

**CRITERIA FOR DIVERSITY-SENSITIVE
GENDER PLANNING**

by

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ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that the feminization of poverty continues to grow and women in general remain subordinated to men, the notion of gender as a specific lens for planning practice has not yet affected a transformative change in development planning practice. Furthermore, there remains a failure to recognize that women are not a homogenous group and that even when planning is gendered, it must also recognize the diversity of women and the contexts in which they live (Javed, 1993).

All too slowly, development proponents are realizing the advantages and necessity of supporting women's strategic gender need to be agents of their own change in the development process.

This thesis synthesizes current gender and development theory by drawing on the literature, professional experience, and information gained through a feminist participatory research process. The ultimate aim is to examine and contribute to current criteria used for gender planning, particularly as it pertains to planning with women in contexts of diversity.

The approach taken in doing this research has been qualitative and participatory in nature, and is based on a feminist analysis. The chosen methods for this research consist of: a) a literature review of gender and planning theory; b) a participatory

workshop with women involved in development or community planning work; c) several informal interviews with women involved in development or community planning work who specifically work with women; and d) participation in several conferences relating to women or gender.

Results from the study indicate that there are nine elements which are important to gender planning which is diversity-sensitive and works towards the kind of people-centred development envisioned by the research participants. These are: contextual, complex, gender-active, mutual accountability, critical participation, consciousness-raising for action, personal capacity building, support for fundamental change, and dynamic process modeling. These nine elements, while equally weighted, can be organized into three thematic groupings: 1) structural dimensions, 2) means of participation and 3) potential for change.

These conclusions have important implications for planning policy and process, for the roles of planners in the process, and for the education of planners.

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FOREWORD

Chapters two through six of this thesis contain material which has previously been published by the Centre For Human Settlements in Vancouver, in 1990, under the title, "A Review of the Women in Development Process."

1.0 INTRODUCTION

While it has become widely accepted that women must be an important part of the development planning process, it is less recognized that women are already, by virtue of their multiple roles in society, an integral part of the life and economy of development. For the most part, women's experience, knowledge and work in relation to those of men, remain invisible or trivialized. The notion of gender as a specific lens for planning practice has not yet affected a transformative change in development planning practice or, more importantly, to the status of women relative to that of men (Longwe, 1991; Moser, 1993).

There has been (particularly since the Decade of Women ended in 1985), much debate over how best to turn gender theories into gender planning practice (Moser, 1993). Current women in development (WID) practices have drawn increasing criticism from a diversity of women. While this approach is often successful for meeting funding requirements, it does not appear to have made a significant dent in either the position or condition of women as a whole. According to the United Nations Development Program's "Human Development Report" (1994) the aggregate status of women is still worse than that of men in every country in the world. Indeed, by not adequately addressing gender into development planning, women are discriminated against and as such their lives can, and have in some cases, become worse (Sen and Grown, 1987;

Stromquist, 1988; Antrobus, 1991; Moser, 1993), particularly since the implementation of structural adjustment policies and programmes (Ahooja-Patel, n.d.).

Projects designed without identifying and incorporating gender aspects explicitly into the project design process may miss opportunities for increasing their effectiveness and may have negative effects on women (UNFPA, n.d.).

Not adequately incorporating gender into the planning process is a failure to recognize that development projects have a different impact on women than they do on men. This is because women and men play different gender roles, have different access to resources, and as a result often have different needs and interests (Moser, 1993; Young, 1986). There remains a failure to recognize that women are not a homogenous group and that even when planning is gendered, it must also recognize the diversity of women and the contexts in which they live (Javed, 1993). When planners are aware of gender, it often merely consists of grafting a women only component onto existing models. This is a pattern which does lip-service to the endorsement of the 1985 U.N. Forward Looking Strategies by international, national and non-government institutions, but does little to forward actual transformative changes to women's status (Moser, 1993; Simmons, 1992; Mehta, 1991).

This thesis synthesizes current gender and development theory by drawing on the literature, professional experience, and information gained through a feminist participatory research process. The ultimate aim is to examine and contribute to

current criteria used for gender planning, particularly as it pertains to planning with women in contexts of diversity.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this research is to:

(1) examine current women and development literature as it pertains to gender planning;

(2) explore ways in which the planning of development projects can become more sensitive to the needs and well-being of a diversity of women; and

(3) further the development of diversity-sensitive gender planning criteria.

It is hoped that this research will provide a succinct summary of the predominant theories in this field. Elements for gender-sensitive planning will be formulated from the research, which will then inform implications for development planning in international or cross-cultural contexts.

1.2 Scope and Limitations

The scope of this thesis will be limited in the following ways:

- (1) By concentrating on planning as it relates to gender and diversity;
- (2) By recognizing that the discussion of "feminism" is of historical and contextual importance to the development of gender theories in planning, but is a debate beyond the scope of this thesis; and
- (3) By limiting the thesis to a discussion of one set of gender planning elements for planning developed through a feminist analysis and participatory research process.

Although this research provides important insights into gender-sensitive planning, its limitations must be noted. This is a micro-level study involving the participation of a particular group of women who come from particular, although various, socio-cultural and economic situations. A larger study may provide more or less consensus on these findings and as a result may be applicable on a broader scale.

In addition, this research is limited by its inability to study the experiences of the participants in their countries of origin. While their personal analysis of their experiences is of critical importance to the research, it does not have the benefit of

studying the issues from within the immediate development environment. Because this data is primarily from personal knowledge and recall, its primary use is for qualitative and not quantitative analysis.

1.3 Research Questions

This thesis answers several research questions arising from the view that for planning to be truly effective it must address gender. The central research question explored by this thesis is:

Is there general criteria for gender-aware planning that can be generically applied in all situations?

The following additional research questions, arising from the main focus, are also addressed in the research:

(a) Based on this research, what would be the elements for gender-aware planning?

(b) What would the implications of criteria for diversity-sensitive gender planning be for planners?

1.4 Research Philosophy

1.4.1 Feminist Analysis

The research for this thesis is based on a feminist analysis. Feminism in this regard is defined as a belief in the human right of women to have equity and empowerment, that is to say, an equality that is also just, that they can fully act on, in all aspects of life. It is based on the assumption that due to various existing relations of power, women and girls do not always have equity with men and boys. The feminist analysis used draws from a wide range of feminist literature. It is founded on the principle that what is good for the well-being of women, is also beneficial for men and is, therefore, generally enhancing and nurturing of life and communities as a whole. Feminism as it is used here, is consistent with what Antrobus (1991) and other members of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) call "transformational politics" and by necessity it must have room for the political voices of people speaking from a diversity of contexts. Feminism is not a belief that must be, or is, held exclusively by women.

Feminist research, then, refers to research which situates the social organizing principle of gender at the centre of the research inquiry (Lather, 1988).

1.4.2 Assumptions

In the course of conducting this research the following assumptions have been made:

- (1) Gender planning is a specific planning approach (Moser, 1993);
- (2) Current criteria for successful development are seriously flawed in that they do not specifically recognize human rights for women or gender equity;
- (3) Solutions to improving the position and condition of women do not necessarily lie in taking something away from men and giving it to women; and
- (4) It is not always recognized that women often experience a different impact as a result of development projects than do men.

As such, the parameters of the thesis are restricted to a discussion of specific gender-sensitive planning approaches and the development of diversity-sensitive gender planning criteria, which could be used by planners wanting to implement gender-sensitive projects.

1.5 Research Approach

The approach taken in doing this research has been qualitative and participatory in nature, and is based on a feminist analysis. The strong emphasis on participatory method stems from three beliefs that I hold. First, that women's experience, knowledge and ways of being in the world have been marginalized and made invisible. That is, they go either unacknowledged, unrecognized or are undervalued.

Second, that "the one who tells the stories rules the world" (Allen, 1989). Because participatory method is an opportunity to bridge research with action, it empowers the participants to find and use their individual and collective voice. Personal experience and knowledge is validated and becomes the basis for critical thinking and action.

(Benmayor, 1991; Freire, 1972)

Third, that qualitative, participatory methodology supports feminist research and goals more so than traditional, positivist models of research. Furthermore, engaging in new research methods takes the goal of empowering women one step further.

The necessity of searching for new methods and a new concept of research will only arise when women in the universities transform the sciences into a means by which to fight women's oppression and exploitation and want to change the status quo.[...] The aim of the women's movement is not just the study but the overcoming of women's oppression and exploitation. It is for this reason that the present day relationship (in which science is viewed as apolitical) must itself be revolutionized. (Mies, 1991:61)

Motivated by the work of Jayaratne and Stewart (1991), the priority for choosing methods was based on their ability to reflect feminist goals and ideology and their ability to successfully satisfy specific research inquiries.

The chosen methods for this research consist of: a) a literature review of gender and planning theory; b) a participatory workshop with women involved in development or community planning work; c) several informal interviews with women involved in development or community planning work who specifically work with women; and d) participation in several conferences relating to women or gender.

The voices of the women who participated in the interviews and in the workshop appear as quotes which have been woven throughout the text of this thesis.

Chapter one is a detailed introduction to the thesis, chapter two reviews the development decades since 1975, which the United Nations declared the International Year of Women. It is a review of the women in development process. Chapter three examines the evolution of gender as a key factor in planning theory and methodology and the degree to which theories are sensitive to gender and contextual diversities, such as culture, class, and race.

Chapter four is a closer look at the research methodology. It examines feminist approaches to doing research, specifically the interpretive approach, the workshop, and the informal interview. Chapter five presents the findings of the research in the form of criteria for gender planning, and chapter six describes the implications of this for planners.

2.0 WOMEN, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Addressing women as an "issue" became a common concern throughout the latter years of the first women and development decade (1975 - 1985). It became necessary to re-examine development strategies when projects in the poorer countries failed to produce the promises of profit which had been evidenced in the richer nations of the world. The rationale that opportunities for women had to be expanded if economic growth was to be achieved became popular. In short, a new development goal became to integrate women into development¹.

However, from the perspective of women, the issue is more complex. First of all, many women considered it an affront to assume that women were not already part of the development process. For them, the issue is as much about dignity and quality of life as it is about basic survival and economics. It is as much about the health of all communities and the global environment as it is about the status of women in any one particular place (Antrobus, 1991). Alternatively, "the call for integrating women into development made in 1975 was more a denunciation of the male-oriented biases in development policies and the invisibility to which official agencies had relegated women's participation" (Acosta-Belen and Bose, 1990:305).

¹ See Overholt, et al.'s "Women In Development: A Framework For Project Analysis (n.d.) for an example of a policy approach based on the view that women are an untapped contributor to economic development.

Women around the world are regularly convening, struggling to find common ground and to keep their interests on the development agenda. Many women are questioning the appropriateness of dominant development models, not only for their relevance to women but for their appropriateness in general (Shiva, 1989). If the UNDP reports are any indication, growth models of development have not proven to be beneficial to women. If desirable development is to occur, it is critical that women be recognized as existing key players throughout the planning process. A project or development process cannot be considered successful if it does not recognize the activities, aspirations, needs and voice of one half of the population.

Furthermore, women's status in any particular society must be understood and addressed, not in isolation, but in relation to the status of men. The focus then must move from women to gender.

2.1. The State of Women In the World

Although it never made sense in terms of equity and human resource development to ignore the needs of 50% of the human race, it has never been as clear as it is today that one of the largest constituencies of the poor are women. In the United States alone, a country which is considered not only developed but a leading proponent of the dominant economic growth model of development, "seventy-five percent of the poor are women and children" (Mermel and Simons, 1991). This is despite the fact that the

productive and reproductive activities of women have been consistently omitted from equations on economic development (Evans, 1992; Waring, 1990; Beneria, 1982).

Where women's work is acknowledged in the development dynamic, the critical point seems to be that if only women were better able to do what men do for the same remuneration, then the development goal of economic prosperity could be achieved sooner and more efficiently. Key to this theory is the assumption that women's productive work be included, indeed exploited for the benefit of the market (Simons, 1992).

However, it is not simply economic indicators that begs one to analyze the injustice and inequities inherent in women's global condition, but the daily realities of their lives, regardless of the particular circumstances in which they live. Global figures indicate that women, who make up fifty percent of the world's population, actually do two thirds of the world's work, yet receive a tenth of the income men receive, own even less land, are poorly represented in positions of power and, along with children, make up the majority of the world's refugees (Peterson and Runyan, 1993). In a report by the United Nations Population Fund, the Executive director Under-Secretary-General writes:

Compared with men, women, generally, have less access to schooling, poorer health care, lower wages, insufficient legal protection and limited access to credit and other resources. As a result, women's health suffers, their work suffers, their children suffer, and hence development itself is held back (Sadik, n.d.).

While there is concern for women's circumstances, the last few words written by Sadik above still suggest that the popular rationale for improving the lives of women is for the benefit of a larger development goal, as if achieving equity and full empowerment for women, in and of itself, were inadequate goals. As a category, women themselves have not got the resources to develop their full potential and instead are continuing to live with less resources for nurturing not only their families but themselves. It is this inequity which the development process and gender planning must ultimately and explicitly address (Moser, 1993; Simons, 1992).

2.2. Defining Gender

Although the words gender and women are often used synonymously by planners and development practitioners to acknowledge the general recognition that women, specifically, needed to benefit from development, there are significant distinctions addressed by the two words. The focus on gender, as opposed to women, grew out of feminist writings in the early seventies, and was picked up in the late eighties by women, initially mostly academics, from around the world who were rethinking women and development issues and traditions (Moser, 1993).

The distinction between women and gender is as critical as the more obvious distinction between sex and gender, with sex referring to biological determinants and the key

element of gender being that it is socially constructed and assigned. The focus moved from women to gender when it became of some concern that the barriers and problems faced by women were being understood and associated with their sex, or biological differences from men, and not in terms of gender -- the socially constructed relationship between men and women (Moser, 1993; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; Ostergaard, 1992; Young, 1986).

We *learn*, through culturally specific socialization, how to be masculine and feminine and to assume the identities of men and women. In fact, the socialization dimension is so powerful that apparently unequivocal gender identities are formed even when biological sex is unclear (hermaphroditism) or mistaken (Peterson and Runyan, 1993:5).

Gender, then, refers to the socially constructed roles and attributes assigned to males and females. These are learned, and can change over time and vary from culture to culture. Gallin and Ferguson (1991) discuss the subtle and contextual changes in how the concept of gender is used, but notice that four aspects of the concept generally remain constant: 1) that "gender is a social construct"; 2) that gender refers to a binary system that defines that which is associated with women, or femininity, against that which is associated with men, or masculinity, with the latter given more hierarchical value; 3) that gender is a powerful ideological tool that recreates and legitimates the choices and constraints that are predicated on sex as a category; and 4) that it is men, as a group, that are privileged by this process.

Gender divisions are "rooted in the conditions of production and reproduction and reinforced by the cultural, religious, and ideological systems prevailing in a society" (Ostergaard, 1992:6).

2.3. Defining Development

Building communities that are equitable, sustainable, ecologically sound, nurturing and safe places for all members must be a development goal if we are to sustain a healthy future on this planet. Development in this regard does not refer to growth for economic prosperity, but is defined as activity which is sustainable, peaceful and life-enhancing ² -- specifically nurturing of life and the work that is necessary to sustain life.

As such, development creates an environment which enables all people to meet their human needs -- both material and non-material. It is people-centred within a context of environmental balance and equity.

Integral to this, ideal as it is, is the principle of gender equity. To focus on men only or women only, as opposed to gender, is short-sighted. To focus on men only, as was the case in development planning for the first three development decades, not only deprives women from shaping interventions which will affect their lives (Maguire, 1984;

² I am grateful to Priscilla Boucher for sharing her concept of the term "life-enhancing" for use in this way.

Longwe, 1991), but deprives communities of the rich, knowledgeable and imaginative perspectives of women.

On the other hand to focus on women only, suggests that it is women that need changing or integrating into development and planning efforts. Women do not need integrating because they have always had a central and active role in the productive, reproductive and community work of daily living (Antrobus, 1991; Momsen, 1991). It is time to question into what planners are trying to integrate women. And to ask why, and for whose benefit? Until women are part of defining the development vision, planners will not know if the development model they think women need integrating into, is even desirable.

The dominant development model, upon which most development policies and initiatives are based, assumes that "rapid industrialization and modernization would promote economic growth and reduce poverty." It is based on Western industrialization and the major assumption is that growth will 'trickle down' to the poor (Acosta-Belen and Bose, 1990:303). Critics of this development model argue that the "world crisis is the result of a process of maldevelopment originating from a growth model geared to the use of resources for private profit and power" and that it fails to meet either spiritual or material needs equitably (Savane, 1982b:5). They further point out that this model, which is largely measured by gross national product, either disregards or devalues the bulk of the work that women do (Waring, 1988; Evans, 1992). It is operationalized from

structures that promote the inequitable distribution of resources and commodities (Galtung, 1980) and encourages the overconsumption of finite resources (Sen and Grown, 1987).

Most importantly for the discussion in this research, the dominant development model is male-centred and ethnocentric, having grown out of a history of male privilege and design (Acosta-Belen and Bose, 1990; Sen and Grown, 1987). Although many men and women suffer from poverty and a lack of human needs as a result of this model which is based on faulty premises (Shiva, 1988), it is women that disproportionately feel its negative effects (Momsen, 1991; Acosta-Belen and Bose, 1990; Sen and Grown, 1987; Savane, 1982).

Regarding an effort to rectify the existing gender inequities, the solution lies in a truly communal approach -- the creation of visions and solutions by fully empowered and informed women and men.

"The effort must, however, involve male allies as well as women...men who already support or are sympathetic to women's advancement can be identified and should identify themselves within key structures, and should be encouraged to join actively with women in the common pursuit of agreed objectives" (ICDA, 1987).

2.4 Women and the Development Decades

In the last two decades discussion and debate has taken place in the international development community with regards to women and the development process -- most of it by women themselves. Recently, due to pressures brought to bear by women, the momentum has increased to the point where it is not only fashionable but required that development proponents must, at least rhetorically, account for the effect of their projects and programs on women. Agendas to address improving the lives of women through the development process currently stretch into the year 2000. In 1995, there will be another global conference, in Beijing, China, where women from all over the world will convene to again review the status of women and establish development strategies for the future. This section examines the way in which the global "Women In Development" process has taken shape since the early 1970s.

2.4.1 Historical Review

It was not until 1970 that Esther Boserup, in her ground-breaking work "Women's Role In Economic Development", introduced a focus on women as an essential variable in the analysis of social science research. Until then development planners and social scientists had not disaggregated their data on the gender division of labour, or specifically addressed the issue. The historical process by which women came to the attention of the policymakers was basically the same in 1970 as it is today. A

committee of women marched their concerns to the doors of the policymakers. The work of Boserup and others was carried to the policymakers by a Women's Committee of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the Society for International Development (Rathgeber, 1989), who coined the term 'women in development'.

Until the early 1970s development planners, economists and policymakers had not been concerned with how or even if women participated in defining the development goals of modernization and industrialization. At the same time feminists were largely concerned with the status and position of women in developed countries. In the 1970s, the two activities began to converge (Levy, 1992; Anand, n.d.). Policymakers were being forced to look at the issue of women, and liberal feminists in the industrialized world were demanding that legal and administrative changes be made to incorporate women into the economic system. This meant they began looking at reducing the disadvantages for women in the productive sector (Jaquette, 1982).

However, in accounting for their legacy and in forging their goals, feminists of the 70s (and 80s) seemed to forget that the women's movement had originally borrowed its new perspectives from the civil rights and black power movements (Bourne, 1983).

Feminists, it seemed, had not only forgotten this debt but had gone on to suggest that their goals for feminism should be those of all women everywhere. As definitions of feminism from the developed countries were propagated via the growing network of international projects in developing countries, so were the biases inherent in them.

Increasingly, there was a problem of marginalization which had a top-down layering effect throughout the international development system. Those with power -- whether by virtue of class, gender or race -- had a bias which prevented the full participation of all women. Women in general were marginalized from mainstream development, and women from developed countries were in turn unintentionally marginalizing women in developing countries.

One result of such a process is superficial participation (Kasperson and Beitbart, 1974). Although purporting to be open to all participants, the development process actually systematically blocked the full and creative participation of some. A decade and a half later this is still a serious divisive issue.

Although the early seventies saw a broader global perspective on the issues which feminists were raising, it was not the voice of women globally that was being heard. It was still the voice of planners and feminists from western, industrialized countries who were discussing how the modernization process should be stretched to include women from developing countries. However, it was not long before the momentum of the women's liberation movement enticed a wave of activity in the international development community as a whole. The work of feminists of that time succeeded in raising awareness of women's lower status, including bringing it to the attention of the United Nations.

In 1972 the UN General Assembly proclaimed 1975 International Women's Year. This proclamation served to give official notice that women were now an "issue" and therefore some funds and programs would be directed towards them for one year. It gave women from around the world a significant opportunity to begin discussing and strategizing among themselves. Although their issues continued to be secondary to mainstream development concerns, women understood how important it was to have the focus on women officially recognized. In 1975 there was a meeting held in Mexico City to both raise awareness of women's issues and set the agenda for the work ahead.

Eventually this gathering was stretched into a decade when the UN declared 1975-1985 the International Decade for Women. Although a great deal of the organizing for such a global process occurred at a bureaucratic level -- particularly at the level of the United Nations and its executing agencies -- resources were being allocated for establishing much needed systems of research into the position and condition of women.

In 1980 a conference was held in Copenhagen to review the first half of the decade's work. On a large scale many of the essential steps in any planning process had taken place: data were collected, and people met to dialogue, brainstorm and raise awareness. Goals were established and periodically evaluated. A new race to integrate women into the market economy had definitely begun. Women's role in the economic process was now a topic included at most development forums. Yet, despite

the sporadic achievements which were accomplished on a micro level, the situation for women had actually worsened when viewed from a macro perspective (Taylor, 1985).

By 1985, at the End of Decade Conference in Nairobi, Women in Development had come of age as a critical but thorny issue. Alongside the official U.N. conference was another more provocative and informal venue called "Forum '85" which was attended by 13,000 women -- most representing non-government organizations. It was at this parallel conference that women from developing countries and minority groups in developed countries, such as African-American women, once again, voiced their objections to dominant notions of feminism and development.³ These women would no longer be silent, as privileged women from the developed countries imposed what was viewed as yet another imperialist ideology on them. Although, in general, as women, they shared the burden of a triple role -- that of responsibility for reproduction, production and household and community management (Moser and Levy, 1986) -- their stories were different and they wanted them heard. For many women of the developing world, issues of militarism, racism and land tenure could not be separated from those concerns they shared with other women. At Nairobi, these women demanded that their voices be heard. They drew attention to the definition of feminism, racism, class issues and ethnocentricity in development planning. This was a jolt of awakening which forced internal theoretical debates into the limelight of the public arena.

³ Corinne Kumar D'Souza (1989) says that "all that was western simply became universal." The "other" is that which is female, Latin, African, Asian, non human and non powerful. She sees the world at the end of an epoch and calls for a new "universalism that will respect the plurality of the different societies", one which "reclaim both the subjective and the objective modes of knowing", and which supports "conceptual paradigms born of praxis."

Not only was the dominant agenda imperious in its view of the context in which women in developing countries lived, but it assumes that all women share exactly the same oppression by virtue of their sex -- regardless of class, race, ethnic or religious context. As Moser and Levy (1986) claim, it is an attitude which continues to permeate development planning. It is a doctrine typical of conservative feminism, one which views biology rather than patriarchy or another set of relations as the cause of women's subordination. This model for addressing the "women's issue" in development paralleled the 1970's development theories, but only left the people it was intended to aid on the margins of both the development process and its benefits.

2.4.2 From WID To GAD

The term "Women In Development" (WID) became the catch phrase for the new challenge of integrating women into the development process. Projects born out of the WID framework centred around vocational and technical training for women, income-generating schemes, education, nutritional and medical advice. Most projects aimed to increase women's traditional skills while not interfering with their mothering and household responsibilities. The WID approach relates to both the reformist paradigm and liberal feminism, assuming that with a little upgrading women will be better able to fulfill their roles, contribute to their country's GNP and improve their socio-economic status.

It is not a priority of WID to transform existing social structures and the basic tenets of the development paradigm itself. In this regard it is non-confrontational. It assumes (1) that there is a worthwhile process to integrate women into, and (2) that women are not already involved -- that they must be integrated. This thinking unintentionally only serves to further marginalize women as it makes their contributions invisible. Women are already involved by the simple fact that they make up at least 50% of communities, perform multiple roles in day to day living and produce more than their share of goods and services.

The focus of WID is on women only and women's productive work in particular (Levy, 1992). Productive work is defined by the market, typically meaning the productive work that men do and takes little notice of work, such as reproductive labour, which is not recognized by GNP indicators. The major project style is the women's only or women's component project. These types of projects are important and useful in many situations, and indeed make up the majority of projects still designed today, but are rarely participatory in nature. After closer evaluation it was found that women were often worse off than before a development project was implemented (ISIS, 1983). On top of their reproductive responsibilities and traditional work women were now expected to involve themselves in projects which they had no part in designing or choosing.

In the second half of the 1970s another model emerged based on Marxist feminist and dependency theories. Women and Development (WAD) attempts to explain women's position in terms of global class inequalities. It recognizes that women always have contributed their labour to both the household and market economies, but in a way which serves to perpetuate the existing structures (Benston, 1984; Rathgeber, 1989). Like WID, projects planned from a WAD perspective tend to emphasize income-generation as a way to improve the lives of women. Consequently it also ignores the fact that in the long run this often puts a double burden on women, and may not be what they desire. Rathgeber (1989) notes that planners, like WAD proponents, tend not to assign economic value to the social reproduction work which women perform.

Keeping in mind the concerns voiced by women in the developing world at Copenhagen, again at Nairobi and many times since, WAD has a second critical weakness. Because it focuses on class, WAD disregards the relations of gender and race which in turn alienates women who are not from white middle-class cultures. Therefore, project designs do not take into account cultural or racial differences -- a serious consideration given many projects are designed, implemented and evaluated by mostly male, middle-class, whites from developed countries. Women can only participate effectively in the development system to the extent that they act and think like the dominant group.

In the 1980s the focus began to slowly shift from women to gender relations. Instead of targeting women as passive recipients of development who must be changed to fit into the development model, the emphasis is on the social construction of gender, and views women as change agents in their own self-determined development. Gender and Development (GAD) theory parallels the doctrines of revisionist and socialist feminism and is based on an analysis of the connections and relations among gender, class and race. It rejects the "us and them" mentality of WID that isolates women from men, and instead supports both men and women who strive for social, economic and political equity. Rather than simply evaluating the position of women, GAD analyzes the position and condition of women in relation to men.

GAD neither focuses strictly on the productive nor the reproductive roles in society, but looks at the relationship of one to the other. It then relates the changes in gender relations to changes in larger social, political and economic systems. GAD analysis purposely challenges these and other existing social structures. Because it calls for substantial societal transformations the GAD approach accepts that the development process is complex in nature and requires a holistic approach -- which parallels the comprehensive approach in planning.

Although open to conflict in that it questions fundamental structures, GAD is also more open to a broad base of participation because it emphasizes community level organizations. It views collective groupings as bases of power from which to bargain,

both politically and economically. The emphasis is on a bottom-up process. As Young notes, GAD "looks to the role of local communities to provide support for women and in some ways sees organization of women at this level as the precursor of organization at higher levels" (1986:4).

An important aspect of the community level organizing is the element of empowerment, which involves consciousness-raising but moves beyond it. It is an opportunity for people to understand the relationships and structures which maintain those circumstances beyond their immediate control -- such as poverty. "Understanding power structures and relations is an essential component of any process involving action for change" (Society for Participatory Research in Asia, 1982:3). By participating in a process which reveals the knowledge particular to their situation, women are better able to produce appropriate solutions to their own self-defined problems. Perhaps because it holds a threat to the status quo that drives the development system, this component is often left out of WID projects. As Rathgeber (1989) points out, the degree of commitment to structural change that is required is not common in the planning of most international development agencies. Consequently, projects designed from a GAD approach are also hard to find. Support for this approach is only now beginning to grow. However, as Moser (1993) states, approaches which inevitably work at the level of transformative change are still a challenge from which development agencies shy away.

Despite the profound differences between WID and GAD, it is not always easy to find projects which are clearly one or the other. Each project is unique due to time, place and human relations, and none are pure in their development practice. Furthermore, practitioners of both theories ultimately share many common goals related to meeting women's needs.

Although GAD provides a more evolved and relational approach to meeting the strategic needs of women, it still does not explicitly encourage planners to examine and consider the complexities of other social organizing factors such as race, class, and culture. Newer gender planning theories, described in chapter three, prescribe the use of both WID and GAD approaches for different planning purposes and in different situations and begin to recognize the importance of gender issues in relation to diversity.

List 1. below, outlines some of the essential differences between the WID and GAD approaches particularly as they pertain to the process of planning.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Assigns certain roles as
"natural"

Uses roles to define what
women do

Policies may be fragmented

Only looks at basic needs
and ignores larger context

Often works with women
and children only

Looks at what resources
are available and needed

Can ignore non-tangible
resources

Assumes macroeconomic
policies are gender
neutral

Top-down, focusses on
women as passive agents

Evaluated according
to how much of the
original plan worked

Defines responsibilities
of planner in limited way,
as one way donor

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Relations and roles
are malleable

Looks at what women
actually do in relation
to what others do

Policy-making is holistic

Basic needs seen relative
to strategic interests

Sees the household as
one unit, but does not
assume resources are
pooled

Looks at what resources
are available and needed
and at access to them

Recognizes three types
of resources: economic,
political and time

Realizes macroeconomic
policies have different
impacts on men and
women

Community level approach,
focusses on women and men

Accepts failures and
surprises as part of
development process

Planner as participant,
partner, facilitator, not
all knowing, learns also

List 1. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WID AND GAD (Adapted from the Aga Khan Foundation GAD training in Ottawa in 1987.)

2.4.3 Dissemination of WID Policies

Out of the Decade for Women came a commitment to continue pushing forward to the year 2000 -- a year which coincides with other development programs. In preparation for the End of Decade Conference in Nairobi, the United Nations had undertaken a survey of its members to evaluate the progress of the Decade for Women. The results were used to draft a set of strategies to further the advancement of women to the year 2000, which were later debated, ratified and agreed upon by consensus at the official World Conference on Women in Nairobi.

With regularity the United Nations continues to produce information on the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies For The Advancement of Women. Updates are made available to women's groups for local application -- a process, which despite its very top-down nature, perpetuates a degree of valuable networking and momentum. Conferences are held in various countries frequently enough to keep issues on the international development agenda. Despite the tokenism inevitable in such a consultative process, women are able to meet to exchange ideas, share experiences, strategize and design policy.

3.0 Gender As A Filter for Development Planning

In this section I will examine some of the traditional planning theories for their appropriateness in relation to gender and development planning and planning in contexts of diversity.

3.1 Planning Theory as Gender Aware and Multicentric

The process of understanding what the role and place of gender planning is in a variety of diverse cultural contexts is a continual one. How can planners best serve the needs and aspirations of people who hold world views which are fundamentally different from their own, if they can at all? Traditional planning theory as a whole is informed by and informs a body of thought and practice which is basically eurocentric and androcentric (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1990). How do we ensure that the planning methodologies we use, which are themselves largely born out of traditional theories based in eurocentric rationality, can encompass and articulate the world views of those we plan with and often for?

Almost all planning theory and modern scientific practice has grown out of a so-called objective, primarily positivistic paradigm. "The traditional view of planning methodology as a neutral and universally applicable set of technical procedures has been criticized" (Moser, 1993:7). To avoid the potential negative impact of not considering our

ethnocentricities it is essential to "understand technology as a social construct and a social practice -- the product of a particular society's history [...and not] as neutral objects (1989:1)."

Although the various planning traditions treat the "voices" of various perspectives differently, and some have evolved to be more holistic, inclusive and participatory than others, they are all "wedded to the same spirit that gave birth to positivism" (Asante, 1987:4). It is a culture of planning which was developed and has evolved through the works of mostly male, European, (or North American), theorists and practitioners from many disciplines. Within the context which it was developed the eurocentric tradition is useful, compelling and with exceptions successful, and yet, its validity for other contexts is highly questionable.

In the west, one may tolerate diversity of viewpoints and then establish a single set of criteria for what constitutes validity. In this formulation, neither African nor Southern Hemisphere thought amounts to much. This is not merely ignorance in the sense of ignoring the ways in which people in the cradle of humanity and civilization have dealt with communications or transcendence; it is, more seriously, the continuation of western imposition of a view of the world, and the assumption that it is real. The problem is not in the expounding of western categories but in the absolute manner in which they are assumed to constitute the whole of human thought. This is unacceptable, in any field, on intellectual and cultural grounds (Asante, 1987:181).

It is not simply a problem of participation, for amongst the planning traditions there is ample opportunity for participation of one type and quality or another, but rather the notion that one standard of measurement, the scientific method, relating to one reality, can and should be applied universally. An ideal, according to this paradigm, is the

concept of objectivity. An extension of this concept is the idea that people can be neutral in order to objectively gather information for the purpose of prediction and control. Asante, along with many feminists, view this thinking to be linear and supportive of an "us" and "them" mentality which hierarchically situates some groups as the objects of inquiry.

Too often, women fall into this category of "object" and research methodology reinforces it (Ostergaard, 1992). In the same way, women who have less privilege due to class, race, ethnicity, or other factors, can be objectified or viewed as the "other" by women who hold more privilege (Javed, 1993).

By critiquing the assumptions which historically and currently underlie science, feminists have exposed its deeply dualistic foundation which not only excludes women from any involvement in its production but often makes them the object of its study and experimentation. Tuana outlines the bias inherent in traditional science in the following statement: "To be a scientist one must be objective -- woman is incapable of objectivity. A scientist makes rational judgements -- woman is incapable of reason. A scientist desires truth -- woman desires only truth's opposite, passion" (Tuana, 1989:vii).

The alternative to prediction for the purpose of control would be an approach which seeks to interpret and understand a multitude of realities through critical, culturally based exploration. A planning process objective then would be to seek to understand

the contextual elements of a development project, but also to acknowledge the value-laden symbols or tools which are being used (Moser, 1993). Asante makes this point when he writes,

It is difficult to have meaningful discourse when the points of reference are inherently biased. In fact symbol imperialism, rather than institutional racism, is the major social problem facing multicultural societies" (Asante, 1987:56).

The goal is not necessarily to find one universal symbol but to attempt to use symbols which are meaningful in a specific context. Otherwise as planners, the biases of our ethnocentricities will continue to impose our world view and standards of measurements on people who do not hold them (Javed, 1993). Furthermore, it will perpetuate the misunderstandings and stereotypes that the dominant view holds of those who are subordinated because their world view is not represented (Emecheta, 1985).

As one workshop participant puts it:

The influence of the west has been so strong that the way people see themselves or relate to each other has been totally, completely changed.

Women's lives are rich with their own symbols and ways based on their knowledge and experience. The use of planning and research practices which have grown out of the theory of male planners does not acknowledge different ways of knowing (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992).

What Lindblom calls "synoptic" planning, is firmly and conspicuously rooted in the Enlightenment tradition which assumes that ultimately the world is objectively knowable. Planners, as experts, are to manage or guide affairs in the public's best interest by utilizing the rigours and knowledge of science. Through technical endeavours and rational calculations, the planner's role is to inform and limit politics so that state interventions are efficient for the public. The state's intentions are seen as neutral and always in the public's best interest and the public is viewed as one unified body holding one common interest. As Dalton (1986:147) points out, these "underlying characteristics of rationality still pervade planning education and practice" despite the subsequent development of other planning theories.

Traditional notions of planning do not easily accommodate a diversity of cultures and belief systems. They either ignore diversity by means of hegemony, (conscious or otherwise), or assume that diversity is merely symbolic and subjugates it to universality. Synoptic planning ignores options that allow the grassroots to be involved in identifying their own problems, goals and solutions and to make decisions in regards to them. Furthermore, they are generally silent on crucial gender-related issues (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1990).

Lindblom's "muddling-through" model of incremental decision-making prescribes a process which is less utopian than the synoptic approach but one which remains conservative. Like synoptic planning it ignores questions of control, context and the

participation of local people. Because it does function at the margins, incrementalism avoids examination of the validity of the policy which already exists. For women, this often means further marginalization of their concerns, as the existing policies have usually been based on male experiences.

Etzioni's "mixed scanning" was an attempt to combine the benefits of synoptic and incremental planning in one process. Although mixed-scanning, like other rational models, does not offer vehicles for empowering people at the local level, it does take steps towards recognizing context and the unequal distribution of power. However, this inequality does not necessarily extend to the power relations between genders, unless it is specifically factored in. Etzioni states that, "in part, the strategy followed is determined neither by values nor by information but by the positions of and power relations among the decision-makers" (1967:391). Women have rarely been recognized as decision-makers.

An even more synergistic concept in planning is that of systems thinking found within the tradition of policy analysis. It is a holistic and adaptive approach which looks at the system's ability to adapt and its relationship to its environment. It is not as linear an approach as earlier ones and seems to adapt to qualitative concerns.

A systems approach to planning is very useful because it provides the foundation for relational analysis which is critical when people are impacted differentially -- as is often

the result for women and men in the case of development endeavours. Gender, for example, could be viewed as an organizing principle which cross-cuts with other organizing principles such as class, religions and age. But again, would have to be specifically grafted into the approach as it is not recognized otherwise.

Advocacy and pluralism in planning, propounded by Paul Davidoff (1965), does have an educational aspect to it. Davidoff's approach was radical, but in keeping with the concerns of the day, he broke with planning tradition by suggesting that planning include the participation of citizens, and be a political process critical of political and social norms and values. He wanted to recognize the plurality of public interests and give weaker groups the opportunity to have their positions expertly advocated by a planner committed to their cause (Friedmann, 1987).

A problem with Davidoff's model is that it assumes that planners are capable of articulating and understanding the values of others or that to do so is appropriate. His model assumes that nothing will be lost in the translation despite the reality that planners are often outsiders, by virtue of their gender, geography or culture.

Given the critiques of the pervasive and imposing eurocentric world view, Davidoff's model could be a problem when attempting to advocate in a cross-cultural setting. In terms of gender, Rosemary Brown, a feminist, human rights activist and ex-politician

expresses the following rationale as to why men are not the best people to advocate women's concerns:

That although men and women share the same world, due to a combination of genetics, history and socialization women do inhabit the world and experience it differently from men...and this difference is reflected in their political agendas (1989:151).

In the same way, a female planner may hold very different socio-political perspectives from other women in the planning process.

In the social learning or transactive planning approach, mutual learning is a key element and participation is essential. Friedmann (1987), is concerned with bridging the gap between the process knowledge which experts (planners) have and the personal knowledge which clients have in order to create "a learning society." Rather than conducting their inquiries through scientific experimentation and modeling, planners create networks, supportive environments and group processes which are adaptive and reflexive in an effort to link theory to practice. This is a model which does reflect some of the principles of feminist theory, but as with other planning traditions, is exclusionary in that it "privileges one kind of knowledge" (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1990:19).

Given that they have, for the most part, been left out of planning traditions, feminists have begun to not only critique the gender biases and absence of gender in planning theory, but to contribute to a number of new gendered planning traditions. However,

there continues to be debate over how to deal with complex factors including race, class and culture in addition to gender.

3.2 New Perspectives On Gender and Planning

One aspect of the debate has been Molyneux 's (1985) suggestion to move from looking at 'women's interests' to 'gender interests'. Her argument is that 'women's interests' assumes women's homogeneity and shared interests which are based solely on their common sexual biology. "Although it is true that at a certain level of abstraction women can be said to have some interests in common, there is no consensus over what these interests are or how they are to be formulated" (1985:231). These common interests, Molyneux suggests calling 'gender interests' to reflect that in reality women are affected differently by social positioning and categories such as race, religion and ethnicity. She further differentiates the notion of gender interests into strategic gender interests and practical gender interests, which Moser (1993) suggests can be transformed into planning terms labelled 'practical gender needs' and 'strategic gender needs' which become the fundamental tool for gender planning. Figure 1. below outlines the process by which gender interests become gender needs.

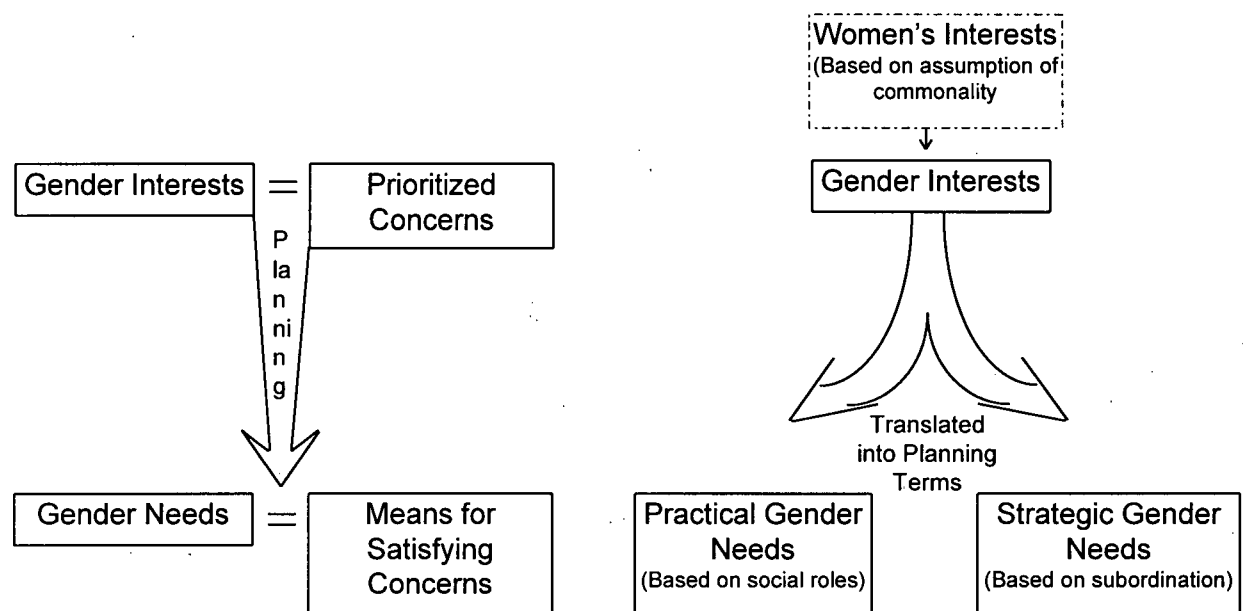


Figure 1. Translating Interests Into Needs. (Based on the works of Maxine Molyneux and Caroline O.N. Moser.)

Practical gender needs are identified by women based on their social roles. Although they are linked to women's subordination and the gender division of labour, they do not threaten them. Strategic gender needs are identified by women based on their subordination and the gender divisions of labour. Like practical gender needs they may change with context and specificity of location, but unlike practical gender needs, they challenge existing roles and relations of power and control (Moser, 1993; Peake, 1992). Distinguishing between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs, while pragmatic, also provides the opportunity to consider context and diversity in gender planning. It also encourages discussion of the importance of women's differences and particular circumstances within the debate on gender and development theory and practice.

A variety of gender and development theories have emerged from the debate and ongoing analysis of gender relations. While either qualitative or quantitative studies of the state of women in the world indicates that gender bias is universal, the specifics of gender relations is sociologically and culturally rooted. As such, the practices which emerged from initial women and development theories have not always been acceptable to women who come from backgrounds other than white, European and middle class. There clearly remains an ethical and pragmatic need to move from the theoretical to the practical in ways which are sensitive to contextual differences including race, culture, class, environment and politics.

Being aware of gender is only a first step for planners. While practicing effective gender planning is the goal (Moser, 1993; Peake, 1992), it is still necessary to determine if gender planning is capable of addressing contextual diversities such as culture, class and politics.

For some women working for social transformation, the idea of sisters in solidarity is without doubt a positive force. At a conference entitled, "Women's Movements around the World" a woman from the Philippines said:

International solidarity, global sisterhood -- these are what we need today. We say that to be a true feminist one must be an internationalist. Although women are separated geographically, culturally, economically and politically, we experience the same exploitation and oppression because of our gender. At the same time, the forces that subjugate women have been so internationalized that unity and action of women worldwide is necessary (The IACE Women's Program, 1988:6).

However, for other women, such as Leila Zakhareya, an activist from Lebanon, solidarity does not come easily or freely. She says:

I think all women who are struggling for equality must say, 'this is part and parcel of the struggle for equality and rights of all people.' But I'd like to add, 'don't ask us to support or identify with those women who believe in apartheid. Don't ask us to identify with women who believe in the Israeli-occupied territories. Don't ask us to identify with the women who support the contras in Nicaragua (The IACE Women's Program, 1988:6).

For such women, the concept of development is not separate from the political struggle or daily existence in a military zone. Although strength through solidarity is an important feature of any movement for social change, it cannot be at the cost of homogenization. For example, when elite women in developing countries speak for women from low income or uneducated experiences it is problematic, just as it is when white women make assumptions based on similarity with women of colour (bell hooks, 1990).

This raises the critical question of whether or not one criterion for gender-sensitive planning can be used to plan with women from a diversity of contexts. The closest we come to this in planning is the tradition proposed by Moser for use in operationalizing gender planning.

Gender planning, its own planning tradition, is the evolution of feminist debate and the WID/GAD debates and their incorporation into planning theory and practice. It

incorporates a variety of approaches to women and development, including the more recent empowerment approach which has been articulated by women in the Third World through their feminist writings, grass-roots organizations, non-government organizations and supporters worldwide. The empowerment approach, unlike previous welfare, efficiency, equity, and anti-poverty approaches, emphasizes women's self-reliance, the redistribution of power within and between societies, and bottom-up gendered participation (Moser, 1993; Andersen, 1992). It is based in Third World experience in which women and men have questioned the importation of First World feminist ideology and the lack of attention to diversity and oppressive legacies of history, such as colonialism. These policy approaches have been summarized in Figure 2. below.

Approach	Focus	Addresses Strategic Gender Needs	Addresses Practical Gender Needs	View of Women	Assumes
Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targeted at women as vulnerable group; Reproductive role 	No	Some	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Passive recipients; Mothers. 	Women's "natural" role as mother
Equity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Redistribution of Power 	Yes	Maybe	Active Participants.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women need & want to be brought into development process; Development helps all equally
Anti-poverty	Productive role for women with better access to resources.	Maybe	Yes	Deprived and needing help.	Women are not already productive.
Efficiency	On the development process, not women.	No	Maybe	Under used asset	An Increase in women's economic activity will lead to equality.
Empowerment *(rooted in experiences of Third World women)	Increasing women's: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consciousness, Choices Control Self-reliance Self-esteem Grassroots activity. 	Yes	Yes	Active leaders	Women want self-reliance and will lead social and economic change.

Figure 2. Summary of Women and Development Policy Approaches

According to Moser the goal of gender planning "is to ensure that women, through empowering themselves, achieve equality and equity with men" (1993:1). The explicit goal is to liberate women from subordination and ensure their emancipation. Because of its inherently political and transformative nature, gender planning is not as widely incorporated into planning practice as the less threatening WID approach. WID, which has been widely adopted by development agencies and organizations at all levels of government and non-government, is still the predominantly used approach. As Simmons, a development worker in both the public and non-government sectors, states:

The call to integrate women into development has been taken up by the international development institutions to suit their own purpose. Adopted, as it invariably has been, in a simplistic form, it is a dangerous slogan that threatens to reduce Third World women to "resources" for the international economy. It also wrongly implies that women in industrialized countries are progressing to a position of equality (Simmon, 1992:16).

Gender planning, as it is propounded by Moser (1991), Peake (1992), and Antrobus (1991), on the other hand, has a number of characteristics which challenge the status quo. Gender planning: a) is both political and technical in nature; b) assumes the planning process will have conflict; c) involves a process of transformative change; c) views planning as debate; d) bases the planning process on negotiation; e) emphasizes conflict resolution; f) views planning as an iterative process; and g) makes empowerment an explicit goal.

Moser's gender planning approach, which is summarized in Figure 3. below, is a comprehensive map for creating a total gendered perspective into development policy and programming. However, as with previous approaches to women in development, it is important to determine how relevant current thinking is for women who work daily to achieve the goals of these approaches. In the case of this research, the specific research question was to determine if there is criteria which is applicable when planning with women from diverse backgrounds and perspectives.

In order to explore this question further, the researcher asked various women to participate in a workshop and a series of interviews. The following sections describe the process and outcome of this research.

The Gender Planning Tradition

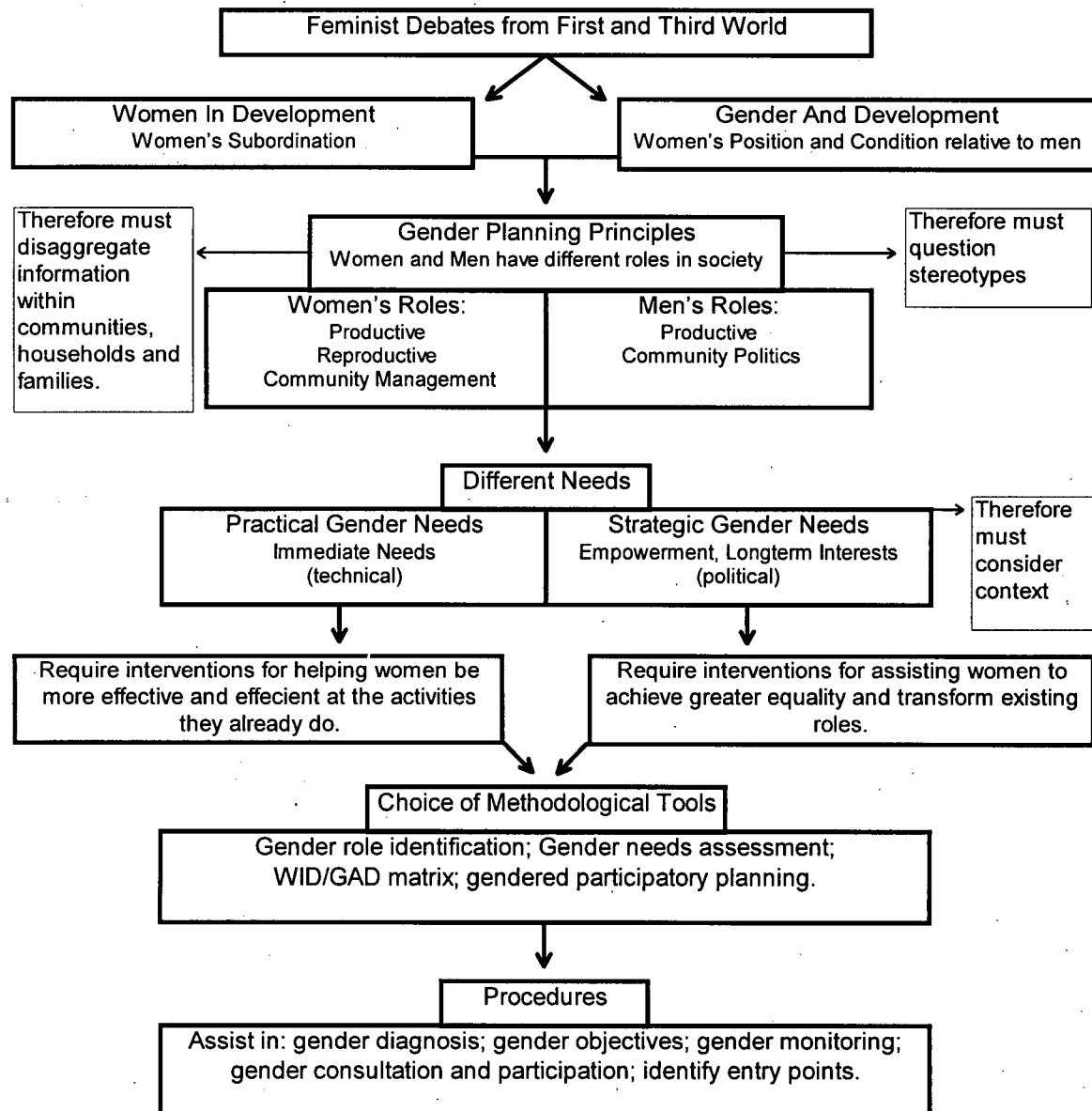


Figure 3. Summary of Moser's Gender Planning Tradition.

4.0 Research Methodology

This chapter is both a review of the methodological approaches used in this research and an examination of the applied feminist principles underlying them. It is not, however, intended to be an exhaustive analysis of the discourse in feminist methodology, but is focussed on the approaches used for this research.

4.1 Feminist Research to Create Criteria

Feminism, with its varied dimensions and debates, has formed one of several significant foundations for gender planning. At its root, the common element which links women from very diverse experiences and contexts to this world view, is its goal of emancipating women from subordination. Due to their differences, women have varied responses and ways of struggling against "their specific forms of subordination" (Wieringa, 1988:1). However, out of this shared tradition of protest, women have developed a variety of approaches for learning about their commonalties and differences; for finding and listening to their voices, which had previously been ignored or unheard; and have experimented with new ways to conduct feminist based research.

One of the most important principles of the women's movement has always been the sharing of experience, be it in "speak your bitterness" groups or in consciousness-raising sessions. In this process feminists have learnt to go beyond their personal experiences and to politicize them (Wieringa, 1988:1-2).

Feminism, and by extension gender planning, also encourages women to examine the political influences in their environment and come to understand the constraints and possibilities it adds to their personal lives. As one workshop participant puts it:

Women have to know where they're going with grassroots organizing through consciousness raising. We just don't accept that there is development without talking about how a specific development is impacting on us. By asking what are the implications of development in our lives?

Another woman responds:

People often don't have a sense of larger development dynamics because they are so busy struggling for their daily lives. Women are just so busy with day to day life, surviving, you need to use information about development as a tool in the educational process.

Still another woman, agreeing, emphasizes the need for consciousness-raising and connecting political to personal issues:

We need to always ask, who is developing who and why?

Wieringa (1988) views the process of bringing women together to share ideas and engage in the participatory development of opening up to the experiences of other women as integral to moving beyond our specific differences to construct new foundations for action. The approach is based in the internalization of consciousness-raising, which Wieringa believes has only just begun.

The research methodology used for this research was also selected for its appropriateness for supporting the feminist principles which underlie gender planning. The methodology includes a series of face to face interviews carried out both before and after a workshop with women coming from development experience. The interpretive approach was the analytic tool used to conduct and understand the shared information. This closely parallels the Progressive Verification Method which was specifically developed by Billson (1991) as a feminist methodology for use in cross-cultural studies. The approach:

is grounded in feminist theory and attempts to address the myths of a single, androcentric society; objectivity; historical and cultural abstraction; noninterference; and researcher authority (1991: 201).

The latter approach articulates the rationale for using feminist methodology, such as workshop methods, by explicitly stating that the goal of the research is not necessarily to arrive at a measurement, but to "embrace research that raises consciousness, which in turn may lead to political strategies and/or personal change" (Billson, 1991: 204). This research strove to do just that -- for all the participants including the researcher.

The process used for both the interviews and the workshop was participatory within the constraints of time and resources. In many places in the research process participants were asked to expand on or critique ideas that had been previously shared, giving the research an iterative quality. At other times the information shared was taken back to women who had participated earlier in the process, and in this regard the process was

recursive. The words of the women were always considered as equal in weight and importance to the published words of gender and planning theorists and practitioners.

4.1.1 The Interpretive Approach as a Tool for Feminist Research

The interpretive approach to the analysis of policy and project developments is one approach which is conducive to planning in a diversity of cultural contexts.⁴ It is not a new approach, but one that has had its special niche within the social sciences, particularly in anthropology, and is strongly informed by hermeneutics and phenomenology (Maguire, n.d.; Torgerson, 1986). Interpretive social inquiry developed separately but alongside policy analysis due to the growing dissatisfaction with established positivist approaches of social inquiry.

The objective of the interpretive approach is to enable planners and researchers to understand a particular perspective in the context in which those holding them do -- to see through their eyes (Jennings, 1983). It is helpful in defining "contexts and relative perspectives on real problems in the lived world" (Steed, 1988:9).

⁴ Cultural here refers to more than ethnicity. It connotes the entirety of elements which provide context to a person's physical and social environment. Elements such as race, rural or urban residence, degree of ability, family types and religion are included.

What the interpretive approach borrows from hermeneutics is a circular connection between the whole and the parts of the whole. Human actions and perspectives are linked to the context of wider social structures in a circular relationship. In order to understand a perspective it must be analyzed in relation to its context, in that "the whole is never simply given as a fact to be immediately apprehended, but is constructed through the labor of meticulous research" (Torgerson, 1985:245). Interpretations are always evolving and open to reinterpretation in a reflexive and iterative process (Dryzak, 1982).

Perspectives are no longer obtained through the objective examination of behaviours but through the subjective involvement of participants themselves. People are expected to contribute their perspectives as "purposive agents" (Jennings, 1983) of their own future. As such, the approach is very potent in its ability to increase a group's capacity for self-education and consciousness-raising, which in some cases could increase their ability to position themselves politically. Furthermore, the role of the analyst or researcher also changes from a detached observer to a participant-observer in a reconstructive process in which politics and knowledge, or value and fact, are no longer in opposition to one another. These are characteristics which are consistent with gender and development models of planning.

In the interpretive approach, there is a continual attempt by the planner or researcher to mediate perspectives -- to put together a fuller, but never complete understanding of a particular situation in a wider context.

In feminist analysis, this point is never better articulated than when participants are acknowledged as experts on their own situation (Billson, 1991). This is particularly important for women in development planning, given the complexities of cultural context present. As women are not a homogenous group and hold very diverse perspectives, this approach is helpful for conducting a participatory process.

Rather than seeing the role of mediation in the hands of the experts, Healey (1990), views planning processes as "modes of interest mediation," the form of which is shaped by the relationships of groups, interests and practices which surround particular issues. From this perspective planning is a completely interactive process in which situations change as issues, dynamics and contexts impact on each other and evolve. Therefore, the planning process treats cases individually and on several levels. Like the interpretive approach, gender planning addresses attitudes and values not simply tasks and activities, and involves the mediation of debate (Moser, 1993).

The interpretive approach, an outgrowth of hermeneutics and anthropological study, is itself an evolving approach which is just beginning to find a place in policy analysis and planning. Similar approaches to participatory research exist in other disciplines and

current interest is largely due to a growing dissatisfaction with conservative, but still popular, methods of social inquiry. As an approach which is by nature relational, participatory, and is careful to be contextual and value-critical, the interpretive approach has the capacity to be gender-sensitive.

4.1.2 Interviewing for Feminist Research

This section is an overview of the place of the interview as a methodological tool for feminist inquiry in undertaking this research. It also provides a summary of my research into the place of the interview as a tool for exploration for gender-sensitive planning.

I was particularly interested in exploring the use of the interview as a way to give voice to the concerns of women in a fashion which reflects the feminist principles of being non-hierarchical and supportive of a critical participation. Traditional, more quantifiable, forms of information collection have tended to either ignore or subjugate the experiences of women.

In the social sciences today, there is still debate as to the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative versus quantitative research.

In an attempt to make the validity of qualitative methods recognizable to other disciplines, (and to improve its own quality), qualitative research sometimes seems to have adopted many of the same principles of quantitative research⁵. There is a continuous need to describe and to prove the validity and reliability of data collection methods such as interviewing, ethnographic fieldwork, and participant observations. Kirk and Miller (1986), for example, demand that qualitative research accept the goal of objectivity in order that it pay attention to the issue of reliability. Only then will it be relevant to other findings. For these researchers the answer includes adapting "ethnographic decision making to the four-phase structure of science" (1986, 70).

As Watson and Watson-Franke point out, we run the risk of losing the individual amongst all the science -- social or otherwise. Instead of talking about human beings one speaks of the human 'instrument' or as 'cases'. Most importantly planners doing research this way run the risk of objectifying women and seeing what is value-laden as neutral, including the planner's own biases.

Interviews have endured a special place within research methodology particularly in the social sciences and increasingly in professional practices which are interdisciplinary, such as planning. In its many variations the interview is used as a tool or an "instrument" as it is often referred to, for assessing social change. Sometimes it is used for predicting change or in an attempt to fit solution to problem. Because the problem

⁵ For a discussion of the qualitative versus quantitative debate within a feminist framework refer to Jayaratne and Stewart in Fonow and Cook's "Beyond Methodology", 1991.

has already been defined through another process, it is determined essential and professional to stick to strict standards of practice when designing and implementing an interview. However, the interest in the interview for this research was as a tool to provide women expert voice and inclusion in the research process.

There are suggested rules for interviewing which, it's scholars advise, are important to follow if you want the scientific and scholarly community to take your work seriously. This further suggests that a researcher who is using interviews must consider who they are doing the research for. Who do they want to benefit from their work? Who do they want to enlighten and from what perspective? Who is likely to benefit and who will be compromised if they follow traditional scientific rigour?

As Oakley (1981), a proponent of feminist interviewing, points out, students of interviewing are taught a "formula" for carrying out what is considered to be a scientifically valid, or proper interview. Designing such an interview demands attention to several factors which can be checked off against a list of what is and is not considered to be "good" interview practice. Qualities such as remaining objective or neutral, not leading the interviewee, no involvement, adherence to the questions or survey topics, and providing confidentiality and privacy are considered ingredients for the formula. Alternatively, in this research, the researcher's participation and her biases was explicitly a part of the entire research process.

The use of scientific modeling as the basis for designing interviews is itself highly questionable from a feminist perspective. As Oakley states it, the problem is that:

the entire paradigmatic representation of 'proper' interviews in the methodology textbooks, owe a great deal more to a masculine social and sociological vantage point than to a feminine one. For example, the paradigm of the 'proper' interview appeals to such values as objectivity, detachment, hierarchy and 'science' as an important cultural activity which takes priority over people's more individualized concerns (1981:38).

What is considered poor interviewing are those qualities which are largely associated with women (in the masculine-feminine dichotomy of gender stereotyping), such as subjectivity, involvement, sensitivity, and emotional concern for others. Keeping a respectable distance is considered essential if an interviewer is to prevent biasing the interview -- an event to be avoided at all costs!

The metaphor of the interview as an instrument or tool for data collection suggests that like a tool it cannot have values and is an object of neutrality. Yet, as with other objects of modernity, the context out of which the tool was developed, the context in which it is used, and the user of the tool all serve to make it heavily value-laden. In the more recognized styles of interviewing, the interviewer -- who is often called an "assessor" or "investigator" -- is discouraged from becoming too involved in the so-called conversation. Oakley sees it as a balance "between the warmth required to generate 'rapport' and the detachment necessary to see the interviewee as an object under surveillance" (Oakley, 1981:33).

It is this objectification of the interviewee which many feminists have been critical of (Belenky et al, 1986; Oakley, 1981; Doane,). The interviewee that is obliging the interviewer by correctly playing their assigned role, does not ask questions back, suggest new angles or engage the interviewer in additional conversation. Traditionally, this has also been the proper place of women in the patriarchal society. Women do not lead, as subordinates they behave and follow. It ultimately is a question of power, and in the hierarchy of the interview as it is commonly practiced, the interviewee does not critically participate.

Keeping the principle of critical and equitable participation in mind, the goal of this research in using an open interview process was to empower the women interviewed and fully involve the researcher.

The social construction of the interview, then, replicates an artificial hierarchy of power which permeates the scientific community as it does elsewhere, but that is particularly noticeable in male/female and majority/minority relationships. As such there are many problems which arise from this traditional practice. Firstly, it is designed to meet the needs of the research context and not to empower interviewees, or "respondents" (Mishler, 1986). Figure 4. summarizes the asymmetrical and unidirectional nature of the standard interview.

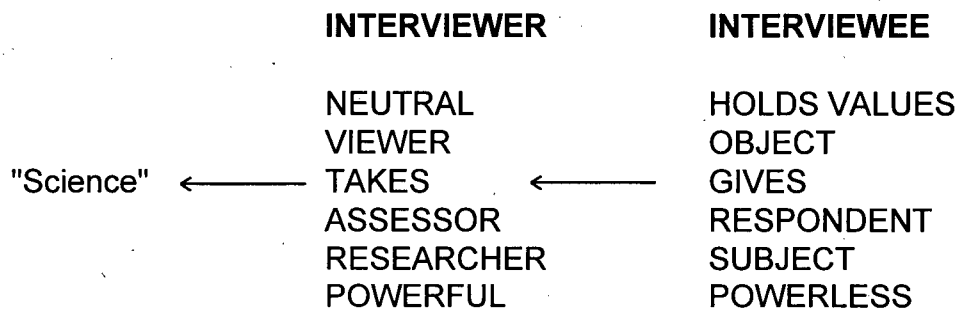


Figure 4. The Traditional Interview

The intent of this research was to shed light on "how individuals perceive, organize, give meaning to, and express their understandings of themselves, their experiences, and their worlds" (Mishler, 1986:ix) in relation to gender, diversity and development issues.

Planners who are concerned about social change from the perspective of empowering those who hold less power, have been experimenting with the interview as a new way to give people a "voice" in the planning process. Rather than being unidirectional, the process is meant to turn back and give the power of new information to those being interviewed. The interview becomes a social engagement in which both parties are able to freely affect the process and receive information. There is no "neutral" position from which to speak or listen.

If a goal is to assist the interviewees in "their efforts to construct coherent and reasonable worlds of meaning and to make sense of their experiences" (Mishler, 1986:118) then they need more complete access to the design and analytical stages of the research project. This participatory approach is especially relevant if you believe that all research is inherently political. (Oakley, 1981; Cottle, 1977; Belenky et al, 1986) this is particularly useful for gender planning, a tradition which is inherently both political and technical (Moser, 1993).

It is also important to break from tradition and explore the dimensions that diversity brings to planning research, and in the case of this research, incorporating gender and contextual elements of diversity into planning. Commenting on their research on how women come to value ways of knowing, Belenky et al say:

Bringing together people of such diverse age, circumstances, and outlooks departs from common practice in psychological research. Researchers usually study highly homogeneous samples, typically white, middle- and upper-class, male undergraduates who are easy targets for university-based studies. The diversity of the population we studied provided us with an unusual opportunity to see the common ground that women share, regardless of background (1986:13)"

This is an avenue which seems very promising for planners wanting to give strength to disparate groups of the exploited and marginalized, who due to constraints, may find it difficult to see the commonalty in their situations.

Finally, Belenky et al (1986) have demonstrated in their work a rich and rewarding way to make the interview a more collaborative, politically constructive venture. Mishler notes their success in his review of their process:

The work of understanding the material is a joint effort and understandings arrived at enter into planning and development of next stages of the study. In addition, research findings are used as the basis for a variety of other activities, such as workshops, seminars and courses, directed to helping women with family, career, and developmental issues that emerge in the interviews" (1986:127).

It is because all research *is* political that researchers and planners, with their own biases, will inevitably have an influence on the process and its outcome, thereby becoming agents of change. The research described above is participatory at all stages and implies no neutrality.

4.1.3 The Research Interviews

The interviews for this research were done with women that are, or have been, community or development planners in their countries of origin, or in Canada, or both. In addition to Canada, countries of origin include Guyana, Guatemala, Thailand and the Philippines. The women from Canada include First Nations women.

Each of the women had originally been invited, (by telephone inquiry or a letter of introduction), to participate in the research workshop, but for various reasons were

unable to attend and so they chose instead to take part in individual interviews. In all cases the interviews took place at the participants work or home site.

All interviews were done face to face and were deliberately kept non-hierarchical and informal in tone and design. Interviews were either tape-recorded or notes were taken during the interview process -- in all cases, with the permission of the interviewee. A total of six women were interviewed. While this is a small sampling, the goal was not to gather quantitative evidence for statistical analysis, but to gain knowledge of how women who are active in development experience and interpret the dynamics and impact of development strategies as they relate to gender. The chosen process, which creates an opportunity for women to speak as experts and reflect on their own experiences rather than have them externally analyzed, is consistent with the principles of participatory feminist research.

All the women were forthcoming and wanted to talk about not only their work but also their personal politics as it pertains to their sense of gender and identity as women from countries designated the Third World. There was a genuine interest in sharing their stories, in hearing about what other women had said in the workshop, and in using this information for their own work. This would be consistent with Mishler's (1986) view that interviews can help people make sense of their experiences. All of the women expressed a passion for the subject of gender and women in development.

Discussions with the women who were interviewed revolved around the same general topic of women, gender, and development that had been discussed in the workshop. Key points generated in the workshop were then brought up in the interviews which allowed for a continuous building of ideas.

In addition to the face to face interviews, the researcher attended three conferences where women who were community organizers or planners and researchers gathered to discuss feminist and gendered perspectives on various issues. In each case the conference format utilized either workshops or testimonials, so that women were able to share their experiences and analyses. These sessions were tape-recorded by the researcher and the words of these women have been used to inform this research. Combining all three conferences, over thirty women gave presentations which were recorded. While the entirety of this discourse was relevant, only a handful of the presentations have been directly quoted in this thesis.

4.2 The Workshop as a Research Method

As they have in the past, women today are coming together to discuss and find solutions to the problems they and their families face in order to survive the daily conditions of their lives. One format for undertaking this collective search is the workshop, a vehicle which allows for informal gathering, sharing of experiences, education, critical analysis, and through this process, the potential for empowerment.

Workshops can create the space for women, from very diverse backgrounds and experiences, to acknowledge and explore both their differences and similarities. In this way, the workshop is, at best, a vehicle for participatory research, which is one component of popular education. "What they have in common is an emphasis on starting from the lived experiences of their participants and using these known realities as a jumping-off point to arrive at a broader and deeper understanding of the subject at hand" (Kamel, 1988:7).

The workshop, like other participatory tools, can be vehicles of empowerment, politically, culturally, and economically, for groups which are disenfranchised or who have marginal power in society (Kamel, 1988; Maguire, n.d.; Society for Participatory Research in Asia, 1982). As Stromquist (1988) notes, empowerment is particularly important for women because patriarchal ideologies place women in the position of nurturer or altruistic maternal authority at the expense of subordination of self. The process must provide women with an opportunity to be reflective and critical, and to participate in modifying their relations with family, community, society, and ultimately to take action against both the local and global factors oppressing them. In other words, to make the connections between their personal lives as political, the personal as international and the international as political (Enloe, 1989).

4.3 The Research Workshop

Although the number of women who took part in the workshop totaled only eight , the goal, as with the interviews, was to use a research model which validated women's voices, and therefore their experiences -- a model consistent with qualitative inquiry and post-positivist research methodology. The intention was not to simply gather data, but to generate an environment of mutual learning, awareness raising, and progressive criticism.

Each of the women had received a letter of invitation which also introduced them to the general subject of the workshop, and raised several questions which had come up for the researcher in the process of doing her work. The specific objectives of the workshop were:

1. to create a "participatory dialogue [ensuring] a learning process through effective interaction by all participants" (Vella, 1993);
2. to provide the participants, including the researcher, with an opportunity to develop their understanding of how gender, women's lives, development agendas and planning approaches interact; and

3. to open a discussion on gender planning for the purpose of informing criteria for gender planning in diverse contexts.

Because women's experiences are as different as they are similar in other ways, the content of the workshop (and interviews) was unpredictable. As such, the opinions of the women steered the workshop (and the interviews) into a direction of their own. Although as a researcher I had begun my inquiry with questions of my own, the concerns and questions held by the participants often lead us into unexpected areas of dialogue and discovery.

4.3.1 The Participants

The women involved in the workshop were from a diversity of backgrounds and experiences and ranged in age, with a total of eight women in all. All the women were either currently or had been involved in development planning or community development of one type or another in either their countries of origin or in their communities in Canada, or both. Countries of origin included Jamaica, Philippines, Thailand, China, Indonesia and Canada. All were specifically interested in gender as it intersects with planning for development.

For some of the women, English was not their first language and therefore articulating their ideas was sometimes difficult.

The women had been selected by the researcher based on their reputation for work in this area of study. Some participants were known to the researcher prior to the workshop (or interview) and others were referred by colleagues working in the same area. Each of the women was sent a letter of introduction and invitation to participate or received a telephone inquiry. The topic to be explored in the workshop was introduced in the letter or call of inquiry. It was clear from the opening discussions of the workshop that all the women had prepared to fully participate in the discussions.

4.3.2 The Process

On Sunday, February 16, 1992 a group of eight women convened at the home of the researcher to participate in a day long workshop on the subject of women and development. The setting was relaxed and informal and began in the living room with the researcher acting as facilitator and participant. After all agreeing to tape-record the day, the work began with each woman introducing herself, her work, and stating her initial focus of interest. This discussion generated a list of topics for further exploration and incorporation into an agenda and this was captured on a flip chart by the researcher for reference and guidance.

For the remainder of the morning the women discussed various aspects of gender and development in relation to their own lives and work experiences. The women continued

their discussion and sometimes debate, over lunch which was provided by the researcher. The afternoon discussion was motivated by a visioning exercise which divided the group up into teams of two. The purpose of the exercise was to encourage the women to project a vision for development that would be respectful and supportive of women's lives -- one that broke through the various barriers of oppression and exploitation that often restrict women.

The main findings from the workshop have been used to inform criteria, or essential elements, for gender planning which is also respectful of diversity. These findings have been summarized in chapter five.

5.0 The Output: Gender Planning Criteria

No two women talked about development or issues pertaining to women's lives and potential in exactly the same way or terms, yet, all agreed that it was women's right to have equity with men and that this did not as yet exist for all women.

Although there was differing opinions on how we should conceptualize improving this injustice, all agreed that improve it must. All agreed that gender could not be talked about exclusive of culture, class, race and other socially constructed influences in our lives. For some of the women, the legacy of colonialism was as strong a factor, if not more so, than gender in perpetuating the dynamics of subordination.

Most of the women agreed that although we have several universal declarations stating that women are, by rights, entitled to equity with men, there is, since the United Nations Decade for Women, substantial statistical documentation to show that, despite various women in development initiatives, women still do not fair as well as men in most countries of the world (UNDP, 1994). Penny (1991), corroborates the group's opinion when she points out that because all members of the United Nations have ratified the Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women which states that they "approved strategies to improve the lot of women everywhere," women's groups can now "put pressure on their governments to implement the policies."

The critical question then became, why are these global agreements and programme initiatives not as effective as hoped? In attempting to answer this question and the questions arising from the objectives of the research, the women who took part in the workshop and the interviews, discussed several elements which they believe are necessary if planning is to be relevant for women and effective in environments of diversity. In many cases these were supported by the oral presentations given by women at the three conferences. These elements will be discussed in more detail in sections 5.2 and 5.3, after briefly discussing the participants' concept of development -- the context and goal which make the elements necessary.

5.1 Re-defining Development

In the process of envisioning the kind of development they would prefer, the participants in this research were critical of current development policies and models. One woman saw the dilemma as rooted in a conflict of ideologies. She spoke of the struggle many African countries have had because they were so impacted by the development models of either capitalist or socialist world views, to the detriment of not being able to develop their own. She says:

What people are fighting in Third World countries is not what the Canadian International Development Agency does, or what whoever does, but it is these two ideologies and how people include these ideologies within the context of their realities...A sense of African ideology somehow cannot blend easily into the western capitalist model or the socialist model as we know it.

This is reflective of the discussion in section 3.1 of the ethnocentricity that is so often inherent in planning theory and practice only to be exported right along with project technologies. Or as one Thai planner put it in an interview, "The mixing of cultures due to globalization has brought with it an external notion of development."

Picking up on this theme another women comments that "current development removes you from being self-sufficient to become dependent." "Because of this," responds a third women, "I think we need a kind of attitude change among developing countries. We need to look inside ourselves."

There is a struggle to balance the criticisms of the dominant development paradigm with the desire for a new model of development that is focussed on the internal aspirations and indigenous strengths of countries in the Third World. When several women commented that they wanted a development that was self-sufficient, self-reliant and sustainable, one woman spoke up saying: "Let's not be utopian, what we have in the world is the big and powerful, not small and beautiful." "However," another voice quickly replied, "if we don't do anything, the big and powerful will remain big and powerful," which lead to a discussion of how, for the most part, it was women who were subordinate to men's power.

In a conference workshop, Karen O'Souza, representing a women's organization called Red Thread in the Caribbean, was critical of the increasing subordination of women as

a result of historical relations and the more recent structural adjustment programs that mark current development policies:

Governments are placing greater and greater burdens on women. We are already doing many hours of work for no pay, and they expect women in the Third World and in the First World to take on even more work and for less pay. And they are able to do this because they don't believe the work that women do is work...So, childbearing is not work, washing, cooking, cleaning is not work, childrearing is not work. These are roles, and we have to change this understanding. This is work and it is work that has to be paid for. We must stop behaving as if we are born to do this work and that we are born to do it for free.

Everyone agreed that development was not summed up in a number. It was not the gross national product of a country or simple quantitative measures of how many women participated in relation to men. As one woman who had worked in government women's programs put it:

Development is different than the United Nations, World Bank criteria. We use this to apply for loans and grants, but we know that the number of general per capita income cannot say anything much at all if you still have a lot of social problems -- which is the difference between the rich and the poor in a country...Addressing women and development is something that people research to satisfy funders. The research takes place but it may not be seen as the real problem, just as something to satisfy CIDA.

This is consistent with the concerns of many feminist economists, for example Evans (1992) and Waring (1990), who argue that development criteria that is focussed on gross national product does not include women's contributions, so how could it reflect their experiences or visions for an alternative development.

There was particular concern that development must be sensitive to and benefit women as well as men. It should not benefit men only, as it has for too long. And it should not benefit women only, which they feared it would under the influence of a western centred feminist ideology. The women envisioned a development that is people-centred, not economically focussed. "Development," insisted one woman, "must be for all people and equity for all people." A second woman called it a "social justice based on what people want." Still another woman described it as:

Development of peace and justice...And a development for the people, respect for human rights, development that looks at the environment and the natural resources of that country.

The relational aspects of development were critical to all the participants. For one woman it was a question of always remembering to ask, "who is developing for who?" For other women the complexities of diversity were central to a discussion of development, exemplified in the following comment:

The First World and the Third World is steeped in the whole notion of race and what you perceive a particular race to be. It's also factored into development. We need to inject into this whole thing how cultural ethnocentrism and racism gets played out in development.

The idea that development involved many complex relational elements extended to gender relations, and is summarized in the following statement:

Women have a double burden and it came in through the whole notion of development. Because in the olden days men and women had specific roles. Now with development there is more to do on top of it. What development has done in many third World countries is displaced men in terms of what they can do...The traditional stuff they used to do is no

longer of any relevance. Women are basically doing two, three and four jobs and the men have nothing to do.

There was agreement that a gendered development model had to work for the benefit of the entire society, women and men. "Modernity has caused all these massive changes, but it is too simple to focus only on women or only on men."

The following section will detail the elements which the participants thought were important to a process which worked towards the kind of people-centred development which they envisioned.

5.2 Thematic Groupings

Although the range of the discussions was broad, the material has been divided into nine main elements reflective of the general discussion: contextual, complex, gender-active, mutual accountability, critical participation, consciousness-raising for action, personal capacity building, support for fundamental change, and dynamic process modeling. These nine elements, shown in Figure 5., while equally weighted, can be organized into three thematic groupings: 1) structural dimensions, 2) means of participation and 3) potential for change. Each of these elements will be described below, and where possible, will be discussed in relation to the research on gender planning discussed in chapters 2.0 and 3.0.

The three thematic areas are of equal importance to each other and reflect the way the elements can be conceptually grouped. If the planning process is holistic and comprehensive according to the principles of gender and development planning, then it is possible to envision the theme areas as three revolving wheels. Each of the elements impacts on the others at different times in the process.

The theme grouping titled "Structural Dimensions" contains the elements contextual, complex and gender active. These are elements descriptive of the fabric of the entire planning initiative, including policy and process. The theme grouping titled "Means of Participation" contains elements which impact on or have an influence on the style and quality of the participation throughout the planning initiative. It reflects the nature of the relations of power between the different sectors or players involved, including planners. The theme group titled "Potential for Change" contains elements which impact on the possibilities the planning initiative has for change at various levels: 1) at the level of the individuals involved; 2) at the societal or systemic level; and 3) at the level of the planning process itself. The following section will discuss each of the elements within the thematic groupings in more detail.

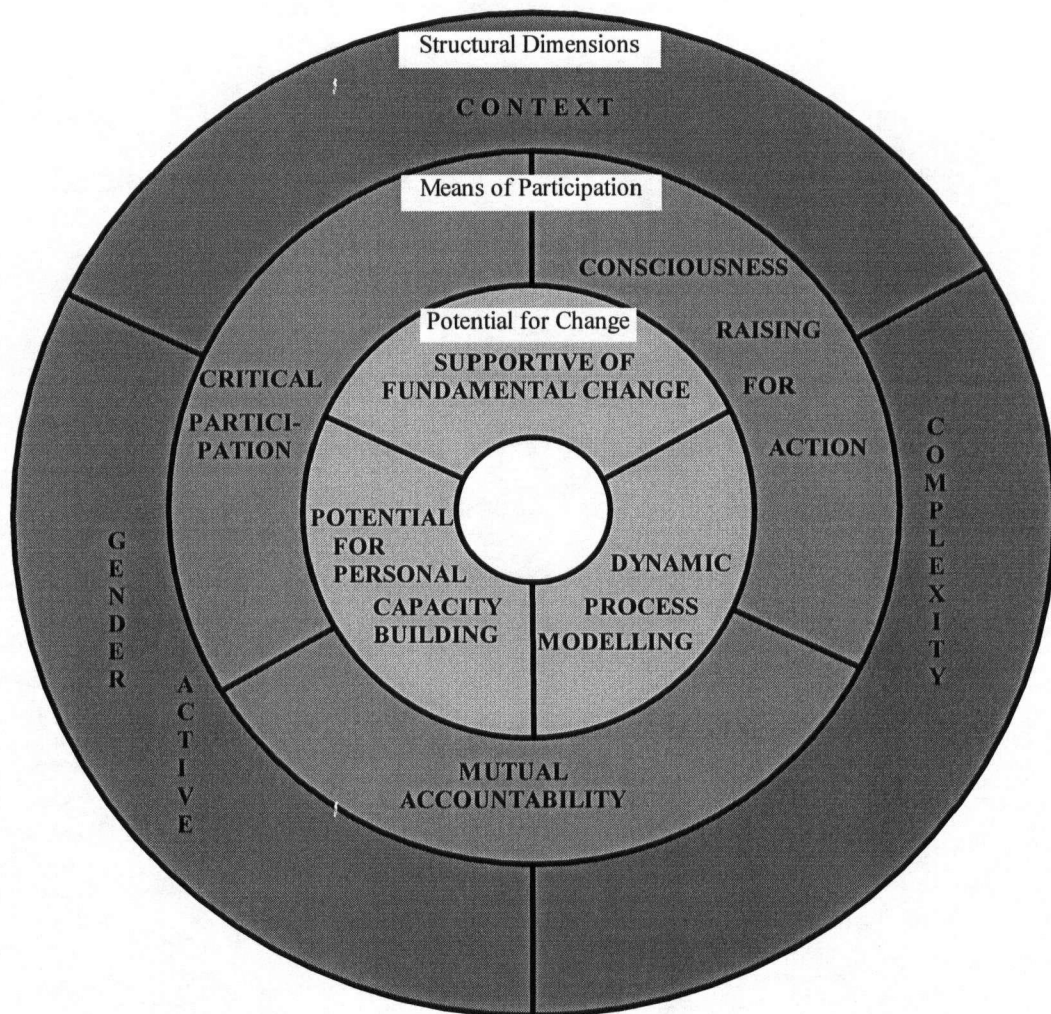


Figure 5. Criteria for Diversity-sensitive Gender Planning.

5.3 Main Elements

The research process which gave rise to the following elements for gender planning was reflective, holistic and sometimes iterative in nature. The outcome, these

elements, were not meant to be viewed in any particular order or hierarchy. Rather, they are to be seen as influencing and overlapping with each other in addition to influencing the quality and nature of the process, as well as the outcome. Each of the elements will be discussed under the heading of their thematic grouping.

5.3.1 Structural Dimensions

The thematic grouping of "Structural Dimensions" includes the elements of contextual, complex, and gender-active.

Contextual

The element of context, and the need for planning to be contextual came up over and over again in the workshop discussions, in the interviews and in the readings on gender and development. Context must be considered at the local level as well as at the regional or national level, and at the global level. Context in this sense then can be visualized as a picture which cannot be fully viewed or understood without a lens which allows the viewer, or participant, to pan out to see the big picture and at the same time be able to narrow in to see the particulars of the detail.

Gender planning places any situation within a larger structural context and responds to forces such as politics, economics and neo-colonialism which act on it. For example,

gendered activities are changed by cultural evolutions, wars, technology, education and structural adjustment programmes. The household is seen as a microcosm linked to increasingly larger units of environment -- neighbourhood, community, region and globe.

This attention to "concretizing" development planning by placing it in a specific context, as one workshop participant put it, is discussed by another participant in the following way:

Whether or not external governments continue to fund us, we will continue with development projects because our struggle is indigenous. We may learn from other countries but we always do it within the context of our own struggle. And in the development of women, we always ask will it work within our context? Because if it is not going to work within our context, we ask funders and partners, why are you here?

For another women contextualizing the planning process meant paying attention to the particular ways that indigenous culture existed and still survives in an area. She comments:

When you do a development project you need to look at people's indigenous strengths, competencies and technologies. We have women who are healers who know how to use traditional herbs and do marvelous stuff. Now for me the goals of projects is to build upon these competencies, upon the knowledge they have in the indigenous society to progress, and to make that progress human.

The comments of one participant gets strong agreement when she moves the notion of paying attention to the particular contexts within which women live from the local to the global by stating that:

The IMF and the World Bank control or determine what you can do in your country, and this depends on world conditions. It determines what you can do with your money, what projects you can support, what support women will get, what kind of an education system you will have, and what kind of social service system you will have.

She goes on to use the example of health care and education in Jamaica -- two areas in which women play a particularly central role. Where Jamaica once had a very fine system in both areas, Jamaica now is getting money from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As part of the deal cut backs to social programs have been extreme, and it is women who are disproportionately suffering due to their triple roles in production, reproduction and community organizing.

Contextualizing the planning process also means seeing women's roles as varied from location to location and at the same time understand how women and the roles they are assigned are impacted by external factors. Karen O'Souza remarks on this point in the context of women in the Caribbean:

Structural Adjustment Programs are increasing the number of women headed households and children headed households because men are migrating for work. This results in an increase in struggle for women's survival because women are at the bottom of the poverty spectrum.

In the context of Thailand, gender roles are most strongly impacted by cultural norms, according to one interviewee who says:

Gender roles depend on the social situation. For public purposes, men are seen to be the boss of the house who makes decisions, but in private it is often the women who are actually making the decisions -- in other words doing the work. Qualitative and quantitative realities for women can be very different. A woman can be left with many decisions and get very tired.

One woman sums up the nature of the contextual element when she says:

"its a methodology from specific to the general or general to the specific."

Linda Peake (1992) agrees, saying "we must be very careful to contextualize our research. To be aware of not just the local context but also the national conditions." It is by contextualizing planning, at various levels and from various perspectives, that participants (including planners) will find guidance in determining what is and is not appropriate for in any given situation.

Complex

As discussed in chapter two, initial efforts to address gender inequities were focussed on targeting only women. As time has passed and experience accrued, gender is becoming the focus. However, as Moser (1993), Peake (1992) and others point out, gender planning as a specific type of planning is by nature and necessity complex. This becomes more evident if the planning has been fully contextualized. However,

planning becomes particularly complex by paying attention to diversity and relational social organizing factors, such as Third World/First World, educated/non-educated and married/single.

Elements of diversity include, but are not restricted to: race, culture (used in the broadest sense of the term), class, religion, and history, such as colonialism.

Paradoxically, it is when the complexity of the planning context is acknowledged and understood that the planning process becomes clearer. Figure 6. shows how various factors converge to create an element of complexity when planning with diversity.

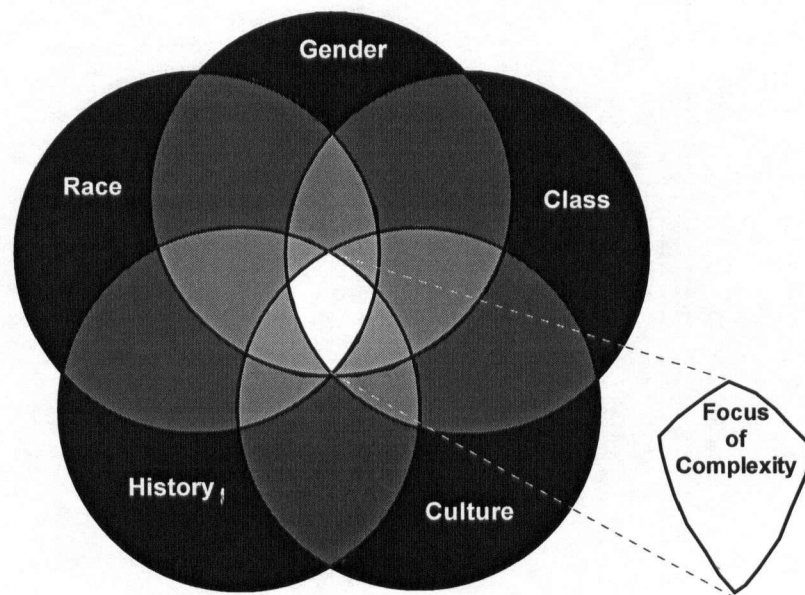


Figure 6. Factors of Diversity Converge Into a Focus of Complexity.

Relational factors include the basic principle inherent in the switch in focus from women to gender. That is the necessity to look at the status and condition of women's lives in relation to men's. A relational approach adds elements of complexity to planning. It gives consideration to what women actually do and to what they would want to do if given the opportunity. It focusses on communities, not on women or men only, but still acknowledges that impacts may be different on women than on men.

For many women, these complexities -- additional lenses through which they view their lives and through which they are viewed -- are as critical as gender. One workshop participant states this point in the following way:

I would rather have a local man working on a women's issue than have a Canadian woman working on a local issue. The alternative presupposes that because the Canadian woman is a woman she is going to be sensitive to women's socio-economic realities in our world.

Another participant agrees that having a fellow planner relate to her social and economic realities is as important, if not more so, than having them relate to the fact that she is a woman:

What is tied up into this whole gender issue is also a cultural perspective. The man might not know about women's issues either, but at least he has the sense of the culture.

Diversity of history was strongly discussed by women in the workshop, interviews and conferences. A great deal of this discussion centred around the legacy of colonialism

or the dynamics of neo-colonialism, not only in the Third World, but in marginalized communities in the First World. A First Nations woman's comments are indicative of what many of the women had to say:

The beginning of the diminishing role of Aboriginal women was during European contact when Europeans refused to deal with Aboriginal women, believing that it was the men that were chiefs. But they were dealing with the chief's husbands.

Acoste-Belen and Bose (1990) support this idea that the condition of women in territories that were colonized cannot be separated from the experience of colonization since the power relationships that were established then continue and are recreated through modern mechanisms.⁶

There are many interrelated aspects to an approach which is predicated on a gendered perspective, particularly if it is also to be respectful of cultural, historical, and situational diversity. This complexity is one of the elements which pushes gender planning to accommodate the wide range of women's experiences and realities.

Gender-Active

Most of the women involved in the research strongly believed that it was not enough to simply say that women were being consulted in the planning process, or that women

⁶ Jenny Bourne (1988) similarly argues that history has impacted on the course of activism that Jewish women have taken, and that history still informs the way they participate in struggles against oppression.

would benefit, or that there were equal numbers of women and men, which somehow implies that the initiative will inherently meet women's needs to the same extent it will meet men's needs. The consensus, which is consistent with more recent gender planning literature, was that planning had to be fully gendered, meaning that it must be aware of gender in all phases of planning, and it must actively respond to the information that awareness avails. It is simply not good enough to acknowledge gender in a funding application and then put no resources into providing women with full opportunity to participate in ways that will support transformational change and their empowerment.

In the same regard it is not enough to assume that by including women's organizations that the initiative will deal with issues of gender and subordination. As one Thai planner acknowledged, in Thailand "women's organizations will be part of a participatory process but with no particular attention to gender differences." Another Thai woman agrees, pointing out that although there are women's organizations, they "are mainly high society and they do charities." Karen O'Souza confirms the situation has been the same in Guyana. She states:

Women's organizations have traditionally been brought out to support the political parties or trade unions and not to address any issues of women's oppression. Since they exist the government can say see we have women's organization, when in fact these organizations have nothing to do with what is happening to women ... with altering structural relations or gender relations in society.

Linda Peake (1992) reminds us that "just as there is a great diversity of women, there is a great diversity of women's organization." What is important is that our actions and choices of who we work and partner with in gender planning, be informed by a gender perspective. For many of the women this meant reaching women by partnering with feminist women's organizations. Gender-active, then, also refers to an awareness that a long-term goal of gender planning is to empower women by meeting strategic gender needs. As Linda Peake states, doing this is a political process and "it's a political choice to decide which [women's organizations] we choose to associate with and work with."

She further states that, contrary to popular belief, "feminism is much more common in the Third World and dates back to the middle of the last century." However, she notes that "doesn't mean there will be a feminist organization around at the time that you need them, so we do need other strategies."

On another level, gender-active planning means that planners, across a variety of planning disciplines, must be aware of gender policy and planning and be willing to work at and explore ways of reaching women and find out about their lives. After teaming up and discussing their visions for a gender-sensitive development, the women in the workshop generated a list of questions and actions that should occur to planners who are aware of gender and engaged in gender-active planning. These include:

- Visiting local parks and playgrounds to find women
- Asking questions about women's lives and experiences, including:

- How do they group with other women?
- What kind of organizations do they have?
- How are their organizations lead or co-ordinated?
- How do they want to participate?
- What is motivating their choices?
- If families are targeted, how does this affect individual women?
- What are their experiences around migration?

Gender-active means incorporating gender in a holistic fashion through planning. It views gender roles as an organizing principle which cross-cuts with other organizing principles such as culture, class, race, religion and ethnicity. It is an approach which is multi-sectoral, interdisciplinary and interconnected in nature. Women's practical gender needs, such as the need for accessible water, are met as well as their strategic gender needs, such as the need to have meetings at times which are in line with child care concerns. It also overlaps with issues of participation and research, because as a Senegalese woman speaking at a conference states:

We need more bottom-up research by women. Research needs to allow women to develop a more effective quality of life...and to allow women to reconsider themselves in terms of projects and their selves.

Gender must not only be a concept incorporated into policy, but a concept which is acted on throughout the planning process.

5.3.2 Means of Participation

The thematic grouping Means of Participation includes the elements of critical participation, mutual accountability, and consciousness-raising for action.

Critical Participation

Longwe (1989) places participation very high on a scale of levels of equality which increase women's empowerment. According to her model, the only level above it which would provide more potential for women's equality and empowerment, is access to control. However, by control she means the "utilization of this participation, through conscientization and mobilization, to achieve equality of control over the factors of production, and equality of control over the distribution of benefits" (1989:6). From this definition it is clear that Longwe's notion of participation combined with control is closer to the element of critical participation as it was defined and discussed by the research participants.

The general thinking was that women must not only be allowed to be full participants, experts in their own right, but that their participation should have a particular quality to it that is best described as politically active. In other words, their participation should have a quality of agency or power to it. One woman in the workshop described this degree and quality of participation by using the example of a partnership between a women's group in the Philippines and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA):

[CIDA wanted to consult with a large coalition of non-government organizations, but in their own way.] One group of women wanted to withdraw during this consultation unless CIDA [agreed] not to be in control of the funding ... and since this group of women is the largest group of

women in the Philippines, CIDA had to consider the decision of this certain group of women. So in the year they had consultation after consultation after consultation before they all said okay now we can accept because CIDA agreed to the demands that this women's organization asked. But the [women's organization] had stated their position: we will participate but it must be a critical participation and we will always monitor CIDA's role in this.

Linda Peake, in answering a conference participant's question, made a similar point:

It is very much a discursive process of gendered participation. That includes not just talking to women about what is happening in their daily lives, but ensuring the women can talk to the planners and ask questions of them.

Another workshop participant agrees, stating:

Some women accept [the] western model in their development; some don't, they just don't want to take that without being consulted. For example, the grassroots organizations and also the progressive women's movement, [won't] if they're not consulted.

A woman in the workshop adds that all women potentially impacted by a project must be consulted, not just the elite women. She says, "the poorest must be consulted, in other words, the ones we want to benefit the most."

One participant commented that this was also important in the context of Thailand. She says that she:

would like to see more action research with women closer to the root of the problem -- at the community level in the countryside -- not just in Bangkok...Women in development projects must reach these women, not women who already have office jobs, but still want more.

The message was that women and men must be more than just passive recipients of programmes and change. They must participate in defining their own problems and goals and in designing solutions for change. In order to do this it is useful to have the participation and expertise of local people. It is also argued that the success and value of a project are increased by meaningfully incorporating the full participation of women. Mehta (1991) argues that this should begin right at the point of project formulation by asking women who are targeted about their needs and priorities. Moser highlights the advantage of gendered participation for "ensuring negotiation and debate in the planning process" (1993:105). Chatterjee similarly argues that it is "through participatory involvement...[that] struggle and development together establish increased solidarity and increased concrete benefits" (1993:82).

Critical participation allows for the dynamic of partnerships, which are so common between funders and women's organizations or even organization to organization, but favours relationships which are based on partnership arrangements in which women who are at the grassroots are actively involved with license to be fully critical. This rules out the all too common relationship that only rhetorically uses the label 'partners'.

Mutual Accountability

For critical participation to be effective there needs to be mutual accountability between the sectors involved. It needs to be acknowledged that each party is contributing resources to the initiative, and that in relative terms these resources are likely to be equally scarce. For example, money on the part of funders and time and effort on the part of women in the community.

Many of the women felt that while their organizations were at the mercy of the wishes of funders who were situated outside of their countries, these organizations still could not be trusted to follow through on their long term commitments. One woman remarked "they always say [one thing] and then we have cut backs...They never honour what they say." Experiences like this have left many of the women worried about building long-term mutual trust, since a long-term commitment is necessary in order to see real benefits. They wanted development planners to be honest and be able to keep to their word. This is especially critical in light of the observation made by Moser (1993) and Momsen (1991) that development planners tend to see women's time as elastic, rather than as a scarce resource.

As one workshop participant put it:

Women want help, and are willing to contribute, but don't want [development agencies] to change our organizations. Help us according to the local needs as defined by local people. Give us aid with no strings attached.

In an interview, a woman acknowledged the concern on the part of funders for accountability, but remarked that, "Money has to be sent straight to women most directly impacted or involved in the issue." She comments that "it would be better than giving resources to institutions outside of this loop, like universities."

Another participant thought the lack of accountability "was patronizing." A woman from Chile writes:

Financial relations influence the work that we are carrying out and in this way international agencies exert power and control upon the [non-government organizations] or popular movements that develop projects...At the same time we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the problem is not only outside us (ICAE Women's Program, 1988:11).

Writing on behalf of the ICAE Women's Program, another woman notes: "grassroots women are not miracle workers and like anyone else need to study and understand a situation before they can work effectively in it" (1988:11).

Antrobus points out that words like 'partnership' can be more confusing than clarifying, and that she is "struck by the contradiction between the word and the reality it represents" (1993:11). Working from the perspective of mutual accountability may help to improve relations, and as a result, the success of gendered development initiatives.

Consciousness-raising for Action

Consciousness-raising for action is closely linked to a critical participation, but it is distinct. What is potent about this concept is that it links awareness to action, and as such, goes beyond awareness-raising or consciousness-raising alone. As it is defined here, the goal of consciousness-raising is to mobilize action, on either an individual or collective level. In the literature this is sometimes referred to as empowerment⁷, although this word has become so widely used that its connotation is sometimes more benign.

This concept usually refers to raising the awareness of the beneficiaries of development, for example, poor women, but can also be a useful concept for development planners. As Young (1992) and Moser (1993) emphasize, planners need to become more aware of gender and the way it impacts on all aspects of planning. Development agencies, academics, planners and workers also need to become more aware of the history of agency on the part of women in the Third World. As one workshop participant puts it:

There are lots of theories that women from the Third World are creating. It's just that there is not always enough time for them to sit down and write them down.

⁷ For example, see Stromquist, 1988.

Another woman agrees, pointing out that: "Third World women do not always have the time to network their ideas."

Consciousness-raising for action can also inform planners through the methods they choose for their research. Fonow and Cook argue that "the consciousness-raising effect of research" can raise the awareness of the researcher as well as that of the other participants (1991:3). As a workshop participant put it: "women must participate fully in order to provide context to the project."

In the case of this research, the researcher chose a participatory method of research that was consciousness-raising in regards to the complex impact that diversity brings to gendered planning.

However, it is the hope that consciousness-raising for action will be incorporated into gendered planning for the benefit of women's empowerment that was important to most participants. As one participant says: "...women have to know where they are going...They need consciousness-raising."

Criteria developed at the Zambia Association for Research and Development Workshop states that a woman's development project should only be seen as improving women's status if consciousness was raised "amongst women of women's needs and women's

issues; awareness of discrimination against women; [and] ability to analyse issues in terms of women's interests and women's rights" (1991:179).

Open self-reflection, communal dialogue and exploration can encourage a healthy exchange of perspectives. From policy analysis to implementation and evaluation, participatory development, personal reflection and sharing of experiences, and the utilization of feedback loops support an environment for cooperative learning and mobilization. Ideally, the level of an individual's new awareness of their own reality will be high enough to motivate their action for change.

5.3.3 Potential For Change

The thematic grouping titled Potential for Change includes the elements of Potential for Personal Capacity Building, Support for Fundamental Change, and Dynamic Process Model.

Potential for Personal Capacity Building

This element addresses the potential for change at the levels of the individual and the collective. It encompasses women's empowerment, improved self-esteem and capacity to network, all necessary aspects if women are to engage in overthrowing their

subordinated positions and be effective in transforming fundamentally oppressive relations of power.

Sheila Baxter, an author and activist taking part in a women's conference on poverty, says: "when women tell their stories, unedited, they are empowered." Karen O'Souza, speaking at the same conference, agrees, pointing out the importance of creating space for authenticity particularly given the complexity of our differences. She says "women must represent themselves. For example, the middle-class provides the space for the middle-class to speak for itself."

This notion that having the opportunity to speak for oneself is directly linked to personal capacity building is echoed by Stromquist in the literature:

The psychological component includes the development of feelings so that women can improve their condition. They must believe they can succeed in their efforts. One cannot teach self-confidence and self-esteem. One must provide the conditions in which they develop...In the long run, advantages outnumber disadvantages, because skills gained through participatory approaches are transferable to a variety of social situations (1988:13).

Speaking at a conference on women in development in Montreal, Linda Peake adds to this concept by stating that: "increasing self-esteem, or self perception, is a process of politicization." And as Moser argues, this is because "participation is often an end in itself" (1993:101).

However, capacity building is more than just increasing self-esteem, although that is a building block. Capacity building occurs when the potential exists for women to act on their increased self-esteem by branching out into different arenas of their lives or by networking. Karen O'Souza's comments reflect how reflexive this process of growth is:

Women know how to solve their problems. They know exactly what they need. Sometimes they don't know they know. Just connecting with somebody else that is not from their community and being able to talk with that person demonstrates to them that they know.

She goes on to explain how in the Guyanese women's organization Red Thread, they have found it useful to "create access for women to move around and to meet with other women and experiences."

This is also reflected in the words of a workshop participant who says: "women must be given the educational chance to move past the struggles of their daily lives and be exposed to different kinds of realities."

In an interview, a woman agrees with the importance of personal and political growth through networking, and suggests that money be spent "linking women at the grassroots in different countries" through the mediation of women's organizations.

A workshop participant agrees, pointing out this is particularly important given that women come from different cultures. She says:

My focus is on different groups of grassroots women, but we do not isolate ourselves from mainstream women's groups and what we can learn from the groups. It is important for us to integrate.

Karen O'Souza emphasizes the particular need for capacity building in a historical context of colonization and dictatorship. She says:

A part of the legacy of dictatorship is a real breaking down of self-esteem and self-confidence and destruction of people's interests and organization and a real distrust of people for each other because they have been oppressed by one of their own.

But Linda Peake reminds the women in the conference she is attending that:

The notion of self-esteem as the fundamental issue that we have to deal with is as much an issue in the developed world as it is in the developing world, and until women's self-esteem raises, they are not going to be in a position to enter into debate.

So that capacity building becomes a reflexive process of growth that leads to an increase in the perceived and actual strength of individual women as well as women's groups or organizations. It also provides potential for understanding differences and building trust, not only in ones personal abilities but in each other.

Dynamic Process Model

The element titled Dynamic Process Model outlines the nature of change in the gender planning process that allows it to reflect the transformative, contextual and political quality of the planning situation and the planning goal. It includes qualities such as

flexibility, an openness to change, malleability and iterative. As women's self-esteem and capacities grow, so do their needs and desires, and as a consequence their roles in the planning process may change and their visions for the process and its goals may also change. A dynamic process is also imperative given that specificity changes from context to context, or as one workshop participant puts it, "culture is not static, culture is always evolving." Another woman agrees saying, "All human societies evolve, so it must be an evolution process."

A woman from the Philippines said that the kind of development process she wanted was one that was "self iterating and self-reliant."

Still another woman comments that an open educational process can use whatever is happening in women's lives "as a tool in your education." And because women's daily lives change, and their political understanding of their situations change, a process must be able to adapt.

In order to benefit from the uniqueness of each situation and to capitalize on the creativity of people with a diversity of views, the planning process must recognize that gender roles and relations are malleable and changing. Planning processes must be adaptable to cultural values and larger programme goals which will change as a result of "debate, negotiation and conflict resolution," which are inherent in gender planning (Moser, 1993:89; Peake, 1992).

Each stage of the process needs to overlap and interact with another. Participation, input and strategic planning are on one continual loop which allows the process to adapt to both external forces and to the effects of gender planning itself. "Because gender planning is ultimately about meeting women's strategic gender needs it is not the type of planning where you can have some kind of blueprint approach" (Peake, 1992: conference presentation).

Support For Fundamental Change

Regardless of who designs the agenda, working for change is a challenging enterprise and not a neutral one. To be effective in the long-term goal of equity and empowerment for women, planning policies and programmes must challenge limiting stereotypes and structures which restrict and prescribe gender divisions of labour and relations of power. This element deals with change at the structural level, which because of the political nature of fundamental change, means it also deals with the inevitable conflict that arises when change is instigated.

However, as many of the research participants and women in conferences pointed out, despite the energy expended as a result of conflicts of differences, it was the discoveries of common struggles and the building of strategies and solutions, that provided the most hope for achievement.

It is a challenge we must accept as part of the healing process says a First Nations woman at a gathering of Aboriginal women:

One of the challenges is to look at how to deal with the 'isms' of the world. How to deal with the patriarchy, the classism, the racism, the ethnocentrism. Trying to talk about them, confronting them, and by doing so break the barrier.

Another woman at the same conference spoke of another kind of conflict, one based in the diversity of women:

There are some real conflicts between feminists and Aboriginal women because Aboriginal women are taught that women's role is a very important one, but a different one from men...So our roles in community decision-making, in leadership differ.

Yet, a woman from Guatemala who was interviewed about her work with women in the Americas stated that: "if there was any hope in achieving any change it is precisely because of what women are doing at many different levels."

Other women spoke about the conflict that arises, on different levels, when women work across cultures to bring about women's emancipation. One woman says:

With changes on the part of women come changes in their relations with men, and possibly conflict. We must accept that change can bring a period of adjustment or conflict and the agents of change must be supportive through the period of conflict.

This was supported by the comment that:

In Thailand, when women do become aggressive or assertive, they are accused of having been influenced by foreign ideas...and there is no organization to really counter this.

This last comment raises interesting issues pertaining to debates around culture. While many of the participants commented on the importance of recognizing the need to see diversity when doing gender planning, some also supported the idea that there was also, on a general level, some sense of solidarity around common struggles. Yet planners often view diversity of culture differently. Either they ignore it, out of the blindness of ethnocentricity, or as Moser suggests, claim that planning is neutral or point to culture as a constraint to addressing gender needs. "The use of this term ['culture'] in such a pejorative manner, as a causal explanation of failure, raises the issue of the extent to which planning is a neutral activity" (1993:7).

But , as Brett argues, the debate imbedded in the conflict can be twisted another way.

It is often argued that by addressing gender the traditions or culture of a society are being tampered with. This is not necessarily the case and the attitudes to gender may be no more 'traditional' than attitudes to class or power. When the traditions and cultural attitudes to gender are clarified, then the actual gender relations can be assessed within a programme or project (1991:6).

Mehta (1991) concurs, stating that it is considered taboo to question culture or tradition, especially at the level of the household, which as Peake (1992) argues, is the locus for

maintaining the relations of power and where rules are redefined for maintaining and allocating resources.

Stereotypes, assumptions and norms around culture and gender become conflated and can be perceived by women and planners as barriers to taking action for change. As one research participant stated about women in her country:

It is unlikely that Thai women will aggressively lobby for change due to cultural influences...it is a negative trade-off to choose to either be subordinated to men, or be rejected by our culture. Gender issues are culturally based.

Gender planning then, must be willing to support women and men as they negotiate through the periods of conflict that arise out of working towards major transformations in the gender relations of power, distribution of resources and gender divisions of labour. Due to the contextual nature of gender planning, this will need to occur at micro and macro levels, linking discussions of the household to debates on the impact of structural adjustment programs; all within the varied contexts of diversity.

6.0 IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNERS AND CONCLUSION

Approaching development from a relational perspective which addresses both gender and diversity requires that planners plan with participants in order to tailor a planning approach which meets the gender needs of women in a particular context. Given that the feminization of poverty has not been reversed in two development decades, it is critical that planners be flexible and pragmatic, and not bound by theory, when involving themselves in development projects. "The point is that there is a limited amount of time and energy and the time that gets put into theory-building gets taken out of action" (Poff, 1989:7). And it is the element of consciousness-raising for action which will eventually mobilize women to take steps to contribute to the necessary fundamental changes required for their full empowerment and equity with men.

Three areas which have implications for changing the planning process have emerged as priorities in the late 1980s and 1990s:

1. Women in developed countries are re-evaluating their own backyards as a place to begin applying development strategies.
2. The older WID model is being critiqued and new gender planning theories are being put forward cooperatively by women from a diversity of cultures and countries.
3. New standards of analysis and new methodology are evolving from the new theories -- ones which support increasing levels of empowerment and participation.

6.1. Broad Implication For Planners

Gender planning has several broad implications for planners, which are listed below and outlined in more detail in sub-sections 6.1.1, 6.1.2 and 6.1.3

1. Planners must recognize the importance of creating a process which includes critical participation by *all* affected. Ideally this means empowering women and men to participate fully in the design and implementation of projects and policies. It also entails providing the means for people to research the causes of their circumstances, and engage in debate, negotiation, decision-making and problem-solving. For the planner this may mean a shift in attitude from an "us and them" mentality to thinking in terms of "us" only. For example, from planning for women, to planning with women; and ideally, empowering women to plan for themselves.

2. Planners should question the definition of their role as neutral players in a planning process. Not only have planners never been value-free, they can't be. If planners accept that gender planning will give rise to new conflicts as a result of bringing about the systemic changes which are the goal of gender planning, then planners are compelled to place themselves politically in the process.

3. Planning schools, if they are training for planning benefits for all people, (50% of whom are women), must then specifically provide planning students with opportunity to learn about the conditions and status of women in the world; and be taught about planning which incorporates gender planning processes, and the criteria for diversity-sensitive gender planning, outlined in chapter 5.0.

6.1.1 Gender and Diversity Awareness

1. Planners must be encouraged to be self-reflective and honestly open in terms of their own biases, stereotypes, and centricities in the planning process. This means regularly doing a self-assessment of their own gender biases and examining their own points of bias and blindness in their awareness of diversity.
2. Planners must question and be honest about limits to accountability and their ability to commit to long-term commitments.
3. Planners need to be aware and supportive of the process of debate, negotiation and conflict resolution that naturally arises out of planning which is transformative.

4. Planners doing gender planning should do several types of analysis including:
- Resource Analysis which asks what resources exist (political, economic and time), who has access to them and who holds control?
 - Political Analysis which asks who benefits from the access to resources?
 - Activity Analysis which asks what do women and men actually do, when do they do it and why? It profiles activities which take place in the home as well as in commercial and community spheres. Gender analysis differentiates data which is collected and analyzed according to gender.
 - Participation Analysis which asks who is participating and how? Who would like to participate but has barriers to doing so? What is preventing people from participating?
5. Planners need to create and support opportunities for personal and collective capacity building through a variety of techniques, such as networking and linking, personal histories and stories, popular education, collective lobbying, skill building and transfer, and negotiation skills.

6.1.2 The Planner's Role

The role of the planner in diversity-sensitive gender-planning includes the following functions:

- Facilitator: The planner helps create a forum for consciousness raising for action. The planner contributes in a way which will offer people an opportunity to see the bigger picture, and to better understand both micro and macro dynamics and structures impacting on their lives.
- Lobbyist: Projects of a participatory nature, particularly those dealing with the empowerment of women, are underfunded and undersupported. The planner can be of significant help in this area, and in effecting political change.
- Go-Between: The planner is in a strategic position to relay the actions and intentions of administrators, officials and bureaucrats to a group in order that they understand their opportunities and obstacles better. The same dynamic is also true for information flowing in the other direction.
- Participant: The planner is a participant in the project. This is a two-way relationship in which the planner has as much to learn and contribute as anyone else in the process.
- Mediator: Because gender planning involves debate, negotiation and conflict resolution as a result of conflicts which arise as a result of change and diversity, planners are in a position to implement mediation and negotiation skills.

6.1.3 A Gendered Look at Planning Dynamics

In gender planning, planners would be wise to recognize the following dynamics.

- Gender cannot be separated from other social organizing principles, such as class, race, culture and religion.

- Traditional definitions of development are still based on theories and models which don't question the basic relationships of power or leave room for women's experiences. Therefore, it is important for planners to actively seek the participation, opinions and expertise of women in order that women can tell their stories for themselves.

- Women are not often involved in identifying problems. Women's "participation" has many interpretations, but it does not always better the position or condition of women. Including women more, and including more women is not necessarily the same as equitable, or the 'critical participation' of women.

- Proponents of development projects often assume that increasing women's skills and resources in areas socially associated with females will bring overall benefits to those women. Meeting women's concrete or practical gender needs does not necessarily lead to meeting their strategic gender need for equity and empowerment.

- Planners should view all roles as flexible and not biology specific. Sometimes women will want to fulfill roles traditionally assigned to men, in order to meet their needs.

- Too often the concerns that women have are translated indirectly, due to constraints on their full participation, through a fieldworker, so that they are no longer grounded in the experience of the women. The default tends to be the language, ideology and values of the development planner, proponent or agency.

- Traditionally most fieldworkers, program developers and field contacts have been men while support staff tend to be women. This has an affect on how women's circumstances are interpreted and their needs misunderstood.

- Development issues are global issues, and so-called women's issues are everyone's issues. Both are increasingly linked through migration, tourism, multinational corporations, militarization, telecommunications and the production of advanced technology, education, and development programs. Development planners usually only consider these factors marginally. A process which includes contextual holistic planning would meet the gender needs of women better.

- Planning is too often done from afar by foreign non-government organizations. This process too often involves defining problems, goals, and solutions from the bias of western, male developers. Planners should be encouraged to question the ethics and effectiveness of not promoting women's full participation in planning.

6.2 Conclusion

Despite two decades of development activity, the state of women is no better. The feminization of poverty continues to grow and women in general remain subordinated to men. Four serious barriers to achieving any significant change are: (1) a need to question the basic assumptions of the dominant development paradigm; (2) the subordination and marginalization of women within societies, and within the development planning process preventing women's creative and full participation; (3) the lack of a fully implemented planning tradition that is aware and sensitive to not only gender, but to diversity in general; and (4) and planners who don't view planning as value-laden and are aware of their own ethnocentric biases.

There has been a great deal of work carried out on developing and implementing projects from the perspective of WID, but it can be argued that this has been largely ineffective because of weaknesses in the WID theory and how it has been put into practice. How successful can women and development be when it is not based on a conceptual framework that supports fundamental feminist change? Projects are only now beginning to be evaluated and analyzed from a development perspective that acknowledges gender relations of power and control. However, equity and empowerment for women in the development process has barely transgressed beyond the rhetoric of policy into other stages of planning practice.

Women from developing countries, and women who have been marginalized in developed countries have raised their voices above those of other women in a way which is now being heard. This has been a triumph for all women who refused to limit the goals of feminism and development to those defined by the western growth-with-trickle-down model of development. This has resulted in new planning approaches that focus on empowerment and include issues of diversity in planning debate.

All too slowly, development proponents are realizing the advantages and necessity of supporting women's strategic gender need to be agents of their own change in the development process. Within this framework, planners must take particular steps to ensure that all aspects of any planning process are implemented from a gender planning perspective that is sensitive to context and complexities of diversity. This inevitably requires that local women are empowered to be full participants in the process of their own emancipation from subordination due to culturally specific gender divisions of labour and gendered relations of power.

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APPENDIX I Invitation To Workshop Participants

Dear Friend:

Thank you for agreeing to join me for a workshop on women and development. I look forward to an enjoyable day of exchanging ideas and questions on the subject of women's lives, development agendas, the urban experience, and much more about how women experience their lives in the development context.

In preparation for my masters thesis in community development and international planning, I am trying to understand the implications that a gender analysis, or women and development approaches have for planners, but particularly for women in various cultural settings.

In the process of researching this topic and in my own experience many questions have come to me. Is gender and development a middle-class, white, western construction that is meaningless to women in developing countries, or is there a useful place for its application? Is talking about gender significantly different than talking about women, when working with people at the community level? How can we transform sound theory into strategic and meaningful practice without alienating women who do not think in terms of "theory"? How can we be generally sensitive to gender, or women's needs while still being respectful of particular cultures and contexts?

Keeping these questions, and others you may have, in mind, my hope is to use the ideas that arise from our workshop session to inform the development of criteria which will be useful for planners -- community or professional -- who want to develop programmes which are sensitive to women's needs as well as community needs.

I feel it is critically important to have the benefit of a broader vision of what gender-sensitive criteria for planning would look like. As such, I welcome your participation in a workshop on this topic. Please feel free to contribute your own ideas about how we might prioritize our discussion. I feel that your experience in community development is very valuable to this process and look forward to learning from your ideas.

I would hope that the ideas expressed in the workshop will become part of my M.A. thesis, which of course will be available for use by all participants. Perhaps we can take a few minutes at the beginning of the day to discuss what products we would like to see evolve from our day together. I assure everyone complete anonymity (unless you indicate you wish otherwise).

Please feel free to call me anytime at the above number if you need further clarification on any aspect of the day. See you soon! Many thanks in advance.

Sincerely, Frances