further explicated in Chapter Four to explore how IDRC is situated within the broader discourse of Gender and Development. The chapter reflects on the literature reviewed in the first chapter in order to critique IDRC's intentions to engage in a GAD discourse. The way in which IDRC socially organizes its gender considerations, connects with women's organizations, and uses the concept of *gender*, establishes discursive spaces for addressing inequitable power, social and gender

relations at global and local levels. In concluding remarks, I reflect on the Centre's current strategies for more effectively integrating gender considerations into its support of research projects. This is followed by suggestions for future areas of research that could complement the research findings and address some of the methodological shortcomings of this thesis.

Chapter One
An Exploration into the Engendering of Development Discourse: Theories and Debates on Women, Gender and Development

Introduction

Theories and debates on women, gender, and development constitute discursive bodies of knowledge which inform current development planning, policies, and programs. This chapter examines these debates and theories in an attempt to provide an historical overview of how women were in the past, and are today considered in processes of social and economic change. The analysis shows how ideas about gender have challenged previous considerations of women in development. This conceptual shift, from ideas of women in development to thinking about gender and development, contextualizes an investigation of the International Development Research Centre's (IDRC's) efforts to en*gender* development.

Key actors in the development field have different interpretations of gender and development and consequently have different suggestions on how to address gender and development issues.[3] In the following sections, I review critically the theoretical assumptions, development policies and programs that address women, gender and development. Some of the research questions that guide my reading of the literature include: what kind of development do women need; what does it mean to engender development; and how does a "Gender and Development" discourse differ from a "Women in Development" discourse? These questions are used in this chapter to explore

[3] Different development actors include international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank; multilateral agencies such as those belonging to the United Nations' 'family'; national development assistance agencies; non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Oxfam;

the engendering of development discourse by critiquing the assumptions that development agencies, academics and activists assign to "women", "gender" and "development". These assumptions and the priorities, policies and programs of development agencies create a complex and multifaceted gender and development discourse.

The concepts "Women in Development" (WID), "Women and Development" (WAD), and "Gender and Development" (GAD), will be used in this thesis to refer to identifiable bodies of literature, debates, and policy approaches to development. These approaches to development are explored individually in this chapter. However, their theoretical assumptions, and the policies and programs that are associated with each concept, are often interconnected and overlap in reality.

Academics and activists usually have different purposes for writing about and engaging in gender and development activities. This has resulted in tensions and debates between and amongst the government policy makers, the grassroots activists, and the academic approaches to the discourse. Because of these diverse range of perspectives different meanings are correspondingly ascribed to the concepts WID, WAD, and GAD. A review of the literature will show that there is much controversy within gender and development discourses.

Women in Development:
A Liberal Feminist Perspective

Much of the literature on Women in Development points out that development theories and policies underestimate women's roles as economic actors. When Northern feminist scholars began to research the activities of Third World women they found that

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researchers and consultants in public and private organizations; social and political activists; and academics

women from developing countries were either an underused or unacknowledged resource of development. These feminists draw upon liberal feminist theory to argue that Third World women's capacity for economic productivity is equal to that of men. Liberal feminists from the North became involved in international development activism, and lobbied for equal economic and political rights of Southern women. The following section examines the assumptions made by these feminists and the implications for development policy and program approaches.

Making Women Visible: Women's Economic Contributions

Ester Boserup's work Women's Role in Economic Development (1970) is often cited as the reason development agencies began to take women's roles in the development process seriously. In contrast to the prevailing assumptions that suggest that Third World women's activities are primarily domestic, Boserup highlights women's contributions to local and national economies, particularly in agriculture. She argues that there are significant differences in women's work across countries and regions and emphasizes the fundamental role women played in African agriculture. She claims that where women were confined primarily to reproductive work, their status was likely to be low. She found that in 'female farming systems' in much of Sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Southeast Asia, women enjoyed some economic independence based on their significant role in production. In comparison, restriction of women's role in 'male farming systems' of South and West Asia meant that their status was primarily based on their fulfillment of their reproductive roles (Kabeer 1994:20).

Boserup also argues that sexual divisions of labour in different farming systems influence women's participation in non-agricultural activities. For example, she states

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and scholars (Kabeer 1994:x).

that sexual divisions of labour within Latin America and Africa influence migration patterns. She found that Latin American women participated less than African women in farming systems and Latin American women were more likely to migrate to urban centres to pursue employment opportunities. Boserup found that African women's involvement in food cultivation generated predominantly male migration to urban centres, leaving women and children in the village (Beneria and Sen 1997:44)

Furthermore, Boserup outlines the negative effects that colonialism and the penetration of capitalism into subsistence economies have often had on women. For example, as a result of European land reforms women often lost their rights to land (Beneria and Sen 1997:43). In Sub-Saharan Africa women were denied by colonial and post-colonial administrators access to training, land rights, education and technology (Kabeer 1994:20). Boserup also emphasizes that the subsistence activities of Third World women were usually omitted in statistics of production and income (Beneria and Sen 1997:43). Women's economic contributions were not reflected in the national statistics or in the planning and implementation of development projects (Maguire 1984:7-8).

Boserup's study was groundbreaking because it analyzed the differential impact of development strategies on women and men. She subscribed to the modernization model of development and she appealed to development policy-makers to recognize and account for women's role in economic development.[4] Her work has also influenced Northern liberal feminists to become involved in international politics, as it fit liberal

[4] Modernization theory explains that development will help Third World societies move towards modern values and economic systems. Lack of development is due to socio-economic traditions that create obstacles to modernization and economic growth. Modernization theorists presume that with modern ideas

feminist analysis that saw women's exclusion from the public sphere of work and politics as a major cause of their subordination.

The Institutionalization of WID: A Northern Feminist Response

In the early 1970s the term WID was coined by the Washington, D.C. Women's Committee of the *Society for International Development* (SID).[5] This group advocated for the inclusion of women into development policies. As a result, Northern development agencies began to recognize women's economic contribution as an essential component of the development process. This recognition led to an increase in funding for empirical research studies funded by international development agencies on the gap between the status of women and men. Studies showed, for example, that development projects made new technologies, such as oil presses in Nigeria, tortilla-making machines in Mexico, and sago-pressing machines in Sarawak, available to men rather than women, even when the technologies were a substitute for traditionally women's work. In effect, most development projects have created great gaps between women and men's earning power and status (Maguire 1984:8-9). Research shows that development projects displaced women from their traditional productive functions, and their ability to provide for themselves and their families was weakened (Young 1993:20).

One measure to counteract the exclusion of women from development projects, was the proclamation of the 1973 Percy Amendment to the United States Foreign Assistance Act. The Percy Amendment was a result of intense lobbying efforts of the

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and technology Third World countries can move efficiently with little conflict towards a period of mass consumption (Webster 1984:55).

[5] The *Society for International Development* (SID) began in the late 1950s as an association of development professionals meeting in Washington, D.C. who exchanged information and experiences on international development. SID members sought to accelerate the process of modernization in the low-income, former colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. See their website for more up to date information: http://www.sidint.org/

SID Women's Committee. The Amendment mandated that U.S. foreign assistance help move Third World women into their national economies in order to improve women's status and assist the total development process (Maguire 1984:9). The Percy Amendment required that the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) include women in all of their international aid activities (Faveri 1992:10).

In addition, international conferences began to focus on the 'needs' of Third World women. During the Second United Nations Development Decade (1970-1979), women's issues and development came to be conceptually linked for the first time. In Mexico City during the summer of 1975, the first World Conference of International Women's Year occurred and the U.N. Decade for Women (1975-1985) was declared. Development agencies and governments adopted a set of common concerns first articulated within development agencies by American liberal feminists. These feminists advocated for legal and administrative changes to ensure that women were better integrated into economic systems (Rathgeber 1990:490). The recognition that Third World women's experiences of development differed from men was institutionalized in development agencies by integrating WID components into already established development sectoral programmes and projects (Jahan 1995:13).

A *World Plan of Action* also resulted from the U.N. Women's Conference in Mexico. Objectives such as improved educational opportunities, better employment prospects, equality in political and social participation, and increased welfare services were all part of the Plan's objectives (Jahan 1995:25). The Plan also recommended that governments should establish national machinery to promote women's interests. By the end of the 1970s, six countries had ministries dedicated to women focussing on data

collection, research and publishing, and managing specific projects for women (Jahan 1995:27). The research of many development agencies revealed a number of obstacles to women's increased participation in development. These include:

- traditions, attitudes and prejudices against women's participation;
- legal barriers;
- limited access to land, credit, modern agricultural equipment;
- health burden of frequent pregnancies and malnourishment;
- an undermining of women's traditional position of economically contributing partners; and,
- inadequate research and information on women (Maguire 1984:13).

A new understanding of the obstacles confronted by Third World women resulted in a Western focus of integrating Third World women into development.

Integrating Women in Development

Caroline Moser (1989) describes some of the approaches to integrating women in development. These include the Welfare, Equity, Anti-Poverty, and Efficiency approaches. For Moser, the Welfare approach is the oldest approach. It focuses on increasing the productive capacity of the male labour force. Women are considered to be a part of the "vulnerable group" of society and are the responsibility of ministries of social welfare. The Welfare approach is based on the assumptions that women are passive recipients of development rather than participants, that motherhood is the most important role for women in society, and that child-rearing is the most effective role for women in all aspects of development (Moser 1989:1807). Development agencies adopt a Welfare approach by integrating women into development policies that support them in "traditional" female roles. Programs such as population control through family planning, and the provision of food aid are emphasized in a Welfare approach (ibid:1809). Kabeer argues that defining women's needs in terms of 'family basic needs' rather than women's

unequal access to resources, make this approach an acceptable one within male dominated development agencies. A Welfare approach to development is designed so that any potential for changing women's position in relation to men is minimized (Kabeer 1994:7).

The Equity approach, by contrast, begins with the assumption that women can be active economic participants in the development process. Women must therefore be brought into development through access to employment and the marketplace. In this approach they are viewed as an unacknowledged resource of development. The Equity approach also recognizes issues of inequality between women and men in both public and private spheres. It puts forward the goal of legal equality for women in areas such as property rights and child custody rights (Moser 1989:1811). Moser argues that most agencies have not used the Equity approach in their programs. An Equity approach requires a redistribution of gender power within developing countries, and agencies do not want to interfere with developing countries power structures and traditions.

The Anti-Poverty approach to development links poverty to the inequality between men and women. Development programs that reduce women's income inequality in relation to men are supposed to increase their status and provide for their basic needs. This approach focuses on designing programs for women's productive role, such as increasing women's employment and income-generating options, and giving them better access to productive resources (Moser 1989:1812). Increasing women's productive role is supposed to provide for women's needs with respect to their role as child-caretakers and nutritionists. The Anti-Poverty approach assumes that women have the time to participate in income generating projects. The approach addresses women's

productive potential but ignores their reproductive and other roles and responsibilities. In addition, this approach's definition of basic needs tends to be also limited to physical needs such as food and clothing.

The Efficiency approach to development assumes that increased economic participation of Third World women is linked with increased equity for women. The development agencies that have adopted this approach felt that 50% of the human resources available for development were being underutilized (ibid:1813). For example, IMF and World Bank structural adjustment policies of the late-1970s onward resulted in declines in income levels, social expenditure cuts, and reductions in food subsidies in developing countries (ibid:1814). Recognizing women as productive agents, as the new micro-entrepreneurs, and using women's labour during their unpaid time was supposed to ease the concomitant effects of these reductions. The logic for adopting an efficiency approach to WID is clearly expressed in a World Bank study (1989):

> Culture and tradition vary but often confine women and girls inside the family or close to home...As a result, women's productivity is frequently depressed well below potential levels-and this carries a cost in economic efficiency. Women are in a sense, wasted... (quoted in Marchand and Parpart 1995:228).

However, an emphasis on women's economic agency during a time of structural adjustment and cutbacks in welfare services and other public expenditure, neglects to address the consequent intensification of women's labour (Kabeer 1994:26).

These policy approaches to development illustrate that there are various assumptions embedded within the WID discourse. For example, the Welfare approach views women primarily as mothers and passive recipients of development. The Anti-Poverty approach focuses on women's productive abilities and ignores their reproductive

responsibilities. The IMF and the World Bank's structural adjustment agenda justifies an Efficiency approach to WID. In contrast, the Equity approach has not been applied by most agencies because of the limited ability and the reluctance of agencies to influence social and political structures of other countries.

Critiques of WID

WID approaches to development by many international agencies bring particular women's issues to attention. Research on women's roles in economic production and women's status in relation to the sexual division of labour within the household challenges previous assumptions and misconceptions which have relegated women solely to the domestic sphere. Research findings on Third World women have influenced development agencies to incorporate women into their development programs and policies. The assumptions embedded within the mainstream WID discourse, however, direct attention away from the concerns of Southern women toward the objectives of Northern development agencies and feminists. These feminists advocate that Third World women should be appreciated as independent economic actors who, given the opportunity, can equally contribute to the economic development of their country. However, little attention is given to increasing their status relative to men, and programs have not helped to restructure the sexual division of labour (Young 1993:21).

Caroline Moser contends that this lack of attention helped to identify "practical gender needs" to the exclusion of "strategic gender needs" (Moser 1989:1803). She defines practical gender needs as needs that are formulated from the concrete conditions women experience. In planning terms they focus on the domestic arena, on income earning activities, and on community-level requirements of housing and basic services

(ibid:1803). Moser argues that practical gender needs only become "feminist" in content when they are transformed into strategic gender needs which address women's subordination to men. Examples of strategic gender needs include the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare, and the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land or property. [6]

Many WID approaches to development, however, focus on practical gender needs and exclude the incorporation of strategic gender needs. For example, the Anti-Poverty approach of WID ignores the constraints that women face in their engendered role. Women's 'productive' roles will not be equal to men's if they have to balance being employed with domestic constraints and child-care responsibilities. In addition, there are cultural constraints that may prevent women from competing equally with men (Moser 1989:1813). The Anti-Poverty approach links women's issues with the concern of alleviating the poverty of the 'poorest of the poor' and subsequently separates women's issues from gender equity issues. The Anti-Poverty approach allows development agencies to quantify the positive effects that may result from including women's concerns into economic development programs. Women's issues become translated into the quantitative language of development agencies while the negative and qualitative effects of economic development are ignored (Maguire 1984:15).

The WID approach is also limited since it is grounded in colonial discourse, liberal discourse on markets, and modernization theory. Geeta Chowdhry argues that the colonial discourse, which is based on economic, political, social, and cultural privileging

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[6] The concepts 'strategic' and 'practical' needs are based on Maxine Molyneux's (1985) discussion on gender interests. She warns development practitioners against oversimplifying these concepts for policy creation and planning purposes. She argues that the term 'gender interests' emphasizes a political and contextual

of European peoples, homogenizes and essentializes Third World women. The liberal discourse promotes free markets, voluntary choices and individuals (Chowdhry 1995:26). She believes that Third World women are disempowered by WID policies and programs because the approach is situated at the intersection of colonial and liberal discourses. Chowdhry argues that when development agencies represent Third World women as monolithically oblivious to the "real" public world, they separate women from the historical, socio-political, and lived material realities of their existence (ibid:28).

The grounding of WID in modernization theory legitimizes WID approaches to development that integrate women into already existing development initiatives. Modernization theory emphasizes that, through a massive expansion of educational systems, well-trained workers and managers would emerge so that agrarian societies could evolve into modern industrial societies. The growth of the economies in these countries would create benefits of modernization, such as better living standards, which would "trickle down" to everyone in that society (Rathgeber 1990:491). Grounding WID into modernization theory means that the aims of development are not questioned and projects and the benefits of development can extend to women as well.

Kate Young identifies several more assumptions of WID which create weaknesses for the WID approach. These include:

- the idea that women can change their destiny without any corresponding changes in or reaction from men;
- the emphasis on equity strategies and getting women involved in the public sphere neglects their role in the private sphere;
- the neglect of examining the ideological aspects of WID; and,
- the emphasis on poverty masks the structures of gender inequality and ensures that development programs are aimed at the poor. Women of upper classes are not the targets of development agency efforts, regardless if they

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process of interpretation rather than a focus on an instrumentalist view of what women's needs are (Molyneux 1998:73-79).

experience social and political injustices (Young 1993:130).

In recognizing Third World women's different situation as a whole from men in development, the WID approach essentializes women's commonalties. The common marginalization of women in development processes disguises and denies the material differences in power and interests between women. A WID perspective privileges a particular interpretation of women's needs that does not reflect the social realities of women in Third World countries. The WID approach to development also fails to articulate the tensions between and amongst First and Third World women (Kabeer 1994:31). Jahan argues, for example, that the WID approach ignores the concerns of feminists from the South who, from the beginning of the Decade for Women, were concerned with linking gender, class, and raced based inequalities to transform the development agenda beyond WID focused policies (Jahan 1995:8). These feminists from the South recognize that women's inequalities are not just a result of poor development planning. Fundamental *differences between* Third World women were also not taken into account by Northern feminist WID activists. Beneria and Sen argue that Boserup, for example, did not analyze the social processes of capital accumulation and the effects it had on Third World women of different classes (Beneria and Sen 1997:45).

Thus, the WID approach is defined by Northern feminists who ignored the belief of some Southern women that social structures, development paradigms, and macro-politics serve as obstructions to women's equality in development. These limitations of the WID perspective and the debates on the biases of WID led some academics and activists to develop a more critical Women and Development (WAD) perspective of development.

Women And Development:
The Importance of Class and the Global Processes of Capital Accumulation

During the 1960s and 1970s Marxist, radical, and socialist feminist perspectives on development emerged. Marxist feminists assert that capitalism perpetuates the subordination of women by enforcing their economic dependence on men. Women help the capitalist system to function by giving birth to a new labour force and by doing domestic work. Marxist feminists argue that women's role as domestic workers contributes to the processes of capitalism through their purchasing of goods and services for the household. Women's work as unpaid caregivers subsidizes and disguises the costs of reproducing and maintaining the employed work force (Connelly et al. 2000:121). Radical feminists believe that Marxist feminists' emphasis on class as the main factor for women's subordination means that gender equality and women's concerns are secondary to class equality. Radical feminists argue that patriarchy exists in all societies, even in those that do not have a distinct class structure. They see procreation and women's sexuality as political issues organized by male power, and call upon social activists to work towards abolishing patriarchy (Connelly et al. 2000:123-124). Socialist feminists define patriarchy as a set of hierarchical relations with a material base in men's control over women's sexuality, labour power, and procreation. Patriarchy takes on different forms in different political, economic, religious, and cultural contexts. Marxist definitions of economic activity are expanded to include reproductive activity as well as productive work. Hence they argue that women's subordination and class inequalities need to be challenged simultaneously (ibid:127).

The WAD approach draws from these perspectives by focusing on the relationships between women and the structural and material processes of development rather than

purely on strategies for the integration of women into development. Third World poverty is not considered by WAD scholars as a mere aberration of development, but is a structural feature of a social system which puts profits before human needs (Bandarage 1984:500). Advocates of this approach argue that women have always been important economic actors in their societies, and the work they do inside and outside of the household is central to the maintenance of social systems (Rathgeber 1990:492). The following section explores some of the work of feminists who contribute to a WAD discourse of development.

Academic Perspectives of WAD

The work of Maria Mies (1986), Patricia Maguire (1984), and Asoka Bandarage (1984) illustrates some of the major points of the WAD perspective. Maria Mies draws from Marxist feminist theory to provide a critical explanation for the economic inequalities between women and men in Third World countries. Mies analyzes the process of "housewifization" as a key strategy to integrate women into the global accumulation of capital. Mies describes housewifization as one of other key elements of sexual inequalities that are essential to capital accumulation. Mies explains housewifization by arguing that Marx's analysis of the value of labour power is also based on the fact that the worker has a 'non-working' housewife (Sittirak 1998:53). She argues that the strategy of implementing housewifization in Europe and the U.S. in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has also been imposed on Third World countries. In effect, Third World women have come to be defined as housewives instead of workers. Their work in the 'private sphere' is devalued and is considered as merely domestic production, and supplementary work (ibid:66-67). The sexual division of labour is

revalued. Women become exploited in a variety of forms which includes their unpaid work as housewives, as well as the creation of goods and services aimed at the housewife (Sittirak 1998:45). Mies argues that this housewife ideology has extended from the West to the Third World and has helped create the isolation and devaluation of women workers. In her study of the lacemaking industry in Narsapur, Andhra Pradesh, India, Mies found that women who make lace as a commodity for export were labeled "housewives" and their work was considered "domestic production". Consequently, these women were not provided with fair wages or other basic rights (Bandarage 1984:502). This housewife ideology also creates an ideology of seclusion which eliminates many opportunities for women to work outside of the home and makes them willing to accept low wages.

Mies' understanding of 'housewifization' presents a more comprehensive explanation of economic inequalities between men and women than WID perspectives. Her argument ties historical, social and political reasons for gender inequality in the South. She challenges mainstream development policy-makers by arguing that the root causes of deprivation are not located in the Third World. Rather, these causes are found in Western societies where consumption levels greatly exceed those of the Third World. Mies' work is important since it directs our attention towards the international division of labour. She explicates how sexual divisions of labour are tied into macro-international divisions of labour. Her example of housewifization and her other work on global capitalism and its effects on the Third World, extends beyond the 'needs' of Third World women to a critique of international economic structures.

Patricia Maguire believes, in contrast to WID proponents, that the problem for women is more than just being left out of development processes. In her work, Women in Development: An Alternative Analysis (1984), she argues that women's empowerment can be achieved through a redistribution of power (Maguire 1984:2). She states that feminist analysis must rename the "problem which WID addresses. The problem is more than being left out of development; it is the systems of monopoly capitalism and patriarchy which shape the injustices of development within and between nations" (ibid:3). She grounds her critique of WID and her approach for understanding development in socialist feminist analysis. Maguire feels that although Marxist feminists account for women's domestic labour as well as their underpaid and insecure position as wage labourers, these feminists do not address the root causes of sexual inequality (ibid:30). She proposes that a socialist feminism examine instead the causes of sexual inequality by taking "sex class" as well as economic class and race into consideration. According to Maguire, "sex class" can be used to show that upper class women may have power over lower class men, but upper class women do not necessarily have equal power with their husbands or fathers (Maguire 1984:31).

Thus, an examination of sex class is effective in making development more equitable since it analyzes men's vested material interest in women's subordination. She argues that a structural transformation and a transformation between men and women's "sex class" relations are necessary for social justice and equitable power distribution (ibid:32-33). Maguire maintains that women in the South should organize themselves across different classes and races to create alliances. Through these networks she points

out that women can struggle collectively for a more equitable redistribution of power and resources such as credit, education, skills and training (Maguire 1984:58).

Asoka Bandarage (1984), articulates many of the same concerns and commitments to critiquing development as Patricia Maguire. Bandarage believes that the Marxist perspective helps us to understand sexual oppression historically as it interacts with oppression and imperialism. A Marxist perspective indicates that women's liberation needs a radical change in our values, material interests, and social structures at national and international levels (Bandarage 1984:505). However, Bandarage believes that there is a major gap between the theory and practice of Marxism. She states that Marxism focuses on the abstract forces of capitalism, such as commercialization and proletarianization, which excludes issues such as the changing relations between men and women under capitalism. She believes that synthesizing a Marxist perspective with a radical feminist perspective, which is concerned with the roots and effects of patriarchy, will analytically link sexual and class oppression. This synthesis can analyze, for example, the realities of the female-headed households, the overarching presence of the patriarchal state, and the effects of mass media (Bandarage 1984:506).[7]

The scholarly work of Maria Mies, Patricia Maguire and Asoka Bandarage highlight some of the main arguments of the Women and Development discourse. Academic writings on WAD investigate the processes of development, critique the aims of development, and emphasize the role that larger political economic structures have on local sexual inequalities. The authors of WAD literature discuss Marxist analyses of

[7] The media plays a tremendous role in shaping attitudes and behaviours and is often neglected in critiques of development. For example, headlines in a 1981 Tribune about the first UN World Conference included "Feminists Scream Insults at Meeting" and "Mum's the Word as the Big Yak Yak Begins" (quoted in

development and add to it socialist and radical feminist examinations of patriarchy and ideology. This literature sheds a critical light onto the Women in Development perspective.

Response from the South

The WAD approach remains largely unsupported by national governments and bilateral development agencies. However, non-governmental organizations contribute to the WAD discourse through social and political activism. One example of this is a project called the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). Their work illustrates how the WAD approach can be used to empower women and help organize social activism from the South. The group started in India prior to the 1985 World Conference on Women in Nairobi. DAWN consists of women from communities of different countries who want to share their research, theories and strategies about the impact of development (Grown and Sen 1987:9). This group draws attention to the need to learn from the experiences of poor women in the Third World for an understanding of how development affects them.

Caren Grown and Gita Sen's, Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives (1987), discusses the theoretical ideas of DAWN while drawing on women's experiences with development. The authors state why and how strategies that were designed to achieve overall economic growth and increase productivity have proven to be inimical to women (Grown and Sen 1987:16). They explain how structural adjustment policies have devastating effects on the poor and they outline the structural roots of poverty such as unequal access to resources, and the lack of

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Maguire, 1984, p.16). This kind of media patronizes feminists and deflects attention away from the important issues that were debated at the conference.

control women have over production, trade, and finance across different regions (Grown and Sen 1987:80). They also express the need for restrictions on multinationals so that there is control over corporations that divert resources from basic needs towards commercialization, exports and militarization (ibid:84). Their work is often associated with the empowerment approach of WAD, which asserts that women have to challenge oppressive structures at different levels. This approach seeks to empower women through a redistribution of power within and between societies. DAWN challenges the view that development necessarily helps all men and the assumption that women want to be integrated into mainstream development programs (Moser 1989:1815). Strategies of the empowerment approach and of DAWN include creating a more equitable international economic system by breaking down structures of inequality, and providing ways of responding to current crises such as assisting women in food production.

A practical example of social and political empowerment of women is the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA). SEWA began in India in 1972 as a union that organizes women who work in their homes, in the streets of cities, in the fields and villages of rural India and who have no fixed employer. SEWA uses the term 'self-employed' to define a large sector of workers and give positive status to people who are often negatively described as part of informal, marginal or peripheral labour that accounted for nearly 90 per cent of employment in India. The Association also set up a lending and savings bank for the union members (Rose 1997:382-385).

SEWA is unique in that the Association responds to the specific needs of women. While the struggle of male factory workers in India was with a single employer, the self-employed women had to confront problems such as discriminatory laws and exploitative

contractors and moneylenders. As a result, SEWA is involved in a much broader range of activities than other trade unions (Kabeer 1994: 234). For example, SEWA organizes child-care and health cooperatives, life insurance schemes and maternity benefit schemes (ibid:241).

Comments on WAD Discourse

The WAD approach brings to light many concerns about development processes that WID ignores. Although the WAD perspective is not a part of many development agencies' agendas, this perspective is a critical part of academic work on development and has encouraged women from all over the world to strategically align themselves in social and political activism. The WAD approach has also been criticized on a number of issues. This perspective tends to focus on the international division of labour and therefore can only play a limited involvement in responding to women's immediate needs (Visvanathan 1997:23). Rathgeber argues that, while on a theoretical level WAD recognizes the importance of class, the practical design and implementation of WAD tends to group women together without taking a strong analytical note of class, race, or ethnic divisions. She also argues that WAD does not give detailed attention to the overriding influence of the ideology of patriarchy since women's condition is seen primarily within the structure of international class inequalities (Rathgeber 1990:493).

In Mitu Hirshman's critique of DAWN she argues that the group shares with WID certain basic premises and assumptions about women and development. For example, DAWN gives analytic primacy to the sexual division of labour. Hirshman notes that they make themselves vulnerable to charges of essentialism, since "poor women's labour" as a defining category establishes an indisputable essence to Third World women's lives and

experiences (Hirshman 1995:45). In addition, she maintains that DAWN's acceptance of "women's labour" as an unproblematic category, without asking how the neglect of women's labour in development programs has occurred or whether this neglect is part of the androcentric practice of development, fails to challenge Marxist thinking that "labour" is the essence of "being human" (ibid:52).

Thus, critics of WAD discourse argue that this approach has an economistic bias. WAD proponents believe that material needs take precedent over the other needs of human existence. The Gender and Development (GAD) perspective addresses development issues beyond the primacy that WAD advocates attribute to political economy.

Gender and Development:
A Site of Struggle Over Meaning and Practice

The discourse on Gender and Development (GAD) has only recently emerged. This discourse has developed in response to the increase in feminist scholarly work on gender and in response to evaluations and critiques of development programs that do not address the relations and inequalities between men and women. Through the work of feminists and other social and political activists, it has become apparent to many development policy makers and program developers that a focus on women alone is not going to address women's subordinate positions in developing countries. A GAD discourse is starting to play a larger role in many development agencies policies, programming and overall corporate structure.[8]

The GAD discourse shifts away from using 'women' as a category for investigation, to looking at the social construction of gender and the assignment of

specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women *and to men*. This approach analyzes gender relations as they interlock with a matrix of other relations such as class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and religion (Young 1997:51). As Floya Anthias notes, gender is manifested in society in a range of social processes and outcomes and involves social relations of subordination and inequality (Anthias 1998:524). Gender is analytically separated from ethnicity and class, for example, for heuristic purposes. As an analytic concept, gender can be used to understand different levels of social processes, such as those at an organizational level and those at an intersubjective level (ibid:512).

This section will consider some of the transformative potentialities of a GAD perspective.[9] The departure from using women as *the* primary category of investigation has created a different framework for analyzing women's roles in development processes. Different questions about women's roles may be asked and gender-blind goals of development may be interrogated. This section will also examine why the potential of using a gender perspective may be limited by factors such as the way development agencies have adopted a GAD approach, and the consequent resistance to a GAD framework by certain NGOs and other interest groups.

The Potential of GAD

The shift from using women to using gender as an analytical concept distinguishes GAD approaches from WID and illustrates the potential of GAD. Where WID approaches of development agencies put emphasis on providing women with opportunities to participate in male-defined social and economic structures, a GAD

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[8] Examples of how the GAD discourse is playing a role in development agencies will be discussed in the latter part of this section.

approach questions the assumptions implicit in these structures. Rathgeber states that the conceptual framework of GAD "moves beyond instrumentalist definition of WID theorists who attempted to fit women into predetermined categories which were based on linear, progressivist, Western views of 'modernization'" (1995:204). Therefore, GAD has the potential to examine development agencies at an ideological level by questioning the overall goals of mainstream development. The basic problematic of how to fit women into already existing programs can shift to looking at the gendered structures and processes that put women in a disadvantaged position. A number of propositions further highlight GAD's distinction from a WID perspective. Such propositions include: that a focus on women alone is not adequate to understand the opportunities for women for agency or change; women are not a homogenous category but are divided by class, ethnicity etc.; the totality of women's and men's lives have to be the focus of analysis, not merely their productive or reproductive activities; and, women are not passive but active subjects of social processes (Young 1993:134).

The GAD approach also tries to address practical gender needs *as well as* strategic needs. A GAD approach might include some of the programs suggested by the Welfare and Anti-Poverty approaches to development. These programs, however, would serve only as preconditions for equity and would have to be complemented by analysis of the more intangible factors inherent in social relations of power between men and women (Rathgeber 1995:206). A GAD approach to development addresses strategic needs by questioning the objective and potential impacts of a development program. Such questions include:

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[9] Kate Young uses the notion 'transformatory potential' to indicate the "capacity...for questioning, undermining or transforming gender relations and the structures of subordination" (quoted in Molyneux

> [W]hat economic and social changes are sought, who is involved, with the collaboration of whom, with what objective, for the benefit of whom and against the interests of whom; what is the resultant balance of rights and obligations, power and privilege between men and women? Are men or women the major beneficiaries, which specific categories of men or women benefit and which will lose out? (Young 1993:143).[10]

The potential of GAD is also illustrated in the emergence of gender-related materials, policies, mandates, and considerations of gender in the institutions and programs of major development agencies. These considerations are often referred to as *mainstreaming* gender. A mainstreaming commitment is stated in the *Beijing Platform for Action* (1995): "Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively" (paragraph 202 quoted in OECD 1998:12).[11] Commitments to addressing *The Platform for Action* are illustrated in development agencies' gender mainstreaming efforts. For example, members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) have published

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1998:75).

[10] The importance for addressing practical *as well* as strategic needs is illustrated in the effect of a project in a town called Pastocalle in the Andean highlands. Through the help of farmer organizations the community received access to the Internet to help solve some of their farming problems. However, the use of the Internet went beyond these problems to addressing how the local women could promote their clothing micro-enterprise. Delgadillo argues that the Internet training sessions with the girls and women became a venue for them to support each other and open up about their experiences of domestic abuse and their husbands' alcoholism. The men, however, became envious of the attention women were getting in the training session and did not like the sessions emphasis on harnessing self-esteem. One day one of the women showed up to the telecentre abused and told the group she had stood up to her husband (Delgadillo 2000:83-84). Perhaps if the impact of the training sessions on gender relations were considered, rather than just its benefits to women, something could have been done at the inception of the training to address the men's violent and hostile reactions.

[11] The *Beijing Platform for Action* (1995) was discussed during and published after the 1995 United Nations World Conference on Women (UNWCW) in Beijing. The *Platform for Action* specifies twelve critical areas of concern considered to represent the main obstacles to women's advancement. By adopting this *Platform* governments have committed themselves to the effective inclusion of a gender dimension throughout their institutions, policies, planning and decision-making. NGOs also directly influenced the content of the *Platform for Action*. This information is from the UN website: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/hist.htm

DAC Guidelines For Gender Equality And Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation (1998). The guidelines are supposed to assist DAC members mainstream gender through integrating gender equality concerns as a development objective and into processes of development co-operation (OECD 1998:11). Gender equality is described in the document as follows

> Gender equality does not mean that men and women become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances are equal. The emphasis on gender equality and women's empowerment does not presume a particular model of gender equality for all societies and culture, but reflects a concern that women and men have equal opportunities to make choices about what gender equality means and work in partnership to achieve it. (OECD 1998:11).

Processes of integrating gender equality concerns into development co-operation include the institutional procedures of DAC Members. The document states that

> Gender equality and women's empowerment should be dealt with in normal routines and procedures in day-to-day work. A gender analysis is most effective when it is an integrated part of policy, planning, monitoring and evaluation processes, rather than a separate, isolated activity. A gender perspective should be an integral aspect of all analyses undertaken (OECD 1998:20).[12]

The DAC document illustrates that adopting a GAD discourse entails an integration of gender concerns throughout a development agency's organization. Mainstreaming gender goes beyond the technical process of integrating Third World women into development, to a political process that questions organizational structures and culture. It is important to note, however, that the definition the OECD attributes to gender equality reduce issues of gender inequality to "opportunities" and "life chances". Dimensions of

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[12] Another example of a major development agency looking at gender is the World Bank. The World Bank has a report called *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice* (January 2001). This report recognizes that gender inequalities are still pervasive across many dimensions of life and explores gender equality as a core development issue. Information on the report can be found on the World Bank's website at: http://www.worldbank.org/gender/prr.

inequalities of power disappear as do, therefore, pre-existing power relations which are the context within which "choices about what gender equality means" would be made.[13]

GAD approaches to development also encourage partnerships with women's and feminist organizations involved in political processes for social change and gender equality. Women's organizations are identified as key stakeholders in the *Beijing Platform for Action* (1995): "[w]omen's organizations and feminist groups, in collaboration with other non-governmental organizations, should be encouraged to organise networks, as necessary, and to advocate for and support the implementation of the Platform for Action by governments and regional international bodies" (paragraph 298 quoted in Riordan 2000:63). Many academics and activists argue that connecting with women's organizations in the South is critical for communicating their perspectives on local and global gender equity issues to development practitioners and policy-makers (Baden & Goetz 1997:54; Walker 2000; Young 1993:165). Kabeer emphasizes the importance of women's collective strength as the main hope for transformative politics. She argues that

> women's formal and informal lobbies, organizations and movements have formed the backbone of struggles to resist the predations of a top-down development process...individually, these organizations appear weak, underfinanced and disparate. But together they represent a diverse and rich movement for changing women's lives well beyond what is envisaged by the officials of development (Kabeer 1994: 92).

Women's organizations, therefore, provide space for women to shape development processes. Pre-defined gender biased development objectives that simply insert "women"

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[13] Chapter Three reveals the role of power relations in implementing gender equity into development projects.

into development, can be transformed through listening, connecting, and funding the work of such organizations.[14]

Thus, the potential for GAD lies in the recognition that women's issues cannot be addressed by simply integrating women into already existing development priorities and programs. Giving women equal access to predetermined development processes does not ensure gender equality. Using gender as a category of analysis and working with women's organizations, mainstream development agencies have committed themselves to examining how a gender perspective can be implemented into their overall structure and program priorities to achieve gender equality.[15]

Difficulties with GAD Discourse: "The Depoliticization of Gender?"[16]

The GAD approach seems to allow for a deeper analysis of development through an examination of how development processes are gendered and how they affect the social, economic, political, and gender relations of a society. However, the implementation of development projects grounded in a gender analysis has proven to be extremely difficult (Rathgeber 1995:204). A GAD approach is much less coherent than WID. It is more dynamic and less acceptable to mainstream development agency elites

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[14] Arguing that development practitioners should link with women's organizations does not imply that there is one homogenous kind of organization, which defines essentialist ideas about "women's" needs. Rather, development organizations should work with women who join together strategically and politically to promote particular gender equity issues at local and global levels. For a review of different international, national, and grassroots women's organizations involved in social change see: Molyneux, Maxine. 1998. "Analyzing Women's Movements." in eds. Cecile Jackson & Pearson, Ruth. Feminist visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy. (65-88) London: Routledge; and, Walker, Anne. 2000. "The Women's Movement and its Role in Development". In Eds. Jane L. Parpart, Connelly, Patricia M., and Barriteau, Eudine V. Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development. (191-202) Ottawa: IDRC.

[15] See A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks (1999) edited by March, Candida et al. for descriptions of gender analysis frameworks including: the Harvard Analytical Framework, the Gender Analysis Framework (GAM), Women's Empowerment Framework, and a Social Relations Approach. These frameworks are described as 'methods of research and planning for assessing and promoting gender issues in institutions' (Smyth 1999:11).

[16] Baden and Goetz (1997) use this heading on page 43, in their chapter "Who Needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]? Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing".

because of its emphasis on gender as a relation of power (Young 1993:144). The GAD perspective implies

> a fundamental reexamination of social structures and institutions and, ultimately, to the loss of power of entrenched elites, which will effect some women as well as men. At the level of practical programming and project development, this may be construed as a weakness. The GAD approach does not easily lend itself to integration into ongoing development strategies and programs. It demands a degree of commitment to structural change and power shifts that is unlikely to be found either in national or international agencies (Rathgeber 1990:495).

As a result, gender mainstreaming initiatives have focused on highly visible, top-down activities such as producing policies and guidelines rather than the more "invisible processes of transforming organizational culture and practice at all levels" (Kardam 1997).[17]

In Sally Baden and Anne Marie Goetz's examination of the discourse on gender at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995), they found that outside of academia and within policy and activist arenas, the utility and relevance of "gender" has been highly contested (Baden and Goetz 1997:37). They also found that this conference reflected the extent to which gender issues have entered mainstream development at the level of rhetoric. Baden and Goetz found that mainstreaming gender into development agency policies focuses on process and means rather than ends, and leads to a preoccupation with procedures rather than clarity or directions about the goals of GAD (Baden and Goetz 1997:38).

In response to the mainstreaming of gender, some Southern NGO at the Beijing conference stated that gender has became part of the technocratic discourse of researchers and policy makers who no longer address the issues of power that are central to women's

subordination.[18] For example, the Revolutionary Women of the Philippines had a pamphlet entitled "The Gender Trap: An Imperialist Scheme for Coopting the World's Women". This pamphlet attacks gender mainstreaming as a scheme to buy off once committed feminist and social activists. Some NGO representatives also argued that a focus on gender has become counterproductive because a mainstream GAD discourse shifts attention away from women's issues. Eudine Barritea, presenting a panel for DAWN, described how in Jamaica a shift in policy discourse has resulted in a focus away from women to "men at risk" (Baden and Goetz 1997:39). Religious and conservative reactions against GAD were also present. Religious groups felt that the concept gender disrupts particular certainties of human relations. These women felt that gender perspectives "are going directly against our families and against our children" (1997:44). At a Preparatory Committee meeting in New York before the Beijing conference, country delegates had opportunities to discuss concerns over parts of the Platform for Action text. A representative from Honduras, backed up by representatives from other Catholic countries, proposed bracketing the word "gender" throughout the text because she had reservations about the implications of a "gender perspective". Baden and Goetz suggest that these reservations express in part a backlash against contemporary feminism, a

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[17] This quote is taken from Kardam's online article entitled "Changing institutions in women's interests". It is available at: http://www.ids.ac.uk/bridge/dgb5.html

[18] This statement about the discourse on gender and its relevancy to activists concerns is also illustrated in developing countries' own National Machineries for Women (NMW). For example, in Chile many civil society organizations view SENAM (Chile's government department for women) as an arm of the state which does not represent their interests. Also, in Guatemala the National Women's Bureau-ONAM, focuses on programmes on home economics which has little relevance to local women's organizations that address peace, human rights, and economic issues (Baden et al. 1996:32). In addition, appointments of Ministers and the activities of NWM can be tied into the interests of the ruling parties. Female Ministers are often relatives of heads of states or government and the NWM can become a vehicle for promoting and legitimizing the ruling party. Relationships with autonomous NGOs and women's movements can therefore be very difficult (Baden et al. 1996:iii).

discomfort to the visible lesbian presence at the conference, and hesitations about the open discussion on sexual and reproductive rights (1997:45).[19]

Other difficulties with the GAD discourse include the various conceptualizations that are associated to the term *gender*. Goetz argues that this term is often interpreted by development agencies as a synonym for "women". She asserts that many languages cannot easily translate the word "gender" and the use of the concept in development contexts expresses an "Anglo-American feminist understanding of the social construction of gender difference" (1998:53). She interviewed members of state bureaucracies, NGO representatives, members of women's organizations, and academics who either expressed confusion over the meaning of GAD, or stated that state institutions misinterpret and, therefore, do not address the feminist principles of the GAD approach (Goetz 1998:53).

El-Bushra also finds that there is much confusion about the GAD discourse. She contends that there is a tendency to translate the complex issues of the GAD discourse into over-simplifications and "sloganeering" (2000:56). El-Bushra also questions development agency's conceptual dichotomization between sex and gender. She challenges development organizations to consider research findings, which show that not all individuals can be easily determined as biologically male or female at birth. In addition, Western ideas about identifying the biological sex of a person are not shared by all countries. For example, in Nepal and Papua New Guinea it is believed that male and female characteristics can exist within one body, and may be exchanged during sexual

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[19] The *UN General Assembly Special Session (Beijing +5): Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century* New York June 2000, followed up on the 1995 conference in Beijing. On the International Institute for Sustainable Development's website, there is official coverage and recordings of country delegates who discuss their interpretations on the *Platform for Action*. For example, the United States regrets that the document leaves out a statement about discrimination based on a person's sexual orientation. The recordings further illustrate the discussions and debates on what should be included in

intercourse, within a person's lifetime, or during eating (58-59). Such beliefs have implications on how men and women see their own social identity, and how they are 'gendered' by others. It is also more difficult to inscribe social ideas of gender on the biological body. Instead, bodies and different gender identities are interactive (Jolly 2000: 84). Jolly, a queer feminist activist, argues that development agencies should learn from these ideas about gender. She advocates for organizations to respond to alternative ideas about gender through the creation of programs that address injustices to sexual minorities, and same sex households (2000:86).

The different responses to the way development agencies interpret gender exemplify the tensions surrounding the GAD discourse. Tensions and debates surface when gender becomes reinterpreted from feminist conceptualizations in order to meet development agency institutional needs. Baden and Goetz argue that the institutional discourse about gender disassociates gender from a transformatory feminist project. In effect the relational aspects of gender, power, and ideology are not considered (1997:40). Ines Smyth, who works at Oxfam, describes her surprise and observation that Oxfam employees are at ease talking about gender, accept the shift from WID to GAD, but still hesitate to embrace a feminist language. She even found that proposals submitted by partner organizations were summarized by staff who toned down and re-phrased the proposal if it went beyond the less confrontational language of 'women' and 'gender' (Smyth 1999:135). Smyth argues that this resistance in development organizations means that development workers are inhibited from participating fully in debates about different forms of social mobilization. In addition, she argues that this prevents agencies

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gender equality strategies. The recordings can be accessed from: http://www.iisd.ca/4wcw/Beijing+5/index.html

such as Oxfam from working with feminist organizations in the South, which are formed as a result of local analyses of women's circumstances (Smyth 1999:140).

Eva Rathgeber reminds us that there is, however, a contradictory nature of the discourse on gender within organizations that also deserves analysis. She states that, although most development agencies have specific modes of operation for program delivery, sometimes considerable space exists for personal creativity in the interpretation of those guidelines. In effect, individuals within agencies often work in a development area by choice and are committed to issues of social justice (Rathgeber 1995:212). Thus, Rathgeber illustrates that development agencies are not monolithic structures. "Gender" may be reinterpreted again by feminists working within development agencies. Gender is not a fixed concept, and its meaning and strategies for examining gender issues are related to those who interpret it according to their views on social justice.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed many of the ideas and debates within the engendering of development discourse. Through an examination of the literature on WID, WAD, and GAD it is apparent that the discourse is an ongoing site of struggle. The various conceptualizations of women, gender and development reflect the different priorities and values of development agencies, social activists and academics. Mainstream development conceptualizations of "women" tend to exclude 'unofficial' conceptualizations formed by activists from the South. For example, Northern liberal feminists' essentialization of Third World women has resulted in the creation of WID policies and programs. WID approaches by development agencies focus on either Third World women's domestic 'vulnerable' roles, or their productive potential. These policies

and programs tend to incorporate women into predetermined economic development objectives.

The emphasis on integrating women into development ignores the critical analyses of WAD theorists who argue that Third World women's subordination cannot be addressed by WID projects. WAD academics and activist organizations, such as Maria Mies and DAWN, draw attention to the larger political economic structures that effect local sexual inequalities. The focus of WAD analyses on global processes of material inequality has been unsupported by most international development agencies. Instead, many development organizations have adopted a GAD approach to programming and policy-making.

The emergence of a GAD discourse shifts the basic problematic of finding ways to integrate women into development, to recognizing that a gender perspective should be addressed at all levels of development planning and implementation. Academic literature on GAD emphasizes that women are not a homogenous group. Women are active subjects of social processes embedded within gender relations. This reconceptualization of women as active and an understanding of gender intersecting with other social relations, such as class and ethnicity, creates a potential for GAD that differs from WID approaches to development. The potential of GAD includes feminist objectives and collective activities such as transforming inequitable gender relations and interrogating the gendered organization of international development agencies. Social activists and feminists argue that agencies' interpretations of gender mainstreaming and resistance to the transformatory potential of implementing gender analysis at the institutional level limit the opportunities for feminist approaches to development. Instead the literature

indicates that GAD is primarily implemented by development agencies through mainstreaming approaches at the level of rhetoric, although individuals may have personal commitments to working towards gender equality and social justice.

This literature review has provided a broad historical analysis of the engendering development discourse. The chapter examines the theoretical assumptions, priorities, policy approaches and programs of different development actors. This chapter also serves to contextualize the rest of my thesis, which looks at how IDRC has actually implemented a GAD approach in their development processes. The following chapter discusses the research context and the methodological approach to examining the women, gender and development discourse of IDRC.

Chapter Two
Researching Gender and Development Discourse: The Research Context, Methods of Inquiry, and Gathering the Data

The Research Context: The International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

The primary objective of this thesis is to explore how the discourse of GAD is implemented within projects of the International Development Research Centre's (IDRC) PAN Program Initiative (PI).[20] IDRC is a public corporation created by the Parliament of Canada in 1970. Its mandate is "[t]o initiate, encourage, support and conduct research into the problems of the developing regions of the world and into the means for applying and adapting scientific, technical, and other knowledge to the economic and social advancement of those regions".[21] To achieve its objectives, IDRC funds the work of scientists working in universities, private enterprise, government, and nonprofit organizations in developing countries and provides some support to regional research networks and institutions in the Third World.[22] IDRC's role differs from Canada's other international development institution, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which focuses on the practical applications of sustainable development such as infrastructure services, private sector development and humanitarian assistance (IDRC 2000a:3). In contrast, IDRC support is directed mainly to researchers and research institutions in the South so that "developing countries generate the tools and expertise they need to develop their own solutions to the problems they face" (IDRC 2000a:3).

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[20] IDRC programming falls under three themes: Environment and Natural Resource Management; Social and Economic Equity; and, Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D). Within these themes there are specific Program Initiatives (PIs) and International Secretariats which fund research projects and other activities. Within each PI there are Program Officers (POs) who support IDRC's funding of development research projects. PAN is a PI under the ICT4D theme.

[21] http://www.idrc.ca

IDRC emphasizes its role as a Research Centre through its commitment to knowledge: "Knowledge is the key. Sustainable improvements in human well-being depend on knowledge, its production, distribution, ownership, and wise application."[23] Knowledge is described in IDRC's 2000-2005 Program Directions as the "key to progress" and the mission of the Centre is "Empowerment through Knowledge" (IDRC 2000b:6). Furthermore, IDRC proposes a "new avenue of research to examine 'knowledge systems' that support social innovation and change... [they] refer to the range of functions involved in the production and use of knowledge. It includes the many forms in which knowledge is held-from oral traditions to networked databases-and knowledge users, be they individuals or groups" (IDRC 2000b:30). Thus, IDRC publicizes itself as a Research Centre that holds knowledge as the key for developing countries to find their own solutions to their problems. Research is considered to be the means for the production of knowledge needed for a country's development. It is important to note, however, that normally the research the Centre funds differs from the kinds of academic research that is produced through university support. IDRC initiatives are mostly applied research projects through which, for example, the use of various technologies is explored. The Centre is also increasingly supporting research that will help shape national policies related to areas such as the environment, science and technology, and economics.

IDRC's Corporate Commitment to Gender Issues

IDRC also has a commitment to gender issues. In its 1999-2000 Annual Report it states that the "Centre values a **multidisciplinary**, **participatory approach** that factors

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[22] http://www.idrc.ca
[23] ibid

in gender considerations. This inclusive methodology helps to ensure that research is grounded in the needs of the local people" (IDRC 2000a:4). The Annual Report also emphasizes its continued support of gender issues in IDRC's 5-year Corporate Strategy: "[i]t stays true to our key principles while pointing to new directions, among them an emphasis on governance, a greater exploration of the relationship between research and knowledge, and an increased attention to gender issues in development" (IDRC 2000a:8). In addition, the inclusion of gender considerations in research programming and analysis is one of the features that describes and distinguishes IDRC's approach to development and research (IDRC 2001a:7). The President of IDRC, Maureen O'Neil, affirms IDRC's commitment to gender and states:

> Gender is not new but there is a really new emphasis on it. Over the last few years, we have been concerned about ensuring that researchers consider the differential impact on men and women of the issues they are studying. But this is insufficient. There are issues that explicitly relate to women gaining greater control over their lives. Girls are more likely than boys to be aborted or killed at birth in Asia. That's an issue. What happens to little girl's schooling? What about property rights? We have to ask whether our programs directly address any of these issues. At a general level, yes, you can fit women into anything. But it's not the same thing as asking if research can contribute to the essential steps to improve women's lives. So we are increasing the budget for that work (IDRC 2000b:12).

This commitment is expressed at the research project level through Centre policy which requires a gender/social analysis for all projects exceeding $100 000 CAD.

Thus, IDRC 's commitment to gender issues is evident in their public documentation. Gender is a key aspect of research and knowledge, and gender issues should be directed towards women's empowerment by not simply fitting women into programs that may not necessarily improve their lives. The implementation of these

corporate concerns for gender issues is, however, complicated by the actual work on gender within IDRC.

Findings on Gender Considerations in Practice

There is limited IDRC documentation on the actual practice of incorporating gender considerations into the work of PIs at an organizational level and/or at the project level. In her baseline analysis of IDRC's "gender diffusion process" in the early 1990s, Waafas Ofosu-Amaah observed that the Gender Unit's strategy of gender mainstreaming and doing work from a gender perspective has not been clearly defined. One senior Program Officer commented that gender "is recognized as playing a significant role in IDRC's work, but there are a variety of levels of understanding of what the gender approach means at a programmatic level" (Ofosu-Amaah 1994:6). There has also been no indication as to how to enforce the Centre's management policy to appraise social and gender impacts for projects over $100 000. Ofosu-Amaah argues that many staff do not appreciate the difference between projects that focus on women's issues and the integration of a gender perspective into all projects. She states that "[p]rojects identified by project officers as exemplars of the integration of the gender perspective reinforce this difference in perception- they are all essentially projects designed especially for women, and not mainstream projects with a 'gendered' perspective" (Ofosu-Amaah 1994:4). There is also little incentive to address and be accountable for the implementation of gender considerations since "IDRC is not requesting information on how well projects succeed in incorporating gender in development research or on what impact the project has had on gender relations" (Evaluation Unit 1997:7).

In recent years, the Gender Unit of IDRC has not advanced new directions for gender research and has not clarified gender analytical methodologies or a gender mainstreaming framework for the overall programming of IDRC.[24] Instead, the onus is on individual PIs to find ways to understand and integrate gender considerations into their work. In the past two to three years the main strategy used by individual Program Initiatives is to hire an intern to 'champion' a 'gender mainstreaming' process into the PI. For example, the Sustainable Use of Biodiversity, the MINGA, and the Cities Feeding People Program Initiatives hired interns to increase Program Officers' (POs) understanding on how to better integrate gender considerations into their work. For the year 2001, I was hired to mainstream gender into the PAN PI. Within this context of discussing gender it is significant to note that the hiring of female employees to lead gender mainstreaming processes in male-dominated PI settings reflects visible internal IDRC gender disparities. At times, this has led to questions from partners/recipients as to why they should ensure gender equality in IDRC funded projects when it is obvious that within IDRC there are marked gender inequalities in program staffing.

In an IDRC gender training workshop (2001) concerns about incorporating gender into PI work were raised by staff. Some of these concerns include: the confusion surrounding gender analysis; the difficulties faced in reporting on experiences related to gender issues; the imbalance between male and female POs; the challenge of building enthusiasm for gender mainstreaming and demonstrating that it is an integral part of social development; and the difficulty in knowing whether gender issues are truly taken

[24] The Centre has recently hired one full-time Senior Programme Specialist to work in the Gender Unit. She is currently establishing future priorities and directions for gender research and for supporting PI gender mainstreaming efforts. This work will be discussed further in the conclusion to this thesis.

into consideration beyond what is written into project proposals.[25] Due to these concerns and others many program staff continue to struggle with helping research partners apply a gender analysis in a meaningful way.

In sum, IDRC's corporate commitment to gender issues is illustrated in its Centre policy and its recent public documents such as the 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 Annual Reports and IDRC's 2000-2005 Program Directions. IDRC's President, Maureen O'Neil, has exerted her commitment to gender issues by arguing that the Centre needs to address gender by doing more than supporting research that analyzes the differential impact a project may have on men and women. Her concern is with improving women's lives rather than fitting women into any program. These concerns illustrate IDRC's corporate and public commitment to work beyond a WID approach to development towards thinking seriously about gender issues to improve women's lives and to ensure participatory approaches to development that are grounded in the needs of local people. However, a general look at documentation and strategies on addressing GAD in practice highlights ambiguities on how the corporate commitment is actually implemented. This brief analysis of IDRC's commitment to gender and the limitations and opportunities for implementing gender considerations in practice grounds the PAN Program Initiative within a broader institutional discourse about gender. The exploration of the GAD discourse within specific projects of the PAN Program Initiative will show how gender considerations are taken up in actual practice.

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[25] These concerns are listed in a report prepared by Catherine Hill and Susan Paulson on the *Workshop on Gender in Environment and Natural Resources Management 7-12 March, 2001*, page 22.

The PAN Global Networking Program Initiative

PAN explores how information and communication technologies (ICTs) can be used in Latin America and Asia "to determine how researchers and development workers in developing countries can best use, develop, and adapt networking technologies to improve communication, their access to information, and the impact of the research they conduct to solve development problems-social, economic, cultural, political, educational, or environmental".[26] PAN's specific objectives are:

> **Connectivity Infrastructure**
> To determine how the least-developed countries and communities can best achieve sustainable and adequate national and local connectivity, participate in global network resources (Internet), and develop local expertise in computer networking.
>
> **Content Development**
> To assist research and development organizations in developing countries to build the capacity and the resource base needed to develop local information materials that can be published on the Internet and other computer media.
>
> **Communication and Networking**
> To determine how researchers and development workers can best use the Internet technology to help solve local development problems and share knowledge, research results, and community experiences on a global basis.
>
> **Collaborative Research on ICTs and Policies**
> To support research on technology adaptation and depolyment, policy and regulatory issues, and the social and cultural impacts of the Internet.[27]

During the time of this research PAN staff involved in supporting projects consisted of a multidisciplinary team. The team included an economist, an anthropologist, a geographer, a chemical engineer, a chartered librarian, a sociologist, and

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[26] This information is based on PAN's 3-Year Plan (1997-2000), which can be found on the PAN web site: http://www.idrc.ca/pan/prospectus.html. During the time I conducted this research the projects were developed under the themes and ideas of this prospectus. PAN has moved under the program area *Information and Communication Technologies For Development* (ICT4D) and has a new Program Director who is leading PAN's research objectives towards new development themes, and a new PAN prospectus was approved. The research project I will be investigating falls under the previous objectives and goals of PAN's 1997-2000 Plan.

a computer scientist.[28] The various academic backgrounds of the team members reflect the diverse program activities and research projects of PAN in fulfilling its general objectives. [29]

The Research Projects

The following section provides brief descriptions of the four PAN projects researched for this thesis. These descriptions are based on official information provided by IDRC and other project documentation. They serve as background information before proceeding in the next section with an explanation of the methods used to research these projects. The projects are listed, the purpose is briefly described, and the research institution implementing the project, the amount of funding, and the start and completion dates are provided.

1). "InforCauca Community Telecentres":

This project is carried out in the Cauca Department of Colombia to test the hypothesis that the democratization of information and communications can foster sustainable development by providing local institutions and marginalized communities, in both rural and urban areas, with new resources, tools, and capacities to better solve problems and meet needs through participatory approaches. Three community telecentres were created for this project-one in a neighbourhood called Aguablanca in the city of Cali, and two in the rural areas of Cauca in southwestern Colombia.[30] These

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[27] http://www.idrc.ca/pan/prospectus.html

[28] With the exception of one staff member these staff were male.

[29] The following web site provides a list of PAN's projects: http://www.idrc.ca/pan/projects_e.htm

[30] Telecentres are created through the implementation of different information and communication technologies. In the proposal submitted to IDRC the InforCauca researchers state that the telecentres will have at least a basic package of computer hardware and software. This includes two networked computers with Pentium processors and a large amount of disk space and RAM, a printer, and a scanner at each site. The computers will have software for basic office and financial functions, database development, desktop

telecentres were set up to address the growing marginalization of these communities from communications infrastructure. It is hoped that through the use of the telecentres market opportunities for farmers in Cauca will increase, thus improving the population's social and economic conditions and providing an alternative to the increasing number of people involved in processing illicit crops or participating in guerrilla movements (CIAT 1999:5).

The InforCauca project is led by the *Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical* (CIAT) a nonprofit, non-governmental research organization dedicated to alleviating hunger and poverty and preserving natural resources in developing countries. This project received an IDRC grant of $224 700. InforCauca officially began in November 1999 and the estimated time for completing the project is November 2003.

2). "Strengthening Networks of Researchers on Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC)":

In this thesis, the project will be referred to by its more common name, MISTICA (Methodology and Social Impact of the Information and Communication Technologies in America). MISITCA seeks to strengthen a regional network of Latin American and Caribbean researchers and institutions working in the area of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) for social development. The project supports collective research, experimentation and action. One of the main ways MISTICA strengthens this regional network is through the creation of a virtual community. MISTICA also developed information resources based on the expertise and experience of the network participants, all actively using and researching the impact of ICTs on different aspects of society. In addition, MISTICA supported six small pilot projects that

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publishing, and WE publishing. Internet access will be provided through an arrangement with Telecom,

researched how ICTs can be used for practical social action. For example, in Nicaragua a pilot application called "A Window for Civic Participation in the Public Administration" established a system on the Internet to inform citizens about public services and public officers they may not know exist, or how to access. This online system also allows citizens to voice their opinion about public services to the responsible government offices.[31]

MISTICA is led by *Fundacion Redes y Desarrollo* (FUNREDES), an NGO dedicated to the dissemination of ICTs in developing countries, especially Latin America and the Caribbean. Since the early 1990s, FUNREDES' position is that the Internet is for empowering people and communities for collaborating and social networking.[32] This project received an IDRC grant of $449 780. MISTICA officially began in November 1998 and was completed in June 2001.

3). "Impact of Information Technology in Rural Areas-India":

In this thesis the project will be referred to by its more common name, the 'Knowledge Centre's project'. The Knowledge Centre's project is carried out in the Pondicherry Territory of Southern India. The project aims to assess the impact of information and communication technologies on the transition of rural communities to sustainable agriculture and rural development. It also documents the communities' role in promoting knowledge-empowerment in rural families. Researchers set up six Knowledge Centres that provide e-mail and World Wide Web access. They are operated by high-school educated youth, especially females. The operators are trained to identify and disseminate locally relevant information using an appropriate blend of modern and

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the local public-sector telecommunications provider (CIAT 1999:13)

[31] This information is from the official abstract posted online: http://www.idrc.ca/pan/pr04235_e.htm

existing channels of communication. Researchers will measure the impact of the information shops through surveys, and determine how such services can be made sustainable.[33]

This project is led by the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF), which is committed to a mission of harnessing science and technology for environmentally sustainable and socially equitable development.[34] The project received an IDRC grant of $414 120. It officially began in November 1997 and the estimated completion date is January 2004.

4). "E-marketers: An Innovative approach to E-commerce"[35]:

The E-Marketer's project is implemented in the Tamilnadu region of southern India. The main purpose of this project is to explore possibilities of E-marketers to promote indigenous products online. It is hoped that e-commerce will improve the economic condition of women's cooperatives and NGOs through online marketing of their products (IDRC 2000c:1). In a previous project an experimental Internet E-commerce web site was established to promote these products.[36]

This project is led by the Foundation of Occupational Development (FOOD), a non-profit organization based in India conducting research and implementing programs in

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[32] For more information on FUNREDES visit: http://www.funredes.org/english/index.php3

[33] This information is from the official abstract posted on line: www.idrc.ca/pan/pr03778_e.htm

[34] For more information on MSSRF visit: http://www.mssrf.org/

[35] It is important to note that this project was funded under PAN's Research and Development Grants Programme. These projects typically receive a maximum of $75 000 and are approved by a Committee established by IDRC with members that are not employed by IDRC. The main objective of the Grants Programme is to "build institutional research capacity in the developing countries of Asia, in the area of Internet networking. It is directed at encouraging original and innovative networking solutions to specific development problems in Asia" (IDRC. *Pan Asia Networking: R&D Grants Programme.* Canada. brochure) The typical procedures for supporting this kind of project differs from the other projects. For example, the potential recipient submits an application with a research proposal that gets rated by the Committee and is either rejected or it is approved. Generally, there is less interaction between Program Officers with recipients on the project design and in the monitoring and evaluation of the project than the other projects listed.

the field of cost-effective housing, education, electronic networking, employment generation, energy conservation, environmental sanitation, and sustainable development.[37] The E-Marketer's project received an IDRC grant of $58 667. It officially began in October 2000 and was completed in October 2001.

Methods of Inquiry: Discourse, Texts and the Social Organization of Knowledge

There are many ways to explore how the GAD discourse is actually practiced in the implementation of these projects. One method of investigation could be an evaluation of the social impacts of the projects after their completion. An ethnographic study of the communities involved in the projects could illustrate how each project has affected and transformed the lives of the intended 'beneficiaries'. The research that I am proposing, however, will analyze the discursive procedures of GAD in specific research contexts. Therefore, this thesis locates GAD within the institutional processes of accomplishing IDRC projects. This methodological entry point assumes that the GAD discourse is not only located in the effects of these projects, but is also implicated in the conceptualization, administration, documentation, and implementation phases. Development work does not only take place in Third World project 'sites', but is located in multiple settings all around the world. As Adelle Mueller observed in her work on the WID discourse:

> For most international studies researchers, and certainly for Development professionals, "the field" is in the Third World. Yet from my observations of the work which takes place at project sites, I learned that it is dependent on previous work in bureaucracies and universities and intends further work in those sites. This research finding points to the extended social organization of a project. I had to broaden my understanding of "project" beyond the "project site" and "project activities" to see that Development is a concerted product of a complex division of labor dispersed over time and the globe. I would have

[36] To see the online shop visit: http://www.xlweb.com/indiashop
[37] For more information on FOOD visit: http://xlweb.com/food/aboutus.htm

> to look further than La Raya, Peru or Sobral, Brazil or Settat, Morocco to uncover the social organization of Development (Mueller 1987:67).

Similarly, the GAD discourse and its implementation in specific settings is embedded in the social organization of development initiatives including the work of IDRC. These socially organized practices constitute what becomes known about gender. The thesis explores how GAD is socially and materially organized, "as produced by individuals in actual settings, and as organized by and organizing definite social relations. The social organization and accomplishment of the [discourse] itself is the focus of inquiry" (Smith 1990a:62).

Other studies on discourse have focused on the social, cultural, and symbolic aspects of creating knowledge about women, gender and development (Escobar 1995, Ferguson 1994, Mueller 1987, Rahnema 1997, Sachs 1995, Simpson 1998). Arturo Escobar proposes studying development as a creation of a domain of both thought and action by analyzing the interrelations of the three axes that define it. These include

> the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories, and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped (Escobar 1995:10).

Following the scholarly works of Bakhtin and Foucault, Escobar tries to understand development in terms of 'regimes of discourse and representation'. He argues that charting regimes of representation of the Third World embodied in development discourse maps the configurations of knowledge and power that define the post World War II development era (Escobar 1995:10). Escobar shows how this discourse results in concrete practices of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced as a homogeneous entity that can be managed and developed economically.

Similarly, James Ferguson explores how the discourse of development is an "interpretive grid through which impoverished regions of the world are known to us" (Ferguson 1994:xiii). In his study he explores the conceptualization, planning and the implementation from 1975-1984 of a rural development project in Lesotho funded chiefly by the World Bank and CIDA. He analyzes how an institutional discourse constructs Lesotho as a particular object of knowledge, creates a structure of knowledge around that object, and interventions that are organized on the basis of this structure have concrete effects on the men and women in the mountain villages of that region (1994:xiv). Ferguson states that the "procedure implicitly employed by 'development' discourse on this point is the following: take a geographically defined part of the regional economy, treat it as a self-contained 'national economy', note that it functions imperfectly as such due to its 'dependence' on the whole, and blame that dependence on the geographical definition with which one began" (1994: 63-64).[38] He argues that defining Lesotho as a development problem by using its 'national economy' as the basic unit of analysis removes Lesotho from its historical and political context. This isolating technique ignores why Lesotho is resource 'poor' and ignores why it has the peculiar national boundaries it does (1994:63). Ferguson contends that an

> analysis which suggests that the causes of poverty in Lesotho are political and structural (not technical and geographical), that the national government is part of the problem (not a neutral instrument for its solution), and that meaningful change can only come through revolutionary social transformation in South Africa has no place in 'development' discourse simply because 'development' agencies are not in the business of promoting political realignments or supporting revolutionary struggles (1994:69).

[38] His analysis of this procedure may be defined by Dorothy Smith's concept, the "ideological circle" (Smith 1990a:93). Understanding Lesotho primarily as a national economy organizes a predetermined schema which produces data that is interpreted by the same schema. Any questions outside of this framework do not become part of the decision-making processes about development in Lesotho.

Thus, the World Bank and CIDA's interpretive schematic framework and discursive procedures for 'knowing' Lesotho did not take into account the larger political-economic factors which impede economic development in that region.

The work of Escobar, Ferguson and others provide a critical interpretation of the concept "discourse" in their analyses of development practices. They examine the socially organized practices which are integral to discursive processes. This understanding of discourse displaces the centrality Foucault assigns to texts, by understanding that discourse "is a distinctive form of coordinating activities among people in a system of relations mediated by texts" (Smith 1993:185). However, from my reading of Escobar and Ferguson it seems that they present development organizations as monolithic structures. Although their analyses describe how the discourse of development have real material effects on men and women's lives, their analyses do not necessarily take into account the commitments that development workers have outside of the institutional discourse and organizational schematic frameworks. On the other hand, in Patricia Simpson's study of development workers in the Canadian Executive Service Organization (CESO) she discusses the experiences and interests of the workers in gender issues, and how the implementation of these interests are limited by the regulatory capacity of CESO texts. This kind of analysis reveals a more complex picture of the social relations embedded within institutional discursive procedures. An emphasis on social relations "*directs attention to, and takes up analytically, how what people are doing and experiencing in a given local site is hooked into sequences of action implicating and coordinating multiple local sites where others are active*" (Smith 1999:7). Thus, taking into consideration social relations avoids positioning IDRC

Program Officers and the researchers analogous to what is written about gender in project administration (institutional discursive procedures). Their varying interests and commitments in working from a gender perspective and experiences with gender considerations and analysis are an important part of this study. Their own engagements with GAD discourse will reveal various epistemological spaces for discovering ideas about gender beyond what is stated in the texts.

Gathering the Data: Interviews, Project Documentation, and Observations

The analysis of GAD in practice is based on research conducted from March-September 2001. My engagement with PAN staff in gender mainstreaming activities included the development of case studies on the integration of gender considerations in the four PAN projects. These case studies were used in an internal gender and ICTs professional development workshop I coordinated (November 29-30 2001). When discussing this research idea with the team in March 2001, I decided that this research would serve a dual purpose and used for this thesis as well. Two projects based in Latin America and two projects based in Asia, the two regions PAN supports research projects, were chosen in a collaborative decision-making process with the PAN team. The PAN team and I decided that the projects should be in the implementation phase (as opposed to other projects which are in the initial design phases or completion phases) so that this research could be used in the workshop to help the POs with their future support of these and other projects. The projects were also chosen in order to ensure that different Program Officers would be interviewed, that I could conduct the research within a reasonable travel budget, and that the projects researched would have different goals and objectives.

Initially, contact was made between the Program Officer responsible for each project and the project teams. An e-mail was sent to the research teams by the PO who introduced this study and described why they were selected. The e-mail also included a letter written by me describing the purpose of the research and requesting their participation (see Appendix One for recruitment letter). Once the research team responded positively, I engaged in more depth with team members via e-mail about the research and planning travel to meet with them.

My initial study of these projects included a review of project documentation to investigate how gender is conceptualized within different texts. IDRC project documentation such as the project proposal, the Appraisal of the project by the IDRC PO, the Memorandum of Grant Conditions (MGC)-the formal contract between IDRC and the research institution, progress reports, e-mail correspondence, and other documents from the project files were reviewed. This review was important to discover the context of the project, and the POs role in the 'project cycle'.[39] In addition, researching these project texts as "constituents of social relations offers access to the ontological ground of institutional processes which organize, govern, and regulate" how gender considerations are written into reports and implemented (Smith 1990b:122). Gender considerations written in the project texts were referred to in the interviews to find how they were accomplished in practice.

In addition to my reading of project documents, I interviewed the Program Officers responsible for each project and then visited and interviewed the research teams

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[39] Within IDRC POs often refer to the support or funding of a 'project cycle'. A project cycle usually begins when there is discussion between a PO and a researcher about a specific project they would like to develop. The project cycle continues through the implementation of a project until the contract (the MGC)

of the organizations in charge of implementing the projects. In total six semi-structured interviews of approximately one hour with POs took place at IDRC headquarters in Ottawa.[40] Two group discussions and a site visit to one of the community telecentres in Colombia, site visits to five of the India Knowledge Centres, and eleven semi-structured interviews with the members of the different research teams, comprised the research conducted while I was on travel.[41] The interviews with the Program Officers helped to further explore the project's context. I also asked the POs questions about their participation in the project cycle, such as how were the gender considerations stated in the documents established? Who made that decision, on what basis and for what reasons? What was their role in that decision making process? My interviews with the research teams were guided by what I found at this point in my research. I asked them similar questions as the Program Officers including questions regarding the initial design and implementation activities of their research project. For example, I discussed with them: Who determined the gender considerations throughout the project cycle? What are the research methodologies, how and why were they chosen? How will the gender considerations be evaluated? What are some of the opportunities and challenges for the implementation of gender considerations?

A generic interview guide with questions organized by different stages of the project cycle assisted me during the interviews (see Appendix Two for Interview Guide). This guide was adapted specifically to the context of each project, and to the person I was

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between IDRC and the research institution is complete, formalized by a Project Completion Report. The duration of a project cycle is normally two to three years.

[40] Both of the projects based in India had two Program Officers responsible for their administration.

[41] I spent a week in Colombia meeting with members of the research teams, and some telecentre operators, two days in the Dominican Republic, a week visiting the research foundation responsible for the Knowledge Centre project and visiting KC sites, and a day meeting with the man in charge of the E-marketers project in India.

interviewing. I was committed to flexibility in the research process and questions were not necessarily asked in the consecutive order of the interview guide. I also recognized my own role in the interviews as *active* and therefore I took part in discussing my impressions about the research projects. My own experiences and observations from working with the PAN team contributed to the content of the interviews and my analysis in the proceeding chapters. The interview questions were not, therefore, simply tools for me to extract data from 'research subjects'. My presence, interview questions, and interpretations all play an important part in the dynamics of interviewing and analyzing these projects.[42]

Ethical considerations were adhered to through written informed consent from interviewees (see Appendix Three for consent form). This form explains that their participation is voluntary, will be kept confidential, and their anonymity will be ensured through the use of a pseudonym. The names of the research organizations are used since the work of the organizations is a related aspect of this study. In the consent form it states that the name of the organization will not remain anonymous unless otherwise requested. None of the interviewees made this request.

Most interviews were taped and transcribed. The interviews in India were not taped due to noise in offices where interviews took place, and interviews conducted in cars on the way to visit Knowledge Centres could not be recorded. This research process made me realize that interviews in quiet closed spaces is culturally specific to locations which have the financial capacity to create such spaces. The less formal the research

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[42] See Jody Miller and Barry Glassner's chapter "The 'Inside' and the 'Outside': Finding Realities in Interviews", for more discussion on the intersubjectivity of the interview process. James A. Holsein and Jaber F. Gubrium's chapter "Active Interviewing" goes into more detail about the collaborative work of

setting the more I relied on writing about the interviews and field observations instead of relying on a tape recording of the interviews. Once I returned to Ottawa and transcribed the interviews, transcriptions and/or interview notes were sent to interviewees for their review and feedback. The case studies based on this research and used for the internal IDRC workshop were also sent to Program Officers and some research teams for their review and/or comments.

In addition to a review of the project documents, interviews, and visiting with project teams, this research is informed by my experiences in working at IDRC headquarters over the course of one year. I have been involved in both formal and informal meetings, discussions with colleagues engaged in gender mainstreaming activities, and have participated in various electronic list-serves related to IDRC's work. This involvement in the day-to-day work of IDRC granted me the opportunity to learn about the GAD discourse in practice as a participant observer. Participant observation provides a much richer and contextualized interpretation of the research data, than had I only engaged with interviewees during the scheduled interview times.

Limitations of the Research

At certain times in this research process I felt limited by my role as an IDRC employee and my role as a graduate student. At times my own role as an IDRC employee dedicated to increasing the PAN team's capacity to address gender issues and my role as a graduate student engaged in producing feminist research was contradictory. Although I am committed to the feminist principles of social transformation, I often find myself speaking about 'gender issues' within IDRC rather than feminism or social

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interviewers and respondents in constructing interviews. Both of these chapters can be found in a book edited by David Silverman (1997) Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice.

analysis. From my own experiences, I have observed that gender issues within IDRC do not always imply a feminist commitment to qualitative research, to social justice, and to recognizing that a gender perspective means going beyond designing 'women only' projects, or to creating a special capacity for women in conceptually pre-determined projects. The fact that gender principles do not always imply feminist principles for IDRC employees means that I had to be especially aware of how I portray my research objectives during the interviews. The primary reason I was in a position to travel and speak to Program Officers and researchers from partner organizations is due to my receiving an IDRC internship award. I had therefore to be sensitive to my dual roles during the interviews and in the analysis of PAN procedures. For example, as an IDRC employee I am unable to discuss the minutes from internal PAN meetings in this thesis even though they may be relevant to my analysis. Nevertheless, I hope that this research will produce a thought-provoking thesis in addition to providing constructive feedback to the Centre.

I was also limited throughout the research process by my lack of understanding local languages. In preparation for my travels to Latin America I learned beginner's Spanish. Although this helped open initial dialogue and trust with some people my interviews with people who spoke little English were translated by a Spanish-English translator. Through translation it was difficult to record interviewees' thoughts in their own words. Instead the interviewees responses were recorded through the translator's summary. In India when I met with Knowledge Centre volunteers who only spoke Tamil, I also had to rely on staff to assist me with translation. Furthermore, the majority of the interviews conducted in English were with people who spoke English as their

second or often third language. This made it difficult for them to express their thoughts as fully as they could in their first language.

In addition, this research is constrained by time restrictions. Due to a limited travel budget and other work that I needed to accomplish, the visits with each project team ranged from one day to one week. These short visits limit my understanding of the social and cultural contexts of these projects, and the time I had to engage with project staff more informally. In one project, however, a potentially dangerous setting proved to be a greater limitation than time constraints. When I traveled to Colombia, I did not visit two of the three InforCauca telecentres due to the threats of violence surrounding the areas of the Tunia and ACIN telecentres.

Another set of limitations is that I am not interviewing the intended 'beneficiaries' of the projects. The voices and experiences of the Southern women and men affected by the projects are not given a voice in this thesis due to time and financial constraints. An important complement to this study would be an exploration of the effects of each project on the people impacted by the its design and implementation.

In sum, participant observation, a review of project documentation, interviews and my own observations based on site visits, illustrate the practices of the GAD discourse in particular projects within parameters I can explore. The methodological entry point of this inquiry explicates the process for creating a discourse about gender within IDRC institutional procedures. These procedures play an important role in creating spaces for doing work from a gender perspective for goals related to social change including the transformation of inequitable gender relations. The following

chapter analyzes the research findings on how GAD is accomplished through the InforCauca, MISTICA, Knowledge Centre's, and E-Marketer's projects.

Chapter Three
Research Findings: Gender and Development in Action

The research findings indicate that the social and gendered contexts of the communities in which the research projects are implemented complicate IDRC's normal institutional procedures for accomplishing the projects. The first section in this chapter draws examples from the research to expound upon IDRC's role in promoting the integration of gender considerations into research projects. This section focuses exclusively on the significance of IDRC's normal institutional procedures for accomplishing the implementation of gender considerations. It highlights two particular features of IDRC's procedures, specifically IDRC's requirements for gender considerations, and the Program Officer's (PO's) role in supporting projects. However, the focus of this section on institutional procedures does not suggest that the integration of gender considerations is wholly dependent upon these procedures. The larger social, political, and gendered contexts of the communities in which the research projects are implemented are significant. This section, therefore, begins first with a discussion on the gender roles attributed to men and women within the villages of the Knowledge Centre project, and a brief explanation of the caste system within India. Other gendered aspects of the communities are also referred to throughout the latter half of this chapter. A more thematic discussion of their significance with respect to GAD discourse will follow in the final chapter to this thesis.

The research findings also highlight some emerging themes on how gender considerations are actually practiced. The second section of the chapter concentrates on these themes, including the significance of a gender expert, of women's organizations,

and of establishing a common conceptualization of gender. These themes emphasize how particular issues affect the extent to which gender considerations are meaningfully integrated in the practice of implementing research projects.

Complications to the Institutional Procedures: Social, Political and Gendered Contexts

It is crucial to note that IDRC procedures are embedded within larger social, political, and cultural contexts. IDRC's potential for establishing institutional processes that guide the research project through defining, implementing, monitoring and evaluating gender considerations is constrained by the social structures and differences that exist within the context of any project. For example, while I was in India meeting with volunteers who operate the various Knowledge Centres, it became apparent that the different gender roles of men and women have implications on which gender is most likely to volunteer in the project and on the consequent opportunities a volunteer position can provide. The female volunteers are almost exclusively married women who can volunteer once their husbands grant them the permission to do so. These married women are often perceived as having extra time to work in the KC. If females are single, cultural taboos on how they should act in public and socialize with men restrict their ability to initiate a volunteer position for themselves.[43] The male volunteers, however, are all single, essentially free from the restrictive social norms attached to women's marital status. Volunteering is viewed as a skill building activity for men's future careers. Once males are married, however, they are perceived to be too busy in their income generating activities and there is a stigma attached to volunteering their time for free. Although

[43] I only met with one single female volunteer. Her parents allowed her to be in this position since her brother is also a volunteer and therefore can watch over her well being. This volunteer told me that she

women can build new skills and can gain increased respect from the community, it is doubtful that they will have similar opportunities to apply these skills.[44] Carla Freeman found similar gender differences in the electronics industry in the Caribbean. She found that men view their jobs as 'informatics operators' as a stepping stone toward better computer-based jobs. On the other hand, the female operators hope for stable employment, and rarely express the expectation to move up to a higher level of computer work (Freeman 2000:47).

In addition to the unequal roles attributed to men and women's marital status, the Knowledge Centre project is situated historically within a caste system. The highest caste group, the Brahmins, developed this system of hierarchies more than 3000 years ago. The caste system was formalized into four hierarchical categories, and the Dalits, often referred to as the 'untouchables', fall outside of these categories and are the most oppressed and exploited social group. The Indian Constitution legally banned discrimination of Dalits in 1947 and created amendments that came into effect in 1993 that ensures the reservation of elected seats for disadvantaged groups including Dalits.[45] However, Cabera-Balleza (2001) argues that there has not been any significant change in the social status of Dalits, particularly in rural communities.[46] Despite legal safeguards to

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likes working in an environment where she can speak to people other than her parents and even feels comfortable talking to men. Field Notes, September 4 2001.

[44] Interview Notes, September 4 2001.

[45] In the magazine *Frontline* Viswanathan (2001) reports that even with the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution, corruption is often used to obtain political power that keep women, the poor, and Dalits from participating equally in the electoral process. This article also states that higher castes such as Caste Hindu groups adopt a number of ways to sabotage attempts to empower Dalits. For example Viswanathan asserts that Hindu groups have boycotted elections, and if a Dalit becomes elected they may not cooperate with him or her and even banish that person from their village. This information can be found at: http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1821/18210340.htm Viswanathan, S. Vol. 18-Issue 21 Oct.13-26 2001. "Some Disturbing Trends".

[46] In Article 14 of the Chapter on Fundamental Rights in the Indian Constitution, there is a strong position against any form of discrimination. In Articles 15, 16, and 17 it states a commitment to eradicate caste discrimination and abolish the discriminatory practice of 'untouchability' against the Dalits. There are

prevent discrimination of Dalits, they are still often segregated to separate living spaces and are relegated to the most menial forms of employment.[47] In addition, Cabera-Balleza asserts that Dalit women suffer more than men due to gender based discrimination. The project staff has to work within this context of social discrimination. Dalit participation is extremely low in this project, even though they are openly invited to use the KCs. To address this problem, the project staff decided to implement one Centre in a Dalit village so they have access to the project's benefits as well. The participation of Dalits in this case is, however, an exception compared to their relatively low participation in the other KCs.

In my review of project documentation and in my interviews on this project a couple of people challenged the staff to reflect on these aspects of this social context. For example, a staff from the MSSRF Gender Resource Centre argues that the concept *volunteer* used in this project and many others makes invisible the roles of women, and assumes that since women are *only* housewives, they have the extra time for unpaid work.[48] She thinks that women's work should not be undervalued in this way and is distressed that this idea of women's volunteerism, an assumption of IDRC, is merging into the ICT sector. However, she understands that women's equality issues and other equity issues related to caste and class are the larger social and political dimensions this project must question and work within.

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approximately 160 million Dalits in India. This information on the caste system can be found at: http://www.isiswomen.org/pub/wia/wiawcar/india.htm Cabera-Balleza, Victoria. No.2, 2001. "Unveiling India's "Hidden Apartheid".

[47] It is also important to note that today the Dalits are trying to gain political force. Through international conferences such as the UN Conference on Racism, the publication of books and journals such as *The Dalit Magazine*, and action groups such as the Dalit Liberation Education Trust, Dalits are educating themselves on their legal and constitutional rights to fight for their implementation. This information can be found at: http://www.indiatogether.org/dalit.htm Annamalai, Melliyal. Feb. 2002. "Dalit Rights and Issues".

[48] This person did not work directly in the Knowledge Centre's project.

Thus, one cannot exclude the magnitude of the existing social and political structures that may supersede IDRC's comparatively modest role in supporting research projects for social and economic development in marginalized societies. Although social contexts are changeable over time, IDRC and project staff are likely to not have the capacity to address the deep-seated aspects of social differentiation in the timespan projects are funded. Nevertheless, larger social issues should be fundamental to the design and implementation of the research projects and not be treated indifferently as peripheral or incidental aspects of a project. These and other social and gendered contexts of the research projects are central to the debates about women, gender and development that will be discussed further in the next chapter. The following section discusses IDRC's normal institutional procedures in order to explore the Centre's capacity to take social, political, and gendered contexts into consideration in the design, and implementation of the projects it supports.

IDRC's Normal Institutional Procedures

IDRC Requirements for Gender Considerations

As discussed in the previous chapter, IDRC has a corporate commitment to the inclusion of gender considerations in research programming and analysis. IDRC's Management Policy Manual requires a gender analysis in all Centre projects over $100 000. Potential recipients can find information on gender considerations in the guidelines on how to seek support from IDRC posted on the Centre's public web site. Within these guidelines, criteria that Program Officers (POs) use to assess a research proposal are listed. Some criteria that are typically asked of all proposals include questions on the proposal's 'development' relevance, its fit with IDRC priorities, its scientific and technical merit, its capacity building features, its attempts to address gender

and ethical considerations, and the researcher's collaboration with the necessary human and institutional resources. With respect to gender considerations, the PO is supposed to reflect on the following questions:

> Do the design and methodology of the project take into account different roles, perspectives, interests, and priorities? Is the project's potential impact assessed from a perspective that recognizes gender inequalities and imbalances? Will data be broken down by sex? Do the project's capacity building features reflect gender considerations?[49]

Potential recipients are also provided with a "Guide to Completing a Research Proposal". The following statement is the guideline for recipients to include gender considerations into their proposal: "[s]tate whether gender considerations constitute an important dimension of the project in defining the important relationships of the problem or in data collection and show explicitly how the methodology will address them".[50]

It is important to note that although IDRC has these guidelines and policy statements on gender, the Centre does not have any formal gender policy. Furthermore, this research shows that these policy statements and guidelines on gender considerations do not ensure that they are actually implemented and/or that POs internalize their corporate importance. One PO comments that there is no particular clarity within his team on what is meant by 'gender' or what is expected in projects with respect to gender considerations. He asserts that normally all that is expected by his colleagues is a brief paragraph in the proposal on gender.[51] A recipient also reflects on the lack of understanding how to achieve IDRC's corporate commitment to gender:

> It's a universal requirement amongst international donors to have a gender dimension to the projects they fund, but most often they don't go beyond simply reminding you of that, nobody prescribes and nobody tells you 'this is

[49] http://www.idrc.ca/institution/proposition_e.html
[50] http://www.idrc.ca/institution/proposition3_e.html
[51] Interview Transcription, July 12 2001.

> what I mean or want this is what I want integrated into the work' and that trivializes the issue. There's not a lot of clarity about what the issue means... I have tremendous respect for IDRC's standing in the development community. IDRC has a lot of intellectual capital, but that being the case, I can't say that we were offered any tools with which to manage this issue. We were just told by [the PO] in his subtle and considerate way that this was expected to be an important dimension of the project and then we were left to our devices in terms of how to do it. I guess in general the projects don't want to be too obtrusive, but if we are still to make this requirement then the onus is on donors like IDRC to provide some tools and guidelines for dealing with the issue adequately. IDRC should go back and compare with some consistency the experience of other projects, if there are consistent methodologies to deal with these issues.[52]

The lack of clarity on how to accomplish IDRC's statements on gender leaves much room for Program Officers to judge for themselves whether or not a project is fulfilling IDRC requirements. For instance, I asked one Program Officer if he thought that the gender issues raised in his project complied with IDRC requirements. He replied:

> Yes and no. Actually, at first I found that the people were in tune with a social mission that I like to see in IDRC supported projects. *I* personally like to see in IDRC supported projects. And that *I* like to see in the projects I'm involved, and I saw that they were sensitive to the gender issues. Whether that was meeting IDRC requirements or not, that's not present in my mind. First of all what are IDRC requirements? There's no quantitative requirement. It's pretty much ideological more than anything. It's qualitative not quantitative...I mean you can't quantify the IDRC gender requirements. There is no checklist (thank God!) you go through and therefore it is more subtle, qualitative! I make my own requirements in a sense, what I like to see, not that I meet the IDRC requirements. Since I have worked at IDRC for a long time I certainly influence what IDRC requires, so I guess at the end they become my requirements...It's really up to the take of the individual...[53]

The inherent problem with various interpretations of the IDRC gender requirements by POs also became evident in discussions with POs Daniel and Ben. For example, Daniel suggests that the E-Marketer's project complies with IDRC's requirements since the project focuses on women. When I asked Ben if he thought he should have done

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[52] Interview Transcription, July 24 2001.
[53] Interview Transcription, July 10 2001. In this quote the word "I" is italicized to stress the emphasis the PO placed on this word.

something to replace the only InforCauca staff with expertise in program development and gender analysis who left after the project was approved, he replied that this is the recipient's issue, not IDRC's.[54]

These POs clearly articulate what became apparent to me over the course of my research. IDRC's corporate commitment to gender is rarely referred to by POs and recipients as an impetus or guide for implementing gender considerations. Instead, gender considerations and what is required by IDRC are individualized, based upon the individual's personal beliefs and understandings of gender. Accountability for implementing gender analysis into a project is also up to the discretion of individuals. To deal with this problem one recipient staff suggests:

> you have to learn how to collaborate, but this is just words, when you sign the budget of the project you should have a overhead, money that should go towards for example a trip to collaborate with a partner on the project. I have a commitment to do that, and someone can say 'wait a minute I gave you the money for that.' Well you can do the same thing for gender, explicit the budget on gender. Gender is not only a question of a chapter in your report, it's also how you manage the budget, it's how you manage the team, and then you have accountability...It's like in other organizations, it becomes a priority for the president and then it becomes a buzzword.[55]

This suggestion further emphasizes that responsibility to ensure the implementation of gender considerations rests more on a PO's personal ideas, than corporate requirements or other mechanisms of accountability.

Out of Site: The Role of Program Officer

As stated in IDRC's 2000-2001 Annual Report, partnerships are created with IDRC through the development of a "collaborative relationship" with grant recipients. A PO's role in this relationship is to

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[54] Interview Transcription, July 10 2001.
[55] Interview Transcription, July 30 2001.

> work in close contact with researchers, sharing their knowledge, expertise, and experience. These contributions include helping to develop research proposals; providing relevant literature; identifying professional contacts; arranging training opportunities; and traveling to the field to monitor projects... An evaluation of past IDRC project leaders showed that this nonmonetary support helped [recipients] to develop skills, pursue their research agendas, and information public policy (IDRC 2001a:22).

This public account of the PO's role does not, however, take into consideration his/her capacity to integrate gender considerations within the context of IDRC's procedures. In practice, the PO's location of work, far removed from the actual project site, has a significant effect on the integration of gender considerations into the development of a project, and for its monitoring and evaluation (M&E).[56]

The PO's location of work, distant from the project site, impacts the PO's ability to identify gender considerations that can be operationalized in practice, as well as his/her ability to assess the expertise of project staff to implement such considerations. For example, Thomas reflects that in his role as PO and manager of research projects, he needs to understand gender as more of an abstract concept rather than as an issue that he can concretely integrate into projects. His professional experience in the past has been in 'the field', where "you rely a lot more on the experience, on the exchange, on the hands-on. Here [at IDRC], yes you are connected, but [you are] very detached and removed. You need to rely a lot more than I ever thought possible on having a conceptual understanding. [You need to be] able to quickly identify how things relate at a more conceptual level."[57] This detached role also makes it difficult for POs to assess a project

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[56] It is important to note that all of the Program Officers interviewed for this thesis are located at IDRC headquarters in Ottawa, Canada. The Program Officers are referred to as Ben, Daniel, Thomas, and Greg in this thesis. There are also smaller IDRC offices in Singapore, New Delhi, Montevideo, Nairobi, Cairo, and Dakar. The Program Officers who work from these offices are physically closer to the project sites in those regions.

[57] Interview Transcription, July 12 2001.

team's expertise with respect to gender analysis.[58] Ben stressed that "it's hard to assess when the context you have is very limited to e-mail exchanges and the odd monitoring visits to meet everybody in a day's visit. To assess that fully, where people are, their expertise, it's a difficult thing to do".[59] Thus, the PO's location at IDRC headquarters in Ottawa, Canada is far removed from the actual project sites in Asia and Latin America. It is not surprising that gender considerations are also more removed and abstract, since understanding them within the various social contexts of a project is limited to PO's interactions with team members via e-mail and monitoring visits.

The physical remoteness of POs from project sites necessitates that they primarily rely on reports and visiting the project teams as monitoring and evaluation (M&E) techniques. The M&E visits are often only one or two days and are scheduled in between other project site visits, meetings, and sometimes conferences. Various POs and different project staff have described these M&E visits as 'formal', or as a 'VIP process'. This is illustrated in Greg's last Program Officer M&E visit to the Knowledge Centre's project, which focussed on a ceremony for the opening of a new KC. He states that with a limited travel fund and many other projects to administer, there is generally little time to interact with the project team. In some cases, a PO only has time to visit with the recipients and not even go to the actual project sites. In addition, there are problems related to language, since Greg does not speak Tamil, and the volunteers for the project and the villagers who use the KCs do not speak English. His main M&E mechanisms are his interaction with the project leader, and a review of the official reports submitted to IDRC.

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[58] Thomas' interaction with the project team on gender issues is discussed in the latter half of this chapter in the section on 'accomplishing gender consideration through a gender expert'.
[59] Interview Transcription, July 10 2001.

He felt that my visit to the site location of the Knowledge Centres project in India for one week would reveal much more than he could learn in his short M&E visits.[60]

Project staff in India and Colombia assert that the Program Officer's site visits could be more beneficial if they were less formal and better planned beforehand in order to raise issues related to gender. This sentiment was emphasized in one of my 'site visits' when members of a project team expressed their gratitude that I initiated an open dialogue on the gender considerations of their project. They expressed a strong desire for this kind of informal discussion to take place more frequently than the typical focus on such things as project administration and sustainability.

The other mechanism that complements the field visits for monitoring and evaluating the progress of a project is the receipt of reports. Project reports usually highlight key aspects of the project's progress. Unlike project proposals and the Program Officer's formal appraisal of the project, which are the two key documents for obtaining project funding, there are no suggested parameters for the content of subsequent reports. In certain projects, the reading of these reports even replaces the actual site visits. For example, Greg, a second PO responsible for the E-Marketer's project, reports that normally the monitoring for this kind of project "is to send a progress report after one year and a final report after two years. And once we have the first report, that is the first monitoring of the project."[61] Daniel, the other PO for the project, confirmed this type of monitoring when I asked him what his M&E responsibilities were with respect to gender considerations: "Well, it's very little actually. Basically it's taking care of things that happen during the project implementation phase. For example, payment has not been

[60] Interview Transcription, August 17 2001.
[61] Interview Transcription, August 17 2001.

received in this project, and, more passively following the implementation, communication, reading the reports that are supposed to be sent in."[62] In some cases, such as the E-Marketer's project, there is no documented reporting on gender considerations. Furthermore, any follow up discussions between the PO and the project leader of this particular project were limited to financial issues.

The absence of gender as a category of M&E reporting reveals a limitation of IDRC Program Officers to examine the ability of staff to implement gender considerations and to reflect on the original project intentions to address gender issues. There are no recommended research questions in evaluation reports to invoke exploration of whether the gender considerations have been addressed, what occurred in the research process that did or did not allow their implementation, or what can be learned about gender issues. Thus, the emphasis on including gender considerations into initial project documentation, the lack of recommendations for subsequent report writing, and the limited M&E visits after the recipient is granted funding, all have an impact on the actual implementation of gender considerations.

In particular examples, the institutional procedures for implementing a project creates a disjuncture between the original intentions of the project staff to address the gender issues written in project documentation, and what occurs in the process of the project. For instance, in the MISTICA project proposal and the PO's official Appraisal document, the texts highlight that particular attention will be given to gender transformative projects among the pilot activities and that gender issues will be explicitly addressed when monitoring and evaluating the progress of MISTICA's activities.

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[62] Interview Transcription, July 17 2001.

In practice, the intention to support gender transformative pilot application projects to research the social impact of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) did not occur. In the overall explanation of the criteria for the pilot applications it states that there should be a holistic vision which includes attention to transversal issues, such as gender, the environment, and socially discriminated populations.[63] However, in the call for proposals, attention to gender is not a listed as criteria for funding. One MISTICA member named Joseph, comments on this weakness of the project:

> I'm not sure that the gender component was something that was considered. There was actually criteria for evaluating the projects, very organized and calculated…I am not quite sure it was a major consideration. [P]robably it was a concept used, but in reality most who applied were only men…I would have to say that none of the projects took it into consideration at all.[64]

Thomas the Program Officer, also contends that the pilot applications are the weakest aspect of MISTICA in addressing gender considerations, either/both directly or indirectly.

In addition, the stated objective of addressing gender issues in the monitoring and evaluation of MISITCA was basically limited to a statistical account of disaggregating the virtual community (VC) participant data by sex. Other evaluation techniques include online questionnaires, which are largely based on many closed questions about the process of the project. Most of the interviewees said that these data limit an understanding of the gendered nature of participation in the project since the numbers only reflect the contributions during a specific time period. Furthermore, they do not take into consideration the quality of these contributions, or those community subscribers who remain silent but benefit from the virtual community nevertheless.

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[63] http://www.funredes.org/mistica/castellano/aplicaciones_pilotos/llamado1.html#nota
[64] Interview Transcription, July 18 2001.

Joseph suggests that the project staff should create a more in-depth evaluation methodology. He believes that an ethnographic approach could more fully explore the cultural interaction of the virtual community and how that interaction explicitly and implicitly relates to how power is dispersed, including along gender lines.[65] He argues that the online discourse of the VC, as it has been taken up by academics, unintentionally controls the process of knowledge creation in the community. For example, he had a private exchange with a woman who told him she preferred to stay silent in the virtual environment because she did not feel comfortable participating. Joseph feels that this woman and others are reluctant to participate in an environment where power relations and hierarchies between men and women, activists and academics are translated into the virtual network.[66] He asserts that addressing these kinds of issues would be better accomplished through a more qualitative methodology:

> ...what I would like to do methodologically [is develop] an ethnographic approach. I wish I could conduct interviews with people who have gone through the whole [virtual community] process but in silence, by doing in depth semi-structured interviews and, hopefully face to face [interviews with] a mix and balanced sample of silent participants...I would like to try and conduct some focus groups with them and with active [participants, to] see how we can appropriately facilitate [the virtual community] to make sure that the power

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[65] Joseph did not provide a definition of what kind of ethnography he would like to conduct. However, he expressed that a qualitative ethnographic approach could capture more deeply the gendered relations of the virtual community. These relations are not fully apparent from the results of the project's online questionnaires. Joseph felt that face to face interviews with various members of the VC, while taking into consideration his own experiences as a member in the VC, could highlight the gendered differences in participating in an online environment. See Isabelle Baszanger and Nicolas Dodier's chapter " Ethnography: Relating the Part to the Whole" in ed. David Silverman (1997) Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice for a characterization of ethnography and a discussion of different kinds of ethnographies.

[66] In an article about gender in online interactions Jodi O'Brien asserts (1999) that in contrast to popular opinion that gender and other social differences disappear in cyberspace, O'Brien believes that online gender interaction frequently occurs, and even tends to reproduce conventional gender distinctions. O'Brien states that gender is one of the first means by which people represent themselves in online communication. O'Brien even argues that gender may be the most significant feature of identity in online interactions. The author argues that in electronic interactions it may be simpler to rely on gender stereotypes than to write rich expressions of one's gendered self. For more information on this work see: O'Brien, Jodi. 1999. "Writing in the Body: Gender (re)production in online interaction". in eds. Kollock, Peter & Smith, Marc A. Communities in Cyberspace. London: Routledge.

> distribution is balanced. *I have a very solid argument that we have to take this very seriously, because we are doing research here, this is a research process.* We are emerging into a virtual world where digital democracy is portrayed as the solution for all the planetary [and global] processes. Especially [since] the global civil society is so opposed to global meetings. It [will] happen in the near future that many decision-making processes will rely on virtual decision-making environments.[67]

These profound comments clearly propose a more multi-faceted *research* process, which includes a methodology to explore questions that are fundamental to investigating the gendered relations of power developed through this project. Joseph's ideas are also linked to larger political questions on citizen's ability to engage in democratic decision-making processes within today's increasingly electronic world. His questions provoke a more critical research project that involves exploring gender issues beyond what the project has revealed thus far.

In sum, IDRC's institutional procedures for supporting research projects play a critical part in implementing gender considerations. IDRC's recommendations for gender considerations provide guidelines for potential recipients on how to ensure the considerations are incorporated into the project proposal. However, this research indicates that these guidelines do not provide sufficient information to POs or to project staff on how to accomplish gender considerations after funding is granted, and how to assess whether they meet IDRC requirements. The role of POs, removed from the project sites and limited to interaction with the project staff through e-mail, brief visits and reading of official project reports, also risks insufficient follow up on research questions related to gender issues. In addition, there is the likely possibility that a disjuncture is created between the original intentions with respect to gender as stated in the initial documents, and the actual achievements of the project. The features of IDRC's

institutional processes also limit a holistic consideration of the various social and cultural contexts of the communities affected by the research projects.

Emerging Themes: Exploring how Gender Considerations are Addressed in Practice ***Accomplishing Gender Considerations through a "Gender Expert"***

One of the most central themes emerging from this research is that hiring a gender expert is simultaneously instructive and limiting for the integration of gender considerations. When a project team only relies on a single expert to address gender considerations, there is a risk that the considerations will not be implemented if the expert leaves the project. However, it is also revealing that even a brief engagement with a gender expert on the project team is better than not having this experience at all.

Three of the projects relied on a "gender expert" to ensure that gender considerations would be incorporated into the research process. In InforCauca, MISTICA, and the Knowledge Centre's projects, a gender expert on the recipients respective research teams ensured that certain methodological considerations related to gender issues were incorporated into the original designs. For example, within the InforCauca and MISTICA project teams, gender experts experienced in gender analysis, participatory research methodologies, and working with women, were hired. Rachel, the expert for the InforCauca project, intended to collaborate with program areas of CIAT working on gender analysis, to monitor and assess the impact of the project.[68] She also planned on using various research tools and methodologies, including community consultations and 'wealth ranking', to establish local criteria amongst different social

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[67] Interview Transcription, July 18 2001. Emphasis added through italics.

[68] One such program is called the Program on Participatory Research and Gender Analysis for Technology Development and Institutional Innovation (PRGA). This program is part of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) which the recipient research institution *Centro Internacional Agricultura Tropical* (CIAT) is a member of. For more information see: http://www.prgaprogram.org/prga/about.htm.

groups against which the project team could see how InforCauca improves levels of well being within the communities the team is working with.[69] Similarly, in the MISTICA project Andrea was hired as the experienced gender expert. She wanted to ensure that a connection to women's organizations be present in the project so women could actively participate in the virtual community. She planned on developing pilot applications of the project to study the level of female participation in ICTs, and she wanted to take gender issues to be incorporated into the evaluation of MISTICA.[70] Rachel and Andrea, therefore, contributed to the integration of gender considerations into the planning of these projects.

During my discussions with the POs of InforCauca and MISTICA about how they assess whether or not the research teams are able to implement gender considerations, they both expressed confidence in relying on these *experts*. For example, when I asked Thomas, the PO of MISTICA, why he felt the project leader would be able to effectively address gender issues in the project, he replies:

> Because I learned that he was working with Andrea who had lots of good experience with this. Mark [the project leader] had said that 'She will help us with this project. [Andrea] will cut my leg if we don't have something [about gender] in this project...' So, maybe it was not [Mark] himself who would [implement the gender considerations], but he was close enough to someone who would bring [those considerations] into the project.[71]

This dependence on Andrea is emphasized when I interviewed Mark. I asked him if he recalls why gender considerations were first discussed with Thomas and in what capacity. He answers by discussing the hiring of Andrea:

> she is really a specialist...so that's it. So to be very honest, we consider

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[69] Interview Notes, August 15 2001.
[70] Interview Notes, July 31 2001.
[71] Interview Transcription, July 12, 2001.

> that we have solved the gender concept in the definition of the project, [because we have Andrea] on board, in the steering committee...[She is] a person who has a long history of dealing with gender. From my perspective, it is a strategic decision [to have her involved]. It's always a way to delegate the burden on somebody else.[72]

Thomas and Mark argue that "the expert" alone ensures that the project will address any needs or discussions related to the gender considerations of MISTICA. This reliance is even further emphasized in my dialogue with Ben on the InforCauca project:

S: During the initial development of the project were gender/social considerations discussed? Were the gender considerations discussed in the project development workshop and field visits to Cauca, between you and the project team, and the intended beneficiaries that you met in the field?

B: One of the team members of CIAT back then was Rachel.. She's not at CIAT anymore...She agreed to be the CIAT entry point for the CG wide initiative on researching gender analysis. So the gender issues were on the agenda since the beginning with Rachel around.

During these interviews I found it difficult to discuss the specific gender considerations of each project with the POs and with the project leaders. Instead, this PO and others rely on the gender expert to take care of such considerations.

Unfortunately Rachel and Andrea withdrew their involvement from the projects. Rachel left the InforCauca team after the project proposal was approved and IDRC funding was granted. She decided to move away from Colombia because she no longer felt comfortable living in a country with constant threats of violence. Andrea left MISTICA half way through its implementation because of personal commitments that needed her full attention. Nevertheless, other project members also express their commitment to the incorporation of gender considerations but admit that they were leaning on the expert to lead the way. For example, Richard states that:

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[72] The last sentence in this quote was said while he was chuckling. His body language was such that I knew he was half joking. Interview Transcription, July 30 2001.

> in Colombia everyone knows that if you want something to happen in a project, a specific task or issue to be dealt with effectively, it's not going to happen unless you have a *doliente* which comes from the verb *doler*, which means to hurt or to feel pain. So you need somebody who will assume an emotional responsibility or involvement in making sure this task gets done... It could have perhaps been dealt with at an earlier stage and at a more focussed way if Rachel had remained ...the issue would have had its *doliente* from the start if Rachel had stayed.[73]

However, neither of the project teams replaced the gender expertise of Andrea or Rachel and the gender issues they wanted to address have largely been neglected.

These project examples differ from the Knowledge Centre's project which also had a deemed 'gender expert', named Rohinton. He withdrew from the project after the first year of its implementation to pursue other professional opportunities. However, Rohinton was not considered *the* expert since the rest of the project team has been given the opportunity to gain the necessary skills and knowledge to work with him on planning and implementing gender considerations. For example, all staff at the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation receive gender training annually. In addition, Rohinton played a key role in obtaining a gender consultant to provide 'in the field' training with the research team and community members in their local languages. This training was provided through a competition IDRC's Gender Unit held at this time. The objectives of the gender training workshop were to: increase the gender awareness of users, volunteers and staff; equip volunteers or users to organize information user groups; help identify information needs of various groups; equip clients with methodologies to elicit and communicate information to users; and, create case studies and visuals for the project.

Rohinton and a project staff member named Mohan feel that certain activities have taken place due to this field-based gender training workshop, including:

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[73] Interview Transcription, July 24 2001.

- arranging for a doctor to visit the villages to provide reproductive health information for the women;
- learning that men and women often have quite different and specific information needs;
- transforming some of the written information into pictoral form and broadcasting information throughout the villages for the benefit of illiterate and other people who may not visit the KCs;
- establishing flexible times for women volunteers to work at the Centres;
- recognizing the importance of having female volunteers to operate the Centres since women tend to visit more frequently if there are other females present; and,
- learning the importance of gathering narratives on *how* the project is benefiting different social groups. This qualitative material complements the baseline statistical data the staff gathered on people's participation in the project.[74]

These activities highlight the capabilities of a project team to implement gender considerations into a project if they are given the support and opportunity to learn what the important gender issues are.

Nevertheless, having a gender expert working even temporarily with a project team is probably more beneficial for the implementation of gender considerations than never having had an opportunity of working with someone who has this expertise. For example, in the E-Marketer's project there has not been any interaction between the project staff and someone experienced in gender analysis. The project team has not raised any research questions on gender related issues based on the social context and gender relations that exist in the communities the team is working with. In comparison, the gender experts in the InforCauca and MISTICA projects raised the understanding of the project staff on the importance of considering gender issues in a project. Richard, the team leader of the InforCauca project, reflects on how his understanding of gender has evolved from thinking about gender in terms of a corporate communications strategy of "counting up the photos in the annual report and seeing how many pictures were with

[74] Interview Notes, September 3 2001 & September 7 2001.

men and how many [with] women" to understanding how gender issues are implicated within the research process.[75] He now believes that gender considerations are important to assess "the project's impact, the process of the project, to see how it's affecting people's decisions and activities. To ensure we are always asking who is benefiting, who has access, how, and why are some groups being excluded and what can we do to change that".[76] He understands that the gender issues at stake in the project extend beyond the binary categories of men and women:

> you see that communities are divided along many different lines. [There are] not just [divisons among] men and women, there are all kinds of divisions. If you're not consciously examining these issues then the project will be dominated and led by an elite [such as] the professional farmers and community leaders who know where and how to benefit.[77]

Richard also states that in the midst of the project the team is reflecting on how to effectively address these issues.[78] His comments show that it is possible for an expert only temporarily attached to a project to help raise the project team's awareness of meaningful gender issues.

In sum, these projects illustrate the importance of ensuring that most of the project staff either has or gains research skills to be able to analyze social differences and to address the gender equity issues that exist within any community. A gender expert is instructive and can help lead the team through a project, initiate critical questions about the research methodology, and ensure that the project benefits different social groups. However, the team should not rely on this person alone. As Thomas comments: "one, projects need a champion for this, to ensure it is brought in and explicitly addressed.

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[75] Interview Transcription, July 24 2001.
[76] ibid
[77] Interview Transcription, July 24 2001.
[78] ibid

Second, you cannot rely only on that champion to do it. We had Andrea, then we did not have Andrea anymore".[79]

Women's Organizations: An Entry Point

A second theme illustrated from this research is the importance of women's organizations as an entry point for making progress towards women's empowerment and making explicit the gender relations and gender equity issues of a community. The research findings show the significance of either integrating women's organizations into the project's development, or implementing a project in a community where women's organizations are already established. The research illustrates that if a project team works with a women's organization, there is more equity in decision-making about the project's goals, and in community members' participation in the project. A connection to women's organizations is, therefore, one mechanism that a project can use to progress towards social development objectives.

In the Knowledge Centre's project, the normal procedures for implementing a Centre do not involve establishing links to women's networks or organizations. The research team normally chooses villages to work with once they visit the village and discuss with community members the staff's criteria to receive a KC. The criteria includes ensuring that there is interest from the village to play a participatory and ownership role, and ensures that different men and women of various classes and castes will be included in the project. The staff also has to check that the village has the proper infrastructure to provide space and electricity for the computers.[80]

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[79] Interview Transcription, July 12 2001.
[80] Interview Notes, August 31 2001.

In one Centre, however, these normal procedures deviated when women from the village, Embalam, initiated the implementation of the Knowledge Centre themselves. This digression to the staff's normal procedures has resulted in a more positive effect for the women in that community compared to the other villages with KCs. Embalam has approximately 13 women's 'self help' groups, consisting of 15-20 women in each. These organizations have micro-credit systems so that they can obtain loans from the bank to engage in economic activities for their livelihoods. These groups are also social settings where women support one another through the everyday challenges of taking care of themselves and their children. When some of these women heard about the success of the project in other villages they approached the project staff and initiated the implementation of the project. The best place for the infrastructure of the project was a room adjacent to a Hindu temple located in the village. Normally women are prohibited from visiting this temple if they are menstruating. After the women discussed the project with the temple administration they deemed the space as separate from the temple, thus allowing women to visit at any time. Women's access and ability to work in the Centre was reinforced during the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding, a document signifying the official start of the project and stipulating its conditions, where women were witnesses and countersigned the document with temple administration.[81]

The initiation of this KC by the women's organizations has been especially empowering for the women in this village. For example, compared to other Centres, 12% more women use this KC and more women have been actively involved in its operation and management. In addition to the typical content provided to other KCs, such as weather forecasts and general agricultural and health information, this Centre provides

[81] Interview Notes, September 3 2001.

information relevant to the local women, including information on micro-enterprises, employment opportunities, and pre and postnatal care. The volunteers find that women come freely to ask them for information on gynaecological questions that, from their point of view, would not be requested if men were present. All of the female volunteers (in this Centre there are only female volunteers) emphasize using the KC to improve their typing skills, to disseminate and learn about information on government schemes, and to find information on market prices of vegetables so they know how much things should cost when they go shopping. Furthermore, the KC has become a social setting for women of different marital status to have intimate discussions with each other about personal issues. Normally single girls/women are more hesitant to visit the KC because of social norms that limit their discussions with strangers. However, in this Centre single girls/women feel very comfortable visiting. This KC has also been empowering for the female volunteers to leave their house during the day and even interact with men and foreigners like myself, which is not otherwise common in this social setting.[82]

The decision-making, management, and opportunities for women's active participation in the Embalam KC illustrate the efficacy of working with women's organizations for social development and gender equality. This point is further highlighted when comparing the Embalam Centre to a KC established in the Veerampattinam village. This Centre is managed by the village's traditional 'panchayat'-a local system of self-governance, and is located in a building in which the panchayat holds meetings.[83] During my visit, there were only male panchayat members and young men

[82] Interview Notes, September 3 2001.

[83] During my visit to Pondicherry the villages were governed under the traditional male dominated self-governance system called 'panchayat'. Within Veerampattinam the panchayat comprises 21 male representatives every year to manage the social, political and legal issues of the village. The

working and socializing in the Centre. The local men seemed quite confident entering the Centre and at ease using the KC. In contrast, the local women had to be gathered together from outside the Centre. They entered the Centre together and sat in the KC linked in each other's arms. This male dominance in the Centre has an impact on women's participation in the project and potential benefits gained. For example, at the beginning of the project the main information requests from this village were and have remained information on weather and wave heights for the fishermen to know when there are safe fishing conditions. Over time, one of the women approached a project staff and asked him why the project was not helping them as well. The women from this village, who primarily take care of their children and market the fish, wanted to receive information relevant to them on market fish prices. Since this request, the staff have provided the women with market price information as well as information on marketing fish by-products for when demand for buying whole fish is low.[84] Other women wanted help in forming a female-led credit savings group and the project staff are starting to provide them information about this too.[85] The Veerampattinam Centre illustrates that when women are not involved in discussions about the specific use of a Centre, male objectives and goals define the project. Even when women are given the opportunity to discuss their different needs, and these needs are granted, they may still not hold decision-making and managerial power in a male dominated space. This KC is still

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representatives are made up of members from different classes. In the year 2001 the panchayat members mostly included fishermen who are wage labourers and work in mechanized boats. Only 4 members were involved in non-fishing related activities. Balasubramanian, K., R. Rajasekarapandy, C. Madhumathi, S. Sudarkodi, Vishwanath Palled. January 2001. ...netting the knowledge and fishing the benefits...A Case Study of the Perception of a Fishing Community Towards its Knowledge Centre. pages 12-13.

[84] For example, November and December are considered holy months when most people do not eat fish. The women wanted training and information on creating and marketing fish by products such as pickled fish and dried fish. Interview Notes, September 3 2001.

[85] Interview Notes, September 1 2001.

primarily managed, operated, and used by the men.[86] An examination of this Centre in comparison to the Embalam KC illustrates the positive impact a link to a women's organization can have on ensuring women's active participation in an otherwise likely male dominated project.

Another example of the benefits of working with a women's organization is illustrated in the InforCauca project. In this project the presence of a woman's committee in the indigenous organization, *Asociacion de Cabildos Indigenas del Norte de Cauca* (ACIN), provides an enabling environment for women's active participation in the project and for the project to address gender equity issues.[87] The progression within the indigenous community towards gender equality through the formation and development of the women's organization lays a foundation for the implementation of the women's ideas on how the telecentre can be or should be ideally used. For example, the women's committee hopes to use the project to create new opportunities for the success of their activities, such as developing proposals and sending them to potential donors in a much faster way than they could have in the past. In addition, ACIN is working towards using the telecentre to make indigenous women's issues and events known to more remote reserves through a local radio program. The women are also hoping to use the telecentre

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[86] The project staff surveyed the Veerampattinam village and found that nearly 23% of the men visit the KC regularly, while only 6% of females regularly visit. However, 69% of the women are active users of the information provided through the public broadcasting system. Balasubramanian, K., R. Rajasekarapandy, C. Madhumathi, S. Sudarkodi, Vishwanath Palled. January 2001. ...netting the knowledge and fishing the benefits...A Case Study of the Perception of a Fishing Community Towards its Knowledge Centre. page 5

[87] The women's committee was formed before the start of InforCauca with some resistance from the husbands. Over time the husbands have come to understand why the women meet and accept that they need to be responsible for household activities while their wives attend the meetings. In addition, a committee member commented that the men are even involved in participating in some of the women's activities. This progress towards gender equality is also taking place within the youth of the community. One of the telecentre operators talked about a youth group that also has meetings. At first parents did not want to let their daughters attend the meetings, but now, as the community understanding of the importance of gender equity issues increases, they feel comfortable in letting their daughters go. Group Discussion, July 23 2001, with Spanish-English Translation.

to communicate with and find out the activities of other women's networks, and to learn more about legal issues related to their political empowerment.[88]

Establishing links with women's organizations can also be a tool for understanding the major gender issues of a community. It is not necessarily a requirement to conduct a formal 'gender and social needs assessment' in order to learn how project staff can contribute to the social development of a community. When I visited with three women's organizations in an urban neighbourhood called *El Poblado* in Aguablanca, Colombia I learned about some of the most pressing social needs and gender issues of this future telecentre location, including:

- the high incidence of poor single female-headed households;[89]
- sexual violence against young women and the social stigmatism in discussing this with their families;
- the high risk of youth becoming involved in drug-related activities and violence with gangs;
- a lack of social services and economic opportunities for people living in Aguablanca;
- a high rate of teenage pregnancy; and,
- women's involvement in insecure paid domestic work.[90]

It is important to note that none of the interviewees working on the InforCauca project discussed these particular gender equity issues and how the issues relate to the broader social and political context of the region. The project team's future efforts to address some of these needs in Aguablanca will have to be revisited. However, this example

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[88] Group Discussion, July 23 2001, with Spanish-English Translation

[89] A discussion on the high incidence of female-headed households as a result of violence in Colombia is presented in the article "Facing Destruction, Rebuilding Life: Gender and the Internally Displaced in Colombia" by Donny Meertens in Latin American Perspectives 28(1)132-148. The author states that in the 1990's violent acts in Colombia have produced an annual death toll of 25 000-30 000 persons, a rate of 85 violent deaths per 10 000 inhabitants. Almost 90% of these violent deaths are male. Meertens argues that in this violent context men are the principle actors of war, and women often become victims, heads of households, and are usually displaced from rural areas to cities. The highest figure of female-headed households is 49% in Cali, Colombia. Aguablanca is a neighbourhood within Cali.

[90] Field trip to Aguablanca notes, July 27 2001, with Spanish-English translation.

shows how equity issues are highlighted when a connection to women's organizations is made.

Thus, working with women's organizations can help a project facilitate progress towards gender equality and social transformation. Visiting women's organizations can aid project members in identifying social needs of a community that may not be otherwise apparent. When these links are not made, as in the case of the Veerampattinam Knowledge Centre, such social and gender issues are not highlighted and women's participation and decision making power is significantly lower then men's. Program Officers and project staff should recognize that women's organizations can be an entry point for progressing towards gender equality goals.

Much Ado about Gender: Conceptualizations of Gender and Their Impact on the Research Project

A third theme emerging from this research is the importance of establishing a common understanding of what *gender* means, what gender considerations can be accomplished, for what purposes, and how these considerations contribute to an overall gender perspective of the project. I found that establishing this kind of common understanding is significantly limited by the project documents and by the POs and project team members' different conceptualizations of gender. There is little discussion between POs and project teams on what the explicit 'gender considerations' of a project are, or what purposes they are supposed to achieve. It is also obvious that gender perspectives are not clearly articulated in the design of the projects and few critical research questions related to gender issues are raised. The following section will explore how assumptions related to *gender* impacts the integration of gender considerations and a gender perspective into research projects.

A number of assumptions about *gender* limit these projects from incorporating a gender perspective into research goals and raising critical research questions related to gender issues. This potential limitation is best illustrated in the InforCauca and E-Marketers projects. For example, the project staff assumed that during the design of the InforCauca project it would not be necessary to carry out a formal gender/social needs assessment. The PO noted that the Cauca region has been studied more than any other region in Colombia and that it was not fair to the local population to be surveyed, consulted, and re-consulted when often there are few changes to their situation. Instead, Ben feels that the recipients' "starting point was let's take the telecentre approach and it will be a good thing for the people. That was the basic principle the researchers were coming up with, and so they had this solution already, whatever problems or needs, they would still come with the same solution."[91] The three InforCauca telecentres were initially viewed as the solution to "test appropriate models for building local capacity to obtain and use information relevant to economic development and sustainable management of natural resources in a marginalized region of southwestern Colombia" (IDRC 1999:1). The telecentres were, therefore, seen as the technical means to provide information and link communities together which are trying to solve problems in agricultural production through local research, such as creating opportunities for the development of agro-enterprise (CIAT 1999:4).[92]

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[91] Interview Transcription, July 10 2001.

[92] There was also an original assumption that these telecentres could be easily linked to one another to develop rural-urban alliances that center on food security. This objective was quickly proven wrong once the project staff realized that the three telecentres are implemented in three very different social and cultural settings. Two different people commented to me that: 'The only thing that the three telecentres have in common is that they are different'; and, 'Different telecentres have different priorities and different roles.'

Instead of integrating a gender perspective into the overall goals of InforCauca, 'gender' is discussed in the proposal primarily with respect to monitoring the experiences of the telecentres and measuring their impact in marginalized areas. For example, gender is emphasized only in the sixth of seven project objectives in the Memorandum of Grant Conditions which states that the project staff will "establish gender-sensitive mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the project's impact" (IDRC 1999:2). This objective relegates 'gender considerations' to monitoring and evaluation rather than incorporating gender considerations into the overall goals of InforCauca.[93]

An understanding of how gender considerations can be incorporated into the project is somewhat broadened by the PO of InforCauca. When I asked Ben to characterize the successful completion of this project with respect to gender issues he states: "I would like to see that inequalities are being identified... Inequalities within communities, between male and female, probably between economic class[es]...What I'm hoping is that where the project reinforces inequalities it will be detected by the evaluation and monitoring procedures so the project will redress these inequalities."[94] Although Ben's thoughts indicate a concern for the staff to address inequalities that may arise within the development of the project, he and other project staff do not question the overall goal to focus on the telecentres as solutions for natural resource management and economic development. Gender considerations are seen as a mechanism to evaluate the impact of achieving this project goal. Critical questions that may have been developed in the creation of a gender perspective to interrogate if this goal can contribute towards the

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[93] These gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation methodologies have not been developed or implemented thus far.

[94] Interview Transcription, July 10 2001. The evaluation and monitoring of InforCauca is supposed to address the gendered impact of the project. This is stated in the project proposal and MGC.

gender equality issues in the communities are not raised. An effort to develop a gender perspective into this project could have included questions to explore the existing gender relations within the communities, and to assess whether the project can adequately address the different needs of community members through equitable decision making processes.[95]

The absence of an articulated gender perspective impacted the project significantly in the Tunia telecentre. In the rural area of Tunia, a consortium of seven community organizations coordinates the telecentre.[96] Two females were chosen to operate this telecentre, but the management of these organizations by six men and an overall coordinator, who are described as very *machista*, has not given the operators the opportunity to make decisions about the role of the telecentre in the community.[97] One project member observes that "even though the operators were members of the community they did not feel like they belonged to the project. They felt as though they were just computer operators, and that they had to serve seven landlords or masters who have a lot of power in the community."[98] The decision making power of this telecentre is in the hands of a group of male managers, who make decisions about the direction of the project such as using the telecentre to systematize agricultural and marketing information,

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[95] Some of the different community needs related to gender equality issues were discussed in the previous section on women's organizations.

[96] These community organizations include: the Tecnico Institute, an agricultural school; the Casa de la Cultura, a cultural organization; the mayor's office of Piendamo; the Fedaracion de Café de Piendamo, a coffee producers organization; CISPAL, the inter-institutional consortium for sustainable agriculture in the hillsides; CORFOCIAL, an organization that oversees the work of about fifty CIALs which are local farmer research groups; and, CORPOTUNIA, which has a program which supports small rural enterprises in five municipalities.

[97] This *machismo* atmosphere was noted by a few of the project team members, a telecentre operator, and a person who provided advice to the project team and organization leaders on how to implement a telecentre project.

[98] Interview Notes, July 24 2001, with Spanish-English translation.

and strengthening inter-institutional ties.[99] Richard, the project leader, reflects on his intentions to create empowering positions for the telecentre operators: "being a telecentre coordinator or operator provides an opportunity but the people to whom the operators are responsible have to create the circumstances where they can take responsibility, and then they themselves need to rise to the occasion. If one of those circumstances is missing it just doesn't happen".[100] In this example, a gender perspective related to the overall goals of the project, taking into consideration power and gender relations embedded within these institutional dynamics, could have enabled the operators to play more of a leading role in defining the project's objectives according to the different social needs of the community.

It is important to note that, although the InforCauca staff did not articulate a gender perspective into the project's design and objectives, the original intentions for the project are not static. During the progress of the project the staff have reacted to challenges related to particular social and gender issues. For example, the staff partially addressed the problem in Tunia by hiring a new overall coordinator who is supposed to be more sensitive to the social context of the community and provide more opportunities to the operators. The project team has allowed ACIN, the rural based association of indigenous governance, to take control of their telecentre for self-defined goals related to land rights and indigenous political equality. The magnitude of the overarching equity

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[99] A couple of InforCauca team members mentioned that it is also difficult for them to work on the project in Tunia because these organizations are *machismo* and very bureaucratic. Field Notes, July 25 2001.

[100] Interview Transcription, July 24 2001. It is also important to note that one of the telecentre operators of Tunia feels that she could have more of a voice in the progress of the project and that there is room for the telecentre project to have more of an impact on the community if there was less of an institutional focus. She comments on the high number of single female-headed households in this community that have many responsibilities and needs. She hopes that through training, information provided on a website, and activities such as promoting small regional businesses like women's group embroidering, the project could

issues of ACIN has altered the way the project team views its own involvement in this indigenous community. For example, one staff noted that the project team had to provide the opportunity for the telecentre to address the political aspects of Colombia before addressing the agricultural and commercial aspects since "dead farmers don't plant the seed".[101] A couple of project members also state that they learned that the telecentre is a cultural space and a social tool for ACIN's activities, not just a technical and physical site. A third example of the staff responding to unexpected challenges related to gender and social issues is the decision to move the telecentre of Aguablanca from the Aguablanca Training Centre to an area that offers many community and social services. Richard comments that it is ironic that, although the technology and the original telecentre location in Aguablanca were immaculate, the controlling managers of the telecentre were not providing decision-making power to the two telecentre operators who are involved in various social programs within the community.[102]

These examples from the InforCauca project illustrate that an articulated gender perspective could have better developed the project's goals according to the different social contexts of each community in which the telecentres were implemented. However, these examples also illustrate that the project staff has the ability to respond to particular challenges related to social and gender issues which arise in a project's implementation. Nevertheless, the initiative of project staff to respond to certain gender issues does not necessarily occur. The E-Marketers project illustrates that there is potential to

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have more of a social impact rather than the proposed commercial impact. Meeting with Telecentre Operators, July 25 2001, with Spanish-English translation.

[101] Interview Transcription, July 24 2001. A telecentre operator commented on the potential for the project to address marketing their agricultural products. He said that ACIN produces things like organic coffee and trout which are important products for them, but they have had difficulty marketing them because they are only seasonal products. Meeting with Telecentre Operators, July 25 2001.

[102] Interview Transcription, July 24 2001.

misunderstand and ignore gender issues completely in a project if there is no articulated gender perspective. The absence of a gender perspective and the assumptions that the PO and the E-Marketer's project leader made about gender roles, illustrate how ambiguities and misunderstandings can easily be created to the detriment of addressing critical research questions related to gender issues.

In the E-Marketers project there is no discussion about gender considerations in any of the project documents. However, ideas and assumptions on how the project addresses *gender* were raised during individual interviews with Daniel, the PO, and Kumar, the main project staff. For instance, Daniel assumes that Kumar is addressing gender issues by choosing to work specifically with women's cooperatives. He thinks that this focus on women is how Kumar will achieve a greater development impact:

> [t]his is where you see results. It's very practical that if you empower women and women's groups, you see development in them... [y]ou support a development that stays in the village, improves your possibilities of living...and raises the economic results of your work. If you have more money, you can use that for improving the health and other benefits for the family.[103]

Daniel also contends that Kumar would prefer to have female e-marketers, but thinks that the majority of the e-marketers would be men since they tend to have a higher education level and work more in the ICT sector.

During my interview with Daniel it became apparent that there is also ambiguity on why it is meaningful for this project to address gender issues. When I asked him if he thinks this project conforms with his own expectations on how a project should address gender issues, Daniel responded that this is "not a gender project as such. And it's not researching the difference that women cooperatives versus male cooperatives would work so it's not aimed towards that. But this project has a clear gender focus and that's

different. It's not exploring how gender deals with things differently."[104] At this point in the interview I found myself lost in a meaningless vagueness about *gender* and felt that a defined gender perspective could have clarified an understanding between Daniel and Kumar on why gender is an important concept for this project's implementation.

This ambiguity surrounding the importance of gender considerations was further confounded during my interview with Kumar. Kumar's decisions for choosing women's cooperatives and specific e-marketers contrast significantly from Daniel's assumptions. Kumar chose women's cooperatives because he felt that in India men are too busy to participate in development programs, and that women do not want to burden their husbands with these types of projects.[105] Furthermore, Kumar believes that he will only recruit female e-marketers. He asserts that there are many educated unemployed women in India who have limited employment opportunities. There is a social stigma attached to men working from home since it is assumed that they should have a vehicle and drive to work. He also finds that men will argue about the ideas of the project, and are more demanding for requesting higher salaries compared to women. He argues that women, on the other hand, will seize this opportunity since they have few alternative options, show little resistance to project ideas, and are normally expected to work from home while watching their children and maintaining their domestic responsibilities. Kumar also maintains that the female e-marketers' income will be used for family needs. While men only contribute approximately 20% of their income to the family and the rest to their own

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[103] Interview Transcription, July 17 2001.
[104] Interview Transcription, July 17 2001.
[105] Interview Notes, August 29 2001.

"vices", women will give all of her income to support the family. He argues that this opportunity will raise women's social status in her family and community.[106]

Although Daniel and Kumar both have personal ideas on how gender considerations are being addressed in this project, the lack of communication between them prevents them from articulating a gender perspective of the project or explicitly raising research questions to investigate through the project's implementation. The gender issues discussed in the interviews with Daniel and Kumar are not issues stated in any project documentation and they are not explored as research questions. The reports submitted to IDRC explain the technical procedures for implementing this project, such as creating guidelines for e-marketers on how to browse the Internet, use e-mail, and create web pages. Daniel and Kumar's ideas about *gender* with respect to this project are not explored through research methodologies that can challenge or validate the assumed benefits of the e-marketing. In effect, critical questions are ignored: Is the women's status raised within the household? Or does the project in fact reinforce inequitable gender relations?

The InforCauca and E-Marketer's projects show that 'gender considerations' are often assumed based on one's personal beliefs about *gender*, or thought of as technical means to ensure the development of the project according to pre-defined project goals. The development of a more holistic gender perspective based on a discussed conceptualization of 'gender' between POs and project staff is not integrated into these projects. The process of a project is not static, however, and project staff can respond to unforeseen challenges related to gender issues. For example, in the InforCauca project, unexpected gender and equity issues were addressed through hiring decisions, by

[106] Interview Notes, August 29 2001.

allowing ACIN to fully appropriate the project, and by changing the location of a telecentre. A project is not, therefore, fixed within the predefined project objectives. Recipients of IDRC funding and beneficiaries of the project have the ability to respond to unexpected challenges that arise in the evolution of a project. However, there is a risk, as shown in the E-Marketers project, that when POs and project staff do not make explicit a gender perspective or raise critical research questions related to the overall goals of the project, that gender issues will not be addressed or responded to at all.

Conclusion

IDRC's efforts to integrate gender considerations into development projects are asserted in the Centre's policy statements and guidelines for potential recipients. However, the research reveals that these requirements on gender considerations are not necessarily an adequate tool for the effective planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of gender issues in the research projects. Sometimes POs do not internalize the corporate significance of these gender considerations. Instead, POs tend to define *gender* based on personal interpretations. The institutional procedures of the IDRC project cycle also limit the potential for effectively implementing gender considerations. For example, the role of IDRC POs, distanced from project sites and limited to M&E techniques such as brief project visits, communication with project staff via e-mail, and the reading of official project reports, creates few spaces to engage in dialogue with recipients on critical questions related to gender considerations. Furthermore, little time is provided for contemplation and reflection on the research process as it relates to the initial objectives for addressing gender issues in the projects. In effect, IDRC's institutional procedures for implementing a project can create a disjuncture between the

original project objectives that address gender considerations and what actually occurs in practice. These institutional processes are also complicated by larger social, political and gendered contexts of the communities in which the projects are integrated. Gender roles attributed to different men and women, social structures such as India's caste system, and gendered power relations in the virtual network and community organizations, are all significant factors that must be taken into consideration through the institutional processes for developing a project. Their importance will be further discussed in the following chapter.

The research also reveals a number of important themes that indicate ways for meaningfully integrating gender considerations into IDRC projects. First, the presence of a gender expert on the project team can be beneficial for initiating ideas on gender considerations, provided that the other members of the team are awarded the opportunity to obtain valuable knowledge, experience, and skills to analyze social differences and address gender issues throughout the project. Second, a connection with women's organizations can be effective in making progress towards women's empowerment and making explicit the gender equity issues of a community. Finally, the development of a gender perspective and the integration of critical research questions could help establish a common understanding of what *gender* means and why gender considerations are an important aspect of the research process. The subsequent chapter discusses how these research findings are positioned within the discourse on women, gender and development.

Chapter Four
Insights and Critique: Situating IDRC within the Discourse of GAD

There are many challenges to applying GAD for feminist purposes, such as transforming inequitable gender relations and social structures, and interrogating development objectives that perpetuate these inequalities. To explore these challenges, this chapter attempts to explicate how certain practices, implicit in the research findings, create limitations on the Centre's support of research projects within a transformatory GAD framework. The social organization of IDRC's recommended gender considerations, the extent to which program and project staff engage with women's organizations, and the social constructions that may be inferred in the staff's understanding of *gender* will be discussed in this chapter. Each of these practices are linked to one another and play significant roles in creating discursive spaces from which IDRC staff support projects that attempt, through research, to transform unjust power relations within communities. The subsequent sections discuss these practices and conclude with a more focused reflection on the Centre's work within the context of debates and theories about women, gender and development.

The Social Organization of 'Gender'

The impact of 'development' does not only occur at specific project sites in 'marginalized' areas of Latin American and Asian countries. It is also implicated in highly gendered spaces within IDRC headquarters in Canada and in professional research institutions within Third World countries. As Goetz contends, "growing awareness of how deeply men's interests are embedded in the everyday rules and structures of institutions has focused feminist analysis on gendered features of institutions and

organizations" (1998:45). This is noted by a number of academics and activists who argue that 'gender' is manifested in a wide range of social processes, including organizational processes which involve social relations of inequality. A GAD perspective has the potential to analyze these processes and reveal the multiple connections and layers of power that mediate between a project's impact and the institutional procedures embedded within a project's development (Anthias 1998; Baden & Goetz 1997; Rathgeber 1990). This section discusses these processes, including IDRC's gender bias in staff and project teams, and in the textually mediated procedures for implementing research projects. From this perspective, how the GAD discourse is organized and located through institutional processes can either limit or open opportunities for the effective integration of gender considerations.

The decision to choose particular POs and project leaders to design and implement development projects is also a decision that designates power over what kinds of projects become supported and for what purposes. This is especially significant since, as noted in the previous chapter, the implementation of gender considerations is often based on staff's personal beliefs and understandings of gender. It is, therefore, relevant to note that all of the POs and the project leaders interviewed for this research are male, with little or no experience in gender analysis. It would be overly presumptuous to assume that the gender imbalance within POs and the project leaders necessarily implies that all projects will fail to implement gender considerations, or that an all female staff would successfully integrate gender perspectives into their work. However, the research illustrates that the dominance of key male project staff matters on at least three levels. First, how can IDRC expect that project teams should be gender balanced when the

Centre's staff is obviously male dominated?[107] Second, several interviewees noted that even though certain male colleagues could 'speak the language of gender' on an intellectual level, they noted that these colleagues occupy patriarchal roles in their personal lives, which limit their ability to integrate a critical gender perspective into their work. Third, even if a male staff is extremely sensitive to social inequities and is experienced in gender analysis, he may be prevented from identifying gender issues within socially defined female spaces. For example, during the meetings with the women's organizations in Colombia, the male staff who accompanied me during the day could not participate in these visits due to the women's preference to speak only to other females. Furthermore, as demonstrated in the Knowledge Centre's project, women can be more open about their different 'needs' when they are provided with the opportunity to interact with another female. A gender bias of IDRC staffing is also noted in a recent study in which an employee asserts that Centre projects address a male defined agenda:

> In the end analysis...the male perspective is still dominant and it still shapes our institutions, it still shapes our analysis in many respects. And to think that when we're doing gender disaggregated data we're doing gender work, and we're now finally getting to gender analysis-it really misses the boat doesn't it? ...It just means that we're getting gender disaggregated data to answer male perspective questions, or male perspective problems (quoted from Hendrix 2001: 30).

Thus, IDRC's gender bias in program staff limits the PO's ability to encourage a gender balance within the staff of project teams. It also constrains the ability of POs and project staff to fully understand certain social contexts and gender issues, thereby limiting a full integration of a gender perspective in the Centre's research projects.

The social organization of GAD within IDRC is also dependent on the Centre's procedures for implementing gender considerations into projects. As discussed in

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[107] One PO commented that an IDRC partner found it hard to believe that gender equality is an IDRC goal

Chapter Three, IDRC provides recommendations to potential recipients on how to integrate gender considerations into project proposals. The chapter reviewed these guidelines and drew from the research to illustrate how gender considerations are implemented in practice. The following section reflects on how these guidelines are organized within a textually mediated process that favours gender considerations as a component of the proposal's research methodology rather than an integral aspect or approach to the overall research project.

The gender considerations listed under the "Methodology" section of the guidelines recommend that potential recipients state "whether gender considerations constitute an important dimension of the project" with respect to data collection or defining relationships of the research problem, and suggest that the recipient show how the methodology will address these considerations.[108] However, the importance of integrating a gender perspective into the research problem and objectives is not emphasized in these guidelines. Instead, under the first two substantive sections of the guidelines: "Problem and Justification" and "Objectives", recipients are encouraged to develop hypotheses to be tested and show the importance of the research problem by discussing:

> * How the research relates to the development priorities of the country or countries concerned;
> * The scientific importance of the problem;
> * The magnitude of the problem and how the research results will contribute to its solution;
> * The special importance of the project for vulnerable social groups; and
> * The need to build research capacity in the proposed area of research.[109]

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when IDRC staff is mostly male.

[108] http://www.idrc.ca/institutions/proposition3_e.html

[109] http://www.idrc.ca/institution/proposition2_e.html. The emphasis on these points as aspects of a project's problem and justification illustrates a partiality of IDRC to hypothesis driven research which may be inimical to more flexible research processes with social transformation goals. Also, these guidelines imply that IDRC privileges the development agendas of a country. Although a country may have many

Similarly, POs appraise the proposal's inclusion of gender considerations after detailing how the project complements Centre objectives and national or regional priorities. Although the Centre has a broad objective to address gender issues, the main objectives of the PAN program at the time of this research do not state gender equality goals as a priority. The PO generally appraises a project against the objectives of his/her Program Initiative. These guidelines are not, therefore, organized in a manner that encourages the inclusion of a gender perspective into the overall goals of a project.

The IDRC guidelines for potential recipients also recommend that the research proposal list objectives that are operational in nature, against which the success of the project can be judged. These objectives are listed as part of the contractual agreement between IDRC and the recipient's institution within the Memorandum of Grant Conditions (MGC) in a language that makes them actionable. For example, in the MGC of the InforCauca project, the specific objectives of the project are:

a) form partnerships among local, national, and international organizations that provide institutional frameworks for establishing and monitoring community telecenters and learning lessons from their experience;
b) in selected communities, characterize (i) opportunities and risks, (ii) perceptions of information needs, and (iii) current patterns among user groups in the acquisition and use of information, thus providing a reference for subsequent comparison;
c) design one or more models of community telecenters that are suited to local conditions and user groups and that have the means of becoming self-financing and sustainable once the project has come to a close;
d) systematize information that is relevant to community needs, focusing initially on economic development and management of natural resources;
e) build a training program around the telecentres for enhancing the capacity of marginalized people and the local institutions who serve them to implement, operate, and use telecenters;

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different development objectives, this language implies that state based development priorities should also be a priority of the project. The text does not encourage researchers to address the 'development priorities' of political activists, social movements, and citizen rights groups engaged in social and political activities that may be quite different from a national agenda for development.

f) establish gender-sensitive mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the project's impact; and
g) document and disseminate lessons learned as a contribution to the development of community telecenters in Latin America (IDRC 1999:2).

These project objectives are listed as a series of activities rather than reflective of research questions that take into account the unintended, flexible, and complicated processes that are integral to any movement towards social change. The way the project objectives are listed gives the impression that a proposed solution to a particular 'development' problem can be solved through certain actions.[110] The historical, political, social, and economic contexts of these projects are hidden in these objectives and meaningful gender considerations are difficult to integrate. Instead, gender considerations are often limited to a component of the methodology in the research proposal. These considerations, therefore, focus on the means to achieve the defined research objectives rather than integrating gender considerations into the overall problem of the project.

In sum, examining how IDRC organizes 'gender considerations' through institutional procedures directs attention to how these procedures are "hooked into sequences of action implicating and coordinating multiple local sites where" project staff and community members in Asia and Latin America are active (Smith 1999:7). The multiple layers of power within these procedures affects how and what gender considerations are addressed. This section focuses on two such layers, the gender bias within IDRC staff and the Centre's organization of gender considerations. The following

[110] Adelle Mueller found that the language of Development agencies is designed so that actions are developed with already formulated problems in mind. Problems are described in a language which makes them actionable, so that agencies can claim the capacity to know what the development problems are, and how they can be solved (1987:57-58).

sections highlight how normal practices of supporting projects are tied to the way gender considerations are organized through project guidelines.

Practicing Gender and Development Through Apolitical Intentions

The literature on GAD emphasizes the importance of development practitioners to engage with different women's organizations, networks, and movements that are involved in feminist politics outside of formal state driven agendas (Kabeer 1994; Smyth 1999; Young 1997). IDRC's practices for implementing projects do not, however, explicitly encourage partnerships with women's and feminist organizations that are politically motivated to promote structural changes towards gender equality at community and global levels. To explore this apparent conflict between GAD in theory and how it is manifested in practice, this section reviews how IDRC connects with women's organizations to illustrate the Centre's engagement with feminist politics for social change.

As illustrated in the research findings, women's organizations can help a community progress towards gender equality and women's empowerment, and make explicit the gender relations and social equity issues of a particular social setting. The research also demonstrates that women's organizations can help ensure equitable decision-making about the project's goals and help promote equality in the participation of a project. Overall, women's organizations can help a project progress towards social development goals.

With the exception of MISTICA, however, connections to women's organizations were not intentionally created. In a recent report Rajasekarapandy (2001) states that the Embalam Knowledge Centre was initiated by women's collective efforts but at the same

time there was a dispute between two political parties that wanted to take credit for the implementation of the Centre. The ruling government of Pondicherry tried to appoint its own party cadres as temple trustees so that they could claim responsibility for the Embalam Centre. This was met with resistance from the opposition party which wanted to credit itself for the project since the KC was actually implemented during the party's time in power. In the end, the male members of the village agreed to hand over the management of the Centre to the women's groups since, as it was perceived, women are not actively aligned to political parties, and are therefore 'apolitical' (Rajasekarapandy 2001:8).

During my review of the research data, I interpreted this event to be a contradiction between my interview notes and what was written in the report on the Knowledge Centre.[111] The interviewees highlight the advancement of women's empowerment through their managerial role of the KC, their efforts to use the Centre for social change, and through attempts to address women's different needs. Yet the connection with this women's organization was not part of the project design. Instead, the report states that a connection between the Embalam Centre and the women's organizations was formed by men assigning women 'apolitical' roles and allowing them to manage the Centre. Since the women were not actively aligned to any political party, their role in managing the Centre would not be construed as giving one of the political party's credit for the KC. This report and my research notes on women's initiation of the

[111] My field notes on the Embalam Knowledge Centre are discussed in Chapter Three in the section "Women's Organizations: An Entry Point".

KC are not perceived as contradictory data, but rather are described by one project staff as "serendipity"- an unintentional yet fortunate incident.[112]

The inadvertent connections to women's collective efforts by the InforCauca and Knowledge Centre's projects also raise questions about IDRC's overall intentions for 'development'. Is the goal to only integrate 'gender considerations' as methodological aspects of pre-defined conceptions about who needs to be developed and how this is going to be achieved? Or, does IDRC strive towards supporting research on how to transform political, economic, and social structures that perpetuate gendered and other inequalitites? Ferguson asserts that development agencies do not promote meaningful social transformation since they are not in the "business of promoting political realignments" (1995:69). The work of IDRC cannot be simplified into one or the other 'development' goal. However, it appears that generally IDRC tends to support projects that may, through the course of a project, play a role in creating political change and social equality, as shown in the InforCauca project within the ACIN community.[113] Furthermore, IDRC is not a monolithic organization and there are opportunities for POs within IDRC to develop projects that have explicit gender equality and social justice goals. As Eva Rathgeber asserts,

> [t]he contradictory nature of discourse within organizations also deserves analysis. While it is true that most development agencies have specific modes of operation and formulae for program delivery, sometimes considerable space exists for personal creativity in the interpretation of those guidelines. Individuals

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[112] This example illustrates that progress towards women's empowerment is not always a smooth process. Despite some men perceiving women as 'apolitical' their involvement in this KC has benefited women more than other Centres. Perhaps women's involvement in this project and their participation in other activities will change the way men perceive women's roles over time.

[113] Besides the women's efforts to use the telecentre to advance gender equality goals, the ACIN community has used the telecentre to advance their political and human rights. For example, they used the communication tools of the telecentre to organize a large march with approximately 35, 000 people through the city of Cali, Colombia to advocate for indigenous rights. They are also using the telecentre to distribute information on missing persons from different areas in Cauca who have been kidnapped by guerilla groups.

> within the agencies often work in the development area by choice and are committed to issues of social justice...A truly postmodern feminist approach to development would recognize and build upon the reality of these diverging views rather than denigrating the efforts of development agencies as either inherently conservative and self-serving or excessively bureaucratic (1995:212).

For example, in addition to the InforCauca project, Ben is also supporting a project with the Women's Networking Support Programme (WNSP). WNSP is a global initiative of the Association for Progressive Communications (APC), "aimed at facilitating access to and use of computer communications by women in order to redress gender inequities in the design, implementation and use of ICTs and the policy decisions and frameworks that regulate them" (Banks, Farwell, James & Wood 1999:103).[114] The most recent project of the WNSP explores evaluation methodologies that play a role in planning, monitoring and evaluating ICT projects from a gender perspective. The development of these methodologies is, in large part, a response to evaluations that are too rigid and are not aimed towards the advocacy efforts of WNSP. An APC assessment team member comments that an 'ICT Audit Framework' to inform policy and management decisions is too academic and technocratic. Furthermore, the framework is

> aimed at the evaluation of institutions and mainstream organizations in which hierarchy, divisions of labour, timing and procedures are already defined. Compartmentalizing the APC Women's Program into these quadrants was met with difficulty and frustration given the organizational characteristics of the program (e.g., a collective, non-hierarchical, participatory, voluntary, and continually evolving entity) and the divisions of labour (voluntary members versus paid, technical versus non-technical, and defined project roles versus non-defined). Relating to this are the built-in assumptions within the framework that everyone uses ICTs in the same way, and has the time, access and money to do so, etc.). The assessment team found these assumptions to be both male-and northern-biased (Wood 1997).

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[114] The Programme is part of the Association of Progressive Communications, a network dedicated to NGOs, social movements, and citizen activists which use ICTs for social justice and participatory democracies.

As an alternative approach to this kind of evaluation, WNSP is currently working on Gender Evaluation Methodologies (GEM). GEM is a guide for integrating gender analysis into evaluations of initiatives that use Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) for social change. GEM provides a means for determining whether ICTs are really improving women's lives and gender relations, including promoting positive change at the individual, institutional, community and broader social levels. The methodologies are not intended to provide a step-by-step checklist for conducting evaluations. Rather, GEM provides users with an overview of the evaluation process and outlines suggested strategies and methodologies for incorporating a gender analysis throughout. The members of WNSP assert that this is an 'evolving' guide in which they will incorporate lessons learned from implementing the methodologies within different contexts for different reasons.[115]

The WNSP project explicitly addresses gender equality as an overall goal of the project and politicizes its efforts to address larger gender issues related to ICTs. For example, its members assert that ICT use is increasing everywhere and that the use of ICTs can either strengthen women's organizations and movement building at the local, regional and global levels, or be used in ways that replicate or perpetrate gender stereotypes and biases that can have unintended negative impacts. GEM, therefore, can investigate whether ICTs are being used in ways that change gender biases and roles or in ways that simply reproduce and replicate existing ones. WNSP is developing GEM with the objective to strengthen and sustain 'gender accountability' in global, regional, national and local ICT networking initiatives. These goals complement feminist goals to challenge gender biases through the strengthening of social networks.

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[115] To find this and other information on GEM visit: http://www.apcwomen.org/gem/

Thus, IDRC's support of this project demonstrates that there is space within the Centre to work with activists that advocate for social and political change. Reflecting on what is extraordinary about working with the WNSP members, Ben states:

> [w]hat is exceptional in great part here is the dynamic within the WNSP group where the process is truly participatory, where participants are treated equally, and where there is a practice of what is being preached...In the context of WNSP many unpaid participants see the social transformation cause as paramount, and embrace the creation and articulation of a space for women in ICT voices and activism. At the "funding partner" level, although it wasn't easy at the beginning for a "white male" to always feel welcomed in the WNSP space, I have seen evidence that beyond the power relation caused by my role in funding their initiatives, there is now a genuine relationship that enables a true partnership. This is a case of IDRC recipients that make you feel that the funding is not what counts the most in the partnership. It is not unique but it is not common either. From my experience, I would say that clear and shared goals make the difference.[116]

Ben's comments highlight how WNSP's articulated social vision is taken up in practice in a participatory way. While he found it difficult at first to engage within a distinctly female space, the power relationship between a 'white male' PO and a women's organization seems to be dissolving into a productive partnership in which the project's goals to address gender inequities within ICT work is central.

Nevertheless, examples of working with women's organizations that collectively engage in political activities with the intent to move towards gender equality and social change are rare. Instead, most work is done in collaboration with research institutions, which tend to be disengaged from the political energy of feminist organizations. This is also emphasized in Hendrix's recent study. She interviewed Sonya and other IDRC 'gender staff' on their work with women's organizations and found that while they know they should be working more closely with these organizations, but the institutional context prevents this from happening in a substantive way. These staff

> recognize that they are situated within a context which considers linkages with local women's networks and organizations as the 'last strategy' (Sonya) in development organizations. Sonya, from IDRC, noted that internal gender analysis capacity-building, the integration of gender sensitive research and gender disaggregated data are much more acceptable actions (Hendrix 2001:84-85).

Thus, connecting with certain women's groups creates opportunities to address gender issues in a meaningful way that may not fit neatly under the Centre's or a country's objectives for development. Supporting projects with organizations involved in advocacy for social change is probably more effective than trying to include gender considerations into projects implemented by research institutions without a clear social justice/equality vision.

The Discourse of GAD: Transformatory Potential or Potentially Confusing?

GAD proponents advocate that development professionals should think beyond the language of WID, which essentializes 'Third World women's commonalties and disguises social relations between women, and between women and men. Alternatively, a GAD approach uses *gender* as an analytical concept to explore the different socially-constructed gender roles and responsibilities of women and men. A GAD viewpoint also analyzes how gender is embedded within other social relations, such as class, sexuality, age, religion, ethnicity, and caste (Anthias 1998; El-Bushra 2000; Jolly 2000; Rathgeber 1997; Young 1997). This analytical approach provides an opportunity to move beyond the instrumentalist categories of WID projects that fit women into pre-determined categories of 'development'. In contrast, GAD questions the assumptions implicit in these categories and the overall male-defined social and economic structures of development agencies (Rathgeber 1995: 206). However, many academics and activists find that the implementation of development projects grounded in gender

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[116] E-mail Message, March 2002.

analysis is difficult and often incoherently applied (ibid:204). Instead of adopting the language of *gender* as a strategy to make political change and social transformation primary goals, many development agencies insert the language of *gender* into a technocratic and ethnocentric discourse of development.

In practice, the research reveals that there is much confusion surrounding the concept of *gender* and how IDRC gender considerations fit into a perspective which challenges inequitable gender relations and social structures. For example, the PO and the project leader of the E-Marketer's project assume that gender considerations are implemented because women are specifically involved in e-marketing products. These assumptions fit into the Anti-Poverty approach to development described by Moser (1989). The project focuses on women's productive roles without taking into consideration the existing gender relations or the sexual divisions of labour within these households. In fact, this project will most likely add to the women's daily activities and reinforce a process that Maria Mies labels 'housewifization', in which women are secluded to their homes and are narrowly defined as full-time caregivers to their children and as household managers (1986:74). In this case, the project staff use the concept *gender* to legitimize essentialist WID ideas about women's roles.

Using the concept *gender* within a 'WID agenda' is also evident in a presentation given by a project staff at the IDRC gender and ICTs professional development workshop (November 29-30 2001). In one of the introductory sessions, he presented "Gender Advantages of ICTs" which included: the Feminization of Work; Multitasking; Communications; and, Networking. He argued that the ICT industry favours women's involvement and has thus become 'feminized'. He did not realize that the term

"feminization" is used in development literature with a negative connotation. The 'feminization of work' is associated with industries, such as the electronics industry, where the majority of low paying jobs, such as, data entry are accomplished through women's work. Carla Freeman notes that the electronics industry has especially become feminized since it recruits women workers almost exclusively, and also because the work process itself is imbued with notions of appropriate femininity. She argues that women are expected to be quiet and responsible workers and dressed in a feminine professional manner (2000:3-4). She asserts that the feminization of information-based industries devalues the skills associated with these jobs (2000:44).[117]

This project staff member also asserted that women are better able to multitask than men, since women already accomplish many different tasks and roles on a daily basis. He contended that the ICT industry complements this kind of work since women have the option to work from home on their own hours while accomplishing different tasks simultaneously. Freeman argues that it is dangerous to assume that women are ideally suited to information-based jobs since they are proficient at multiple roles. She states that this ideology situates Third World women in vulnerable and exploited positions. It assumes that women, busy in their multiple daily tasks, desire part-time, temporary, home-based work as a "safety net" and a supplement to the primary male-breadwinner (2000:46). In contrast, Freeman (2000), Fernandez-Kelly (1983) and Lim's (1981) studies on the electronics industry in the Third World show that women's

[117] Devon Pena (1997) describes the activities of COMO (Centro de Orientacion de la Mujer Obrera) which is an organization that has helped female *maquila* workers set up independent models of economic development. Her chapter "The Mirror of Exploitation" describes COMO's activities as an alternative work setting to the work conditions and ideologies that are promoted in industries that have become feminized. COMO is a unique alternative that offers women the opportunity to engage in participatory democracy and relevant educational programs as integral aspects of their work. See more in her chapter: Pena, Devon G.

employment in this industry is usually a result of their extreme need to find income to support themselves and their families. These authors emphasize that in the Caribbean, Mexico, Singapore and Malaysia, the electronics industries often limit their hiring to young females and justify offering them low wages because of these women's inferior labour market status and need for employment.

In addition, the project staff member asserted that women's neurological systems are more advanced than men's, which implies that women are better communicators and networkers - two advantages of working in the ICT industry. His findings are based on research he conducted primarily in Canada with women who use ICTs to advance their careers, to attend University at a distance, and to decide on where and when to work.[118] These assumptions clearly fit into a WID agenda. This project staff's perspective essentializes women to one unified category based on biological similarities and assumes that the benefits of ICTs for women in a First World country of a certain class and educational background, will also benefit all 'Third World women'.

The way *gender* is used in the E-Marketer's project and in this presentation fails to recognize how 'women' are socially-constructed to develop arguments about the benefits of ICT development projects. Through these assertions, 'women' are an already constructed object for the fulfillment of ICT development goals, determined by staff based both in IDRC headquarters and a research institution in India. In these examples

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1997. "The Mirror of Exploitation". in eds. Lamphere, Louise, Ragone, Helena & Zavella, Patricia. Situated Lives: Gender and Culture in Everyday Life. (469-486)

[118] Workshop Notes, November 29 2001.

'women' is not a "descriptive expression" but a discursive technique which legitimizes male biased ideas about how ICTs can be used to the advantages of all women.[119]

In other cases, such as the InforCauca, MISTICA, and Knowledge Centre's projects, 'gender considerations' are viewed as an important aspect of the project, beyond the staff's assumptions that ICTs necessarily benefits all women. MISTICA invited women's organizations to play an active role in the virtual community that discussed social inequalities in Latin America and the Caribbean which, to a certain degree, included gender inequalities. In the InforCauca project, the design includes 'gender sensitive mechanisms' to monitor and evaluate the impact of the project. The team also addressed certain gender issues that arose in the project's implementation, even though the staff may not label them as such. The Knowledge Centre project is perhaps most effective in making visible social relations and inequalities that are embedded within the project. The staff uses methodologies, such as disaggregating the use of the KCs by sex, caste, age, illiteracy, and they make gender issues and the qualitative benefits of the Centre explicit through story telling and close contact with the villages. However, all of the projects struggle with articulating how a gender perspective fits holistically into the overall objectives of the project. Moreover, these projects do not demonstrate any efforts to work with women *and men* and male-dominated social structures to address gendered inequalities. For example, in the InforCauca project within the Tunia community, the staff does not address the *machismo* environment of the male-dominated organizations

[119] In Adelle Mueller's dissertation she states that Third World Women are not treated in her work as a "descriptive expression", but as a "key concept in official Women in Development discourse, the constructed object of Development practices" (1987:3).

controlling the progress of the project.[120] Perhaps the coordinator of the Tunia telecentre will consider the suggestion of the female operator who asserted that the needs of the women in this community should be included in the project. Regardless, the gendered inequalities within Tunia are not raised as a challenge to implementing the project, and they are not viewed as fundamentally problematic to the project's progress towards 'development'. Similarly, in the KCs project, assumptions within the community about which men and which women can volunteer at the Centre and for what purposes, are not perceived as a challenge for the project staff to address. The cultural taboos and gender inequalities that already exist in this social setting are not taken into consideration as a central element to this project.

Challenging IDRC: Insights from the Theories and Debates on Women, Gender and Development

The potential of a GAD approach, as asserted by academics such as Kate Young (1997), includes reflection on the social processes of development at an institutional level. This insight has provided a methodological entry point for this thesis to explore GAD in practice within the context of IDRC. I have attempted, as El-Bushra recommends, to "unpack" a development institution to understand how it functions in terms of rules, activities, and power structures that are embedded within "gender hierarch[ies]" (2000:61). I have also tried to understand how the gender hierarchies in IDRC translate into actual gendered practices within Latin America and India. The

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[120] There are now projects that are geared towards understanding gender inequalities and challenging male biases which create *machismo*. For example, a recent project in Nicaragua with the *Centro de Informacion y Servicios de Asesoria en Salud* (CISAS), is working with men as a response to the demands of some women who argue that changes in the community need to include men's understanding of their roles in reproductive health matters. CISAS decided to undertake research that would develop an awareness of the social and cultural norms defined by *machismo*, and the way these norms create a model of acceptable male sexual behaviour. The organization hopes that through this project assumptions about women's roles

research findings reveal that the Centre has not internally reflected on the extent to which IDRC's processes of supporting research are gendered. Gender considerations within IDRC may be implemented on certain levels through the planning of particular aspects of research projects, such as ensuring that there are male and female volunteers of telecentres in Colombia and Knowledge Centres in India. However, a holistic approach to GAD at community, institutional, and global levels through analytical techniques such as developing critical research questions, exploring these questions through qualitative and complementary quantitative methodologies, and taking into consideration the social and cultural contexts as fundamental aspects to the project's progress, are not fully addressed by the Centre.

A transformatory approach to GAD defined by activists and academics is limited within IDRC by the social organization of particular features of project development, such as the male bias of staff and the textually mediated processes involved in funding research projects. The research demonstrates that the GAD approach can even become completely 'depoliticized' from feminist goals. This occurs when intentionally political connections to women's organizations are not made, and *gender* is used as a concept to legitimize a development agenda which perpetuates inequitable gender relations, and reinforces essentialist WID ideas about 'women's' needs and interests. The research also illustrates that the different cultural contexts, and multiple social, gender, and power relations at national, institutional, virtual, and local community levels must be taken into consideration as integral aspects of a GAD approach. Some social and gender issues highlighted in this research include:

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perceived by men as either vehicles for reproduction or transmitters of illnesses will change (Sternberg 2000:89).

- different expectations, gender roles, and cultural taboos attributed to single and married men and women in India;
- caste discrimination and hierarchies within India;
- gender inequities within male-dominated spaces, such as the Veerampattinam KC, located in the building of the traditional panchayat;
- different information needs of men and women;
- inequitable social, gender, and power relations that are translated from the 'real' world into a virtual one;
- progress the ACIN community has made towards gender equality through a women's committee;
- a high incidence of female-headed households, and sexual violence against young women in Aguablanca, Colombia; and,
- the power relations and the *machismo* atmosphere within the context of the Tunia telecentre.

As noted in the previous chapter, these issues were raised through interviews, observations, and meetings with women's organizations. However, these issues are not treated as central elements within project texts and within the implementation of the projects.

Thus, IDRC fits within the GAD discourse as it has been taken up by mainstream development agencies. It is not surprising then, that the Centre adopts neither a transformatory feminist GAD perspective nor a WAD perspective that interrogates how structural and material processes of development create and maintain social and gender inequalities. As Baden and Goetz argue, the language of *gender* has been reinterpreted from feminist conceptualizations in order to meet the development agency's institutional needs (1997:40).

The institutional discourse about gender within IDRC also means that connections to transformatory feminist projects are normally not considered as a central and intentionally-political practice. Developing projects with feminist and women's organizations that struggle against social inequalities, political injustice, and patriarchal structures are not a part of IDRC's agenda or the agenda of other mainstream agencies

such as Oxfam (Smyth 1999:140). Women's organizations are not sought as a means to shape and change "decisionable agendas" of development agencies. Nevertheless, Kabeer and others emphasize that women's organizations can help "challenge conventional stereotypes about gender needs, to make visible hitherto hidden categories of women's needs, and to lay bare the interconnections between different aspects of women's lives" (Kabeer 1994:230-231). Indeed, the research findings illustrate that women's needs and gender equity issues are revealed through the work of women's organizations in communities of India and Colombia. However, a connection to women's organizations does not necessarily imply that the overall project will be altered according to more radical feminist goals of social transformation.

Furthermore, a narrow focus of *gender* as either a synonym for 'women', or as a focus on local social constructions of men and women's roles, and the relations between them, excludes the incorporation of other definitions of gender. Recent research on gender by academics blurs the binary distinctions between sex and gender. El-Bushra and Jolly argue that this understanding of gender oversimplifies a dichotomization between the concepts 'gender' and 'sex'. They assert that there are cultural settings that do not identify individuals as solely male or female. Visweswaran's (1997) historical review of changes in the conception of gender from 1880-1996 also makes this point. Through an examination of feminist literatures she shows how definitions of gender are ever-changing. She argues that the distinction between sex and gender during the period 1960-1980 has been critiqued recently for analytically separating sex from gender since sex itself is a social category (1997:611). Thus, development organizations that use the concept *gender* to mean *women* should understand that women should not be

essentialized as a category based on sex. If sex itself is a socially-constructed category then development agencies must explore the social constructions of sex, gender roles, and gender relations in a community before implementing a project and designing research questions for investigation. Institutions like IDRC need to recognize that various definitions of gender exist and that these definitions should be taken into consideration with the different settings that development projects are implemented.

A narrow focus on 'gender' also excludes broader critiques of development by WAD theorists and activists. WAD investigations of development are informed by Marxist, radical, and socialist feminist theories (Connelly et al. 2000:120-130). There are many divisions within these feminist theories, and the review in this thesis on how the theories inform WAD thought is far from comprehensive. Nonetheless, the theoretical principles of WAD signal attention to critical reflections on development processes that IDRC's GAD approach to development does not adequately consider. The work of Maria Mies (1986), Patricia Maguire (1984), and Asoka Bandarage (1984) illustrate how development processes are tied into historical, social, and political contexts that perpetuate international inequities between the North and South, and within Third World countries. These writers assert that development projects must be placed within a broader context in order to understand that women's involvement in projects, and gender inequities within developing countries, are not merely "aberration[s] of development" (Bandarage 1984:500). Rather, WAD activists maintain that development processes are themselves problematic. Locating 'development problems' solely within the Third World or even, as this thesis attempts, locating development processes within procedures of an organization located in the First World, overlooks the political economic structures and

social systems that sustain inequities at international and local levels. Instead, "development practice needs to be based on an understanding of the relationship between global inequality and the context-specific experiences of individual women" (El-Bushra 2000:57).

This kind of practice can be found in the work of activists from the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) organization. These activists place the political economy of globalization, political restructuring, and social transformation as underlying research themes of their feminist and advocacy work. DAWN problematizes dominant development models and seeks alternative feminist perspectives on global governance, globalization, and reproductive health and gender justice. The organization's work includes reviewing the extent to which national governments and regional and global institutions of governance respond to their commitments to advance women's equality. DAWN members are committed to researching how these gains, these "paper guarantees", are translated into change at the level of social relations. DAWN seeks alternatives to male-dominated discourses about governance and political economic restructuring at global and national levels to ensure that there is 'gender justice' within local levels.[121] This broader perspective of development opens space for social transformation at local community levels as they are interconnected to national and international processes of change. A WAD perspective, therefore, provides conceptual room for exploring how international social, economic, and political processes create and maintain global injustices that impact local gender inequalities. In the conclusion to this

[121] This information about DAWN can be found at:
http://www.dawn.org.fj/global/restructuring/wssd/signposts.html

thesis, I suggest that this and other strategies can open discursive and epistemological spaces that provoke IDRC's current practices of implementing gender considerations.

Conclusion: Opening Discursive Spaces within Development Research

In an attempt to open discursive spaces within the context of IDRC's work, the creation of future strategies to integrate a more transformatory GAD approach to IDRC work must include a problematization of the kind of 'development' the Centre seeks to support. To this end, the Centre must reflect on the means through which a more transformatory GAD approach will be achieved: What does IDRC seek to develop? For whose benefit, and for what purposes? What space is the Centre creating to play a role in this process? Who is involved in this process and how do they see their role? What is their experience in gender analysis, and with women's and feminist organizations involved in social change? What are the significant social and gender issues within the communities that project staff works with? How are these issues tied to global, political, economic, and social processes of change? These are all questions which must be continually explored in order for IDRC staff to be reflexive about the work they are doing and how it plays a role in promoting gender equality.

It is also important for the Centre to reflect upon the various meanings associated with the term 'development'. This reflection could help IDRC staff to identify the purposes that their research on development should achieve. In the Introduction I noted that 'development' terms such as developing countries, First World and Third World, and North and South are used in literature on development and are used in this thesis. However, I recognize the limitations of using these terms since they are grounded in a discourse that conceptually and politically prescribes developing the South, the Third World, and underdeveloped countries to First World values and indicators of progress. It

is therefore necessary for staff working in IDRC and other development institutions to review literature by authors like Escobar (1995), Ferguson (1994), Reddock (2000), Ross (1998), Sachs (1995), and many others that problematize conventional economic approaches to development and examine the historical and political implications of development terminology.

A number of IDRC initiatives have supported 'development' goals and frameworks that challenge economic and deterministic approaches to development. For example IDRC support of the WNSP advocacy efforts described in Chapter Four illustrate the Centre's commitment towards social and gender equality as a development goal. The book entitled Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development (2000) referred to in the WAD discussion in Chapter Two was published with funding and support from IDRC. The authors of this book critically review 'development' terminology, critique the influence of neo-liberal economics on development, and link the institutionalization of development to the history of colonialism. Barriteau, Connelly and Parpart also extensively review different feminist approaches to development and discuss their implications for policy and action. Other texts financially supported by IDRC that offer critical perspectives on development include Social Movements on the Net (2001) and *The Internet...Why? and What for? Thoughts on Information and Communication Technologies for Development in Latin America and the Caribbean* (2001). These texts are written by academics and social activists committed to providing alternative ideas about development and globalization. The authors write about the work of social movements such as those organizations involved in democratizing and decentralizing communications media as a means for citizens in Latin America and the Caribbean to

participate in political processes. In the latter text the authors describe this approach to development as holistic:

> This document rejects the view that equates development with economic growth. Instead, it adopts a holistic approach to development, characterized by the realization of human potential in its multiple facets, the achievement of economic prosperity with social equality, and the strengthening of democracy with transparency and social justice. This necessarily implies the elimination of inequalities in the distribution of power and resources in society (Gomez and Martinez 2001: IDRC).

Both the WNSP project and these published texts highlight particular initiatives of IDRC that conceptualize development differently than economic and technocratic approaches.

The Centre is also beginning to work towards a more critical approach to gender and development. For example, the Centre's Gender Unit (GU) is actively addressing gender issues through the promotion of interactive, project based learning about gender analysis. The Unit is also partially supporting research implemented by project staff who are committed to learning how social and gender analyses are integral aspects of the research process. In this way the entire research team, not just a gender expert, becomes knowledgeable and skilled in gender analysis. An iterative process between IDRC staff and the researchers can open spaces for Program Officers to learn more about the social contexts of these projects and how gender considerations are implemented after the project is approved. This work will complement the Unit's funding of gender training/professional development workshops in which IDRC staff learn about the importance of gender as an analytical approach to all research projects. Training workshops has been primarily limited to increasing POs awareness of *what* gender means, *why* gender considerations are relevant to research projects, and *how* POs can facilitate a process with recipients of integrating gender considerations throughout a

project. Yet these workshops can sometimes provide space for critical reflection and discussion on the ways in which IDRC supports 'development' work. For example, a workshop with the MINGA Program Initiative included reflection

> about the way in which we work, the power dimensions of this work (including our relationship with our partners), our assumptions about the research we support, and the complexity of gender relations as a variable cutting across various levels of social, economic, cultural, environmental, and political realities. The workshop explored gender as one piece of an ever-complex and intricately connected puzzle, linking the importance of gender from the micro level of inter- and intra-household relationships to the macro level of systems analysis, issues of globalization, policy, and ideology (Hill & Paulson 2001:4).

Within this workshop, a political subtext was integrated by one of the trainers. She encouraged IDRC staff to reflect on meaningful questions about why gender is important, how it is intertwined with other dimensions of social difference, and how IDRC project language and assumptions about development may contradict principles related to gender equality.

Staff from the Gender Unit have also developed a research agenda for the next four years. The Unit hopes to support projects under research themes including, "Gender, natural resource management and globalization", and "Gender, citizenship and entitlement". These themes provide IDRC with the conceptual space to link micro- and macro-contexts and investigate sites of power along gender lines and other axes of differentiation (Scholey 2001:5). Through these themes, the GU plans to explore gender issues, such as gender violence. Scholey states that

> [e]merging research over the last decade on women and violence has moved focus from understanding women as victims of violence to understanding how relations of violence are dynamic, shifting and gendered. Investigations of this kind have focussed on understanding the contextual nature of identity and sexuality, which is shaped by political economy and historical forces and relations and articulated with other identities such as class, ethnicity and race, religion, and nationality...The Gender Unit intends to promote research that contributes to

> policy making and development programming, resulting in more equitable relations between men and women and the redefinition of women as subjects with equal rights and entitlements to safety of their persons (perhaps the most essential of human rights) (Scholey 2001:7-8).

Scholey's ideas on gender violence demonstrate tremendous potential for the Centre to support research efforts in which political economy, different aspects of social relations, including sexuality, and women's rights are central aspects. Furthermore, the GU states that collaborative relationships will be created between researchers, policy-makers and advocacy groups. This will help ensure that researchers frame questions which include the interests of grassroots activists (2001:5). Developing these kinds of relationships clearly plays a role in transforming the means through which IDRC supported projects establish research objectives and 'development' priorities. This effort will open epistemological spaces for women's organizations to play a role in creating 'development agendas'.

Notwithstanding the current limitations of IDRC's approach to 'gender considerations', efforts by the Gender Unit and individuals committed to integrating a gender perspective into the overall objectives of research projects are positive steps towards transformative social change. Further mechanisms to ensure that these efforts and commitments become part of the broader discursive practices of IDRC should also be created. As illustrated in this research, linking with organizations that are active in political processes for social change is one way for the Centre to include 'gender considerations' in research, beyond perceiving these considerations only as a separate methodological component. In addition, the institutional procedures, such as the textually-mediated processes involved in supporting an IDRC project, must be revised

and made more reflective of the qualitative intricacies involved in researching processes of social change and gender equality.

Besides these strategies, other research projects could complement and further expand my research findings. The research findings are drawn from an investigation of four specific projects from only one Program Initiative. This study could be more comprehensive if it included an exploration of research projects supported by the ten other Program Initiatives of IDRC.[122] In addition, this thesis focused on GAD discourse as it is practiced through the institutional procedures of IDRC. Future studies could focus more exclusively on how recipient development institutions within developing countries frame and engage in GAD approaches to development. Do research institutions based in 'developing' countries have similar ideas about gender considerations? Are there organizations that work with a broader conceptual understanding of *gender*? How does this translate in practice? These types of critical inquiry and investigation could further explicate how the social organization of gender is reinforced or reinterpreted through other Program Initiatives of IDRC and other organizational practices, mandates, and procedures for implementing development projects.

Another research study could compare differences between institutions accountable to the Parliament of Canada, like IDRC and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), to feminist defined Non-Governmental Organizations

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[122] The other Program Initiatives include: Alternative Approaches to Natural Resource Management in Latin America and the Caribbean (Minga); Cities Feeding People; Community-Based Natural Resource Management (Asia); Ecosystem Approaches to Human Health (EcoHealth); People, Land and Water (Africa and the Middle East): Sustainable Use of Biodiversity; Micro Impacts of Macroeconomic and Adjustment Policies; Peacebuilding and Reconstruction; Trade Employment, and Competitiveness; and Acacia: Communities and the Information Society in Africa (IDRC 2001a:8).

(NGOs) such as Inter Pares and MATCH International.[123] The research could explore how such NGOs engage with recipients, define 'development', and implement projects. The results of such research might contribute to a greater understanding of how feminist research agendas are different from state supported development agendas and how these differences impact progress towards social transformation at global and local levels.

Finally, further research could move beyond an examination of institutions to ethnographic explorations of communities that are impacted by IDRC supported research projects. How do these communities define gender issues? How do POs and project staff, respond to local understandings about gender? What are the major social and gender issues of these communities? How are these issues connected to larger historical, political, and economic structures and policies? How are gender relations altered, for what purposes, and to what degree? When does this occur? Does a project's impact on gender relations occur within the 'project cycle'? Or, do community members' experience these impacts much later? These kinds of research questions could complement the findings of this research, address some of the methodological shortcomings of this research, and contribute to the existing body of knowledge on Gender and Development.

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[123] No website on Inter Pares could currently be found. Inter Pares is a Canadian-based feminist NGO working in the field of international development. MATCH International Centre is also a Canadian-based non-governmental organization, established in 1976 by Canadian women. It was created to bring to life a feminist vision of what development work can, and should, mean: equality, dignity, opportunity, and a better life for women and men. MATCH has 'matched' the needs and resources of Canadian women with the needs and resources of women in the South. It is an international development agency run by and for women. To see this and other information about MATCH visit: http://www.web.net/~matchint/en/match.html

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APPENDIX ONE

April 2, 2001

Dear Members of *(PLEASE TYPE IN THE NAME OF YOUR RESEARCH TEAM/PROJECT LEADER)*

I am writing this letter to request your participation in research I am engaged in with the PAN Global Networking team at the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). I am undertaking a study which explores the gender considerations of four ongoing PAN projects. With your consent I would like to look at the progression of your research from the project design phase to its current implementation with respect to gender issues.

The purpose of this research is twofold. First, it provides in detail analysis on how gender considerations are conceptualized by IDRC Program Officers and Partners (yourselves) in the initial phases of the projects, and how these considerations are actually carried out throughout the project. Second, this research will feed into a broader learning process for the PAN team. The purpose of this research is **not** to evaluate particular projects to determine the competency of Program Officers or Partners in carrying out their research, nor is this research going to determine future support for your project or any other projects that may be proposed to PAN or IDRC in the future. Rather, this research is contributing to the learning and reflections of the PAN team on gender issues. This learning includes understanding gender related concepts and theories, the importance of considering gender in projects, and how to approach these considerations in practice. The exploration of your project will contribute to this learning through its use as part of a training workshop for PAN/IDRC staff at the end of this year.

In addition, I am requesting that aspects of this research be a part of my Master's thesis at the University of Victoria, Canada. My thesis reviews Gender and Development (GAD) literature of development agencies, academics, and social activists. Through my research with the PAN team and with yourselves, I would like to use some of the analysis of your project to discuss how GAD discourse is taken up in specific research settings. Any interviews and/or discussions I have with individuals will require their informed consent, and the individual will be referred to anonymously in my thesis.

At IDRC there is a corporate commitment to addressing gender issues. My research on your project will in part contribute to this corporate commitment through my facilitation with PAN on this critical matter. It is also hoped that this exploration might benefit your project and other research in many positive ways. Although this research is not intended to prescribe how to implement gender considerations into the project since the research is part of a reflection and learning process, the research findings and possible recommendations could potentially inform the final phases of your project or could be used in the development of other research projects. Once a report is written on the four PAN projects a copy will be forwarded to each Partner for review and feedback.

With your approval I would like to move forward on this research. The initial phase of this research will include an analysis of project proposals, and all other relevant reports. This review will provide me with the background of your project, including its primary objectives, the cultural context in which it takes place, where, why and how gender is considered, what project sites I can visit and who I might interview. During this process I will consult with the Program Officer responsible for working with you to clarify their role in developing the gender/social considerations of the project, to clarify relevant project documentation, and to help determine appropriate methodologies for further exploring the respective projects. I would like to follow this review with a site visit to the location(s) of your project so I can interview and discuss with you, members of your research team, and possibly some of the beneficiaries, on how gender considerations have been explored in practice.

The four selected projects are located in India and in Latin America and I hope to spend approximately one week with each project team. I will take two separate trips, one to India and one to Latin America with a month in between to write up my analysis and prepare for the next two case studies. I would like to try visiting the project teams in Latin America during the end of June to beginning of July, and then travel to India mid to late August. With consideration to financial and time constraints could you please let me know when if this would be a good time for me to meet with you and others. Alternatively, could you please suggest a more appropriate time.

Thank you for considering your participation in this learning process. After receiving confirmation of your participation I will be in touch with you to discuss methodological approaches to exploring your project. Please feel free to contact me or *(PLEASE PUT YOUR NAME IN HERE)* with any additional questions or comments. You can also contact my thesis supervisor Dr. Cecilia Benoit: at (250) 721-7578 or by e-mail: cbenoit@uvic.ca.

Sincerely,

Sheri Dankevy
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IDRC, PAN Global Networking
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E-mail: sdankevy@internet.idrc.ca

APPENDIX TWO

Interview Guides:

Questions for the IDRC Program Officers:

- **Initial Stages of Supporting the Research Project**

Could you tell me who first made contact with you regarding this research project and why?

What were some of your expectations for integrating gender considerations into the project proposal?

Were gender/social considerations discussed during the development of this project?

Who initiated a discussion about gender issues and why?

What gender issues were brought up and how were these incorporated into the project proposal and Memorandum of Grant Conditions (MGC)?

What purpose do the gender considerations described in the proposal and MGC serve? Or why are they important?

- **Implementation Stage of Project Cycle**

How are the gender considerations operationalized so that they may be implemented into the project?

To what extent have they been implemented into the project?

What are some of the ideas/tools/methodologies being used?

Could you please describe some of the challenges for implementing the gender considerations into the project?

What have been some of the opportunities?

- **Monitoring and Evaluation**

What are some of your expectations with respect to monitoring and evaluating the gender considerations in this project?

What skills do you think are necessary to evaluate the gender issues in this project?

What are the evaluation criteria for the gender considerations in this project?

How were they established?
Who was involved in this process?

How have the gender considerations been monitored and evaluated by the project team so far?

What type of research methodologies have been used to assess the gender dimensions of this project (i.e quantitative/qualitative)

What has been your involvement in the monitoring and evaluation of the gender considerations? Could you describe some of your experiences in this involvement?

Have the monitoring and evaluation strategies been modified since the inception of the project? Why? How has this affected the evaluation of the gender issues?

What are some of the future monitoring and evaluation plans with respect to the gender dimensions of the project?

- **Concluding Questions about the Implementation of Gender**

I would now like to find out how you would characterize the successful completion of this project. With respect to gender issues how would you describe the ideal completion of this project?

What do you think would be the beneficial changes for the intended beneficiaries in the short term? (direct immediate changes)

What do you think would be the beneficial changes for the intended beneficiaries in the long term? (changes which continue after IDRC support)

Do you think the project team would agree with this vision?

Through your involvement with this project, what have you learned about implementing gender considerations into IDRC supported research projects?

Do you think this project overall has complied with IDRC requirements with respect to gender issues?

Questions for Members of the Research Teams

- **Research Context**

What are the main objectives of this project?

What is your involvement with this project?

- **Initial Stages of the Research Project**

What gender considerations were discussed with the project team in preparation for creating the project proposal for IDRC?

Were the gender issues discussed with the whole project team?

Is there an openness or enthusiasm for discussing these issues?

Why do you think there is OR why do you think there is not (an openness)?

What gender considerations were discussed with the IDRC Program Officer in preparation for creating the project proposal for IDRC?

Were any resources referred to in the conceptualization of the gender considerations for the proposal? Why were they used and what were they?

Were the gender considerations discussed with the intended beneficiaries (the men and women) of this project?

Could you describe how they participated in the process for determining the gender considerations of the project?

What purpose do the gender considerations described in the proposal serve? Or, why are they important?

- **Implementation Stage of Project Cycle**

Has there ever been any internal gender training for the project team?

Do you think gender training would help the implementation of gender analysis into the project?

How are the gender considerations operationalized so that they may be implemented into the project?

To what extent have they been implemented into the project?

What are some of the ideas/tools/methodologies being used?

Have you had any previous experience in implementing gender considerations? What are some of your previous experiences in implementing gender considerations in previous projects, programs, or research?

What has been your involvement in the implementation of the gender considerations in this project? Could you describe some of your experiences in this involvement?

What are some of the challenges you have experienced in implementing the gender considerations into the project?

What have been some of the opportunities?

- **Monitoring and Evaluation**

What are some of your expectations with respect to monitoring and evaluating the gender considerations in this project?

What skills do you think are necessary to evaluate the gender issues in this project?

What are the evaluation criteria for the gender considerations in this project?

What purpose do they serve?

How were they established?

Who was involved in this process?

How have the gender considerations been monitored and evaluated by the project team so far?

What has been your involvement in the monitoring and evaluation of the gender considerations? Could you describe some of your experiences in this involvement?

Have the monitoring and evaluation strategies been modified since the inception of the project? Why? How has this affected the evaluation of the gender issues?

What are some of the future gender monitoring and evaluation plans?

- **Concluding Questions about Gender and the IDRC Project Cycle**

I would now like to find out how you would characterize the successful completion of this project. With respect to gender issues how would you describe the ideal completion of this project?

What would be the beneficial changes for the intended beneficiaries in the short term? (direct immediate changes)

What would be the beneficial changes for the intended beneficiaries in the long term? (changes which continue after IDRC support)

Do you think the rest of the project team would agree with this vision?

Do think that the IDRC Program Officer holds this same vision?

Through your involvement with this project, what have you learned about implementing gender considerations into a research project?

APPENDIX THREE

Greetings,

You are being invited to participate in a study on the practices of Gender and Development in an international development context. I am currently working on a Master of Arts degree at the University of Victoria in the department of Sociology. As a graduate student, this research is part of the requirements for a degree in Sociology and it is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Cecilia Benoit.

The purpose of this research project is to examine the practices of the Gender and Development (GAD) discourse. In addition to an extensive literature review on GAD theories, debates, activism, and policies I will investigate how gender considerations are articulated and implemented in supported projects of the International Development Research Centre's PAN program initiative.

Research of this type is important because gender considerations are an important aspect of international development projects. My research will explore the opportunities and challenges for addressing gender considerations and will contribute to a body of literature and practice on gender and development. In addition, IDRC has a corporate commitment to addressing gender issues and my study will further contribute to this commitment.

Furthermore, it is hoped that this exploration might benefit your project and other research in many positive ways. Although this project is not intended to prescribe how to implement gender considerations into the project, the research findings and possible recommendations could potentially inform the final phases of your project or could be used in the development of other research projects.

You are being asked to participate in this study because the project you are working on is in its implementation phase of the project cycle and will be a good example for considering how gender considerations were articulated in the design and in practice. There are also logistical reasons for choosing your project, including the financial costs to travel overseas.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include one to two hours of a semi-structured interview, and possibly participation in a group interview. If you agree to participate in a group interview your anonymity will not be protected within the face to face contact of the group interview. Through these interviews I hope to clarify the context of your project, your role in the project, and your involvement and thoughts on designing and implementing the gender considerations. There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your data will be used in the analysis if you agree to this. In terms of protecting your anonymity a fictitious name will be used instead of your

given name. The name of your organization will not remain anonymous unless otherwise requested. Naming your organization (and revealing other characteristics of the recruitment procedures) could lead to some identification of your participation.

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by keeping the data in a locked cabinet in my office at the International Development Research Centre. The only person who will have access to this information will be myself. After the completion of this research, the data will be stored securely in my research files to be utilized for possible future research or expansion of the project in the future. Other planned uses of this data may include the publication of a journal article. The data will be destroyed after a five-year period by deleting electronic files and shredding any paper documents.

It is anticipated that I will share major aspects of my analysis with you via e-mail and you will have the opportunity to provide feedback via e-mail or possibly through personal conversation if you wish.

Please feel free to contact me or my thesis supervisory Dr. Cecilia Benoit. You may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Associate Vice President Research at the University of Victoria (250-721-7968).

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study.

Yours Sincerely,

Sheri Dankevy

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

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A COPY OF THIS CONSENT WILL BE LEFT WITH YOU, AND A COPY WILL BE TAKEN BY THE RESEARCHER

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Investigating Gender and Development Discourse:
An Examination of the International Development Research Centre's Practices

Author [redacted]

Sheri Sarah Dankevy
April 26, 2002