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**IMPLEMENTING GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT THEORY:
ASSESSING PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL AS A GAD TECHNIQUE**

by

MORAG ELIZABETH HUMBLE, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for a degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Political Science

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
5 December 1994

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**IMPLEMENTING GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT THEORY:
ASSESSING PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL AS A GAD TECHNIQUE**

submitted by

Morag Humble, B.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

Chair, Department of Political Science

Thesis Supervisor

Carleton University
December 20, 1994

ABSTRACT

Gender and development theory provides a coherent critique of women in development practice, yet its impact in the field has been limited. This thesis argues that GAD cannot easily be grafted onto mainstream development approaches, and therefore requires its own technique. Three essential elements of a GAD technique are identified: it must be critical, participatory and reflexive. The thesis evaluates the potential of participatory rural appraisal to meet these requirements. Theoretically, PRA's core principles of facilitating local analysis, sharing, and maintaining self-critical awareness resonate with GAD's objectives. However, PRA is not automatically gender-aware. Two projects that used PRA to promote women's empowerment provide evidence to assess its practical compatibility with GAD. The conclusion highlights the tension between PRA's rapid approach and GAD's critical perspective, the need for more mechanisms to diffuse or manage gender conflict, and the centrality of commitment to equity by facilitators and development agencies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals have been instrumental in the production of this thesis, in a variety of different ways. To begin with, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Laura Macdonald for taking on this project and helping it through to completion against considerable odds. The case studies would not have been possible without the assistance of and information provided by Meena Bilgi of AKRSP in Ahmedabad; Nicky May of the Aga Khan Foundation in London; Sara Kindon at the University of Wellington, New Zealand, and Drew Knight at the University of Waterloo. Deirdre Collings provided timely and thought-provoking advice on more than one occasion, and the hospitality of Ron and Gloria Collings was invaluable in the final production process. I am continually grateful for the support of my own family. Through it all, however, it was the love and encouragement of Don Hubert which sustained me and made this dream a reality.

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LIST OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS

AKF	Aga Khan Foundation, London, UK
AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, Ahmedabad, India
<i>banjar</i>	a traditional sub-village organization in Bali
BSDP	Bali Sustainable Development Project
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CCIC	Canadian Council for International Cooperation
CAP	community action plan, a possible PRA product
<i>dusun</i>	a sub-village community, the smallest administrative unit of the formal government structure in Indonesia
ECOGEN	Ecology, Community Organization and Gender, a joint project of Clark University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
EMDI	Environmental Management Development in Indonesia, a CIDA project
GAD	gender and development
GAF	Gender Analysis Framework
GVM	Gram Vikas Mandal, a village institution promoted by AKRSP
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development, London
LDC	less developed country
MVM	Mahila Vikas Mandal, a village women's development group promoted by AKRSP

PAR	Participatory Action Research
PKK	<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i>, or Family Prosperity and Guidance, the Indonesian government's main programme for integrating women into social and economic development
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SDS	Sustainable Development Strategy for Bali, developed by the BSDP Team
UCE	University Consortium on the Environment, part of the EMDI
WID	women in development
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VRMP	village resource management plan, a possible PRA product

INTRODUCTION

Women perform two thirds of the world's working hours, receive only ten percent of the world's wages, and own only one percent of its land. This ubiquitous statement about the global position of women came from the Copenhagen conference of 1980, in the middle of the UN Decade for Women. It is used as a clarion call by many associated with the field of international development to promote action to improve the status and situation of women. In broad terms, two kinds of action can be undertaken to address the harsh inequities reflected in this statement. One could confront the issues of women's working hours, pay and property ownership, designing programmes to decrease the first and increase the other two. Or one could try to distil the economic and ideological structures which produce and support such inequitable arrangements between the sexes, and confront these root causes themselves. These alternative responses represent in crude terms the distinction between the "women in development" (WID) and "gender and development" (GAD) approaches.

WID has become an important mainstay of development theory and practice during the past twenty years. While it has focused attention on the tremendous suffering and disadvantage of the majority of women in the developing world and has produced considerable efforts to ameliorate these circumstances, it has had very little

impact on changing the inequitable balance of work and reward referred to above. It has, in a sense, been attacking the symptoms of an illness that it has not correctly diagnosed and, understandably, has failed to provide the cure. GAD, on the other hand, has contributed a far more sensitive and accurate diagnostic framework that identifies the structural causes of women's suffering, but lacks a method for the treatment of such a disease.

GAD theorists developed a coherent critique of the WID movement, attacking the latter's search for a panacea which could be given to women to ensure their development, such as training, or credit, or education, or self-esteem. They argued that the crucial constraint for women's advancement was not a lack of any of these elements, but rather the structures and processes which create and maintain male superiority and female subordination. The focus of attention should therefore not be women alone, but rather both men and women, and the relations between them. These relations needed to become more equitable for women to benefit substantially from development.¹

Yet, while many development practitioners accept the logic of the GAD

¹It should be noted that gender is not the only basis of inequality in communities, and that lumping all men together as oppressors and all women together as victims, purely on the basis of their gender, is neither accurate nor useful. Hence, given that women and men are divided along class, racial and other lines, it should be assumed that those who benefit from the status quo include women as well as men, and those who suffer from it include men as well as women. GAD's treatment of class and race is reviewed in the second chapter.

critique of WID, they still utilize a WID approach in the field. WID, which has been described the "add women and stir" campaign, is easily grafted on to mainstream development practice. GAD, on the other hand, has rejected these other approaches as "gender blind" and of little strategic benefit to women, hence it cannot easily be integrated into current initiatives. GAD requires a different kind of development practice than WID, one which is more inclusive, able first to understand and then begin to change the system of gender subordination in a given society.

This thesis argues that gender and development theory has not been widely implemented at a field level in part because it rejects mainstream development methods but has not yet developed alternative ones. GAD is lacking an appropriate technique which satisfies its own internal demands for critical assessment, gender-balanced participation, and reflexivity. Furthermore, it argues that participatory rural appraisal (PRA), which has been developed over the last fifteen years, shows considerable promise as a GAD technique and should be considered an important tool to facilitate the greater implementation of a gender approach in development practice.

The first chapter of this thesis traces the origins of gender and development theory, which evolved as an attempt to understand the continued subordination of women within the development process. It began as a critique of WID from marxist and feminist perspectives that sought to understand the process of social change and the nature of patriarchy. GAD maintained that the WID focus on "women only"

initiatives and solutions ignored the fact that women's lives were shaped considerably by men, and therefore that a starting point for analysis must be the relations between women and men.

The GAD position has been advanced most coherently by academics, in both the developing and developed world. It has become important in grounding research on the position of women in developing societies, but it has had less practical impact on development projects. Many practitioners have agreed in theory with the critique of WID, yet have lacked methodological tools with which to implement a GAD approach. The chapter outlines two broad reasons for this imbalance between WID and GAD in the field: a complex cluster of political constraints and inadequate methods or techniques. The former largely concern organizational politics and male resistance to structural change in gender relations. These political constraints operate both within the development industry, and within patriarchal societies as a whole (shared by Northern and Southern countries). The latter stem from the fact that GAD theorists have highlighted the complexity of gender relations in different socio-economic contexts, but have not shown how these complexities can be simplified in order for development workers to translate theory into action in planning and implementing projects. While recognizing that technical concerns are only one part, perhaps the easier part, of implementing GAD, they have received insufficient attention. The technical concern, therefore, is the focus of the rest of the thesis.

The second chapter provides a deeper analysis of the core tenets of GAD theory, and outlines its emancipatory agenda. GAD is centrally concerned with women's strategic gender interests for the transformation of inequitable gender relations. Yet women's subordinate position in the gender division of labour, combined with their poverty, generates a range of pressing practical needs which demand attention and can obscure women's longer-term, strategic interests. Addressing women's empowerment within this reality requires a technique which displays three core characteristics:

- 1) It must be **critical**, involving a detailed analysis of local culture in order to uncover the particular structures of gender relations and the gender division of labour operating in each specific context.
- 2) It must be **participatory**, allowing women themselves to define their own needs and priorities, and engaging at a grassroots level with both women and men.
- 3) It must be **reflexive** and self-critical, continually questioning and challenging the attitudes and assumptions of development "professionals" and agencies. It must also be self-monitoring, encouraging ongoing analysis and revisions to project goals and methods, with participants themselves determining the necessity for and direction of change.

Synergistic interrelationships exist between these three elements: each must be

present for the others to function properly and for the emancipatory potential of GAD to be realized. Existing frameworks which have been presented as techniques for the implementation of GAD theory are not able to meet these three requirements. The two most influential and well-known frameworks are the Gender Analysis Framework, developed at the Harvard Institute for International Development, and the gender planning methodology developed by Caroline Moser. Both frameworks have fundamental weaknesses regarding their participatory content, and both are more oriented towards the needs of project planners in development agencies than women in Third World communities. Their limitations necessitate an examination of alternative development approaches to determine if any are suitable to implement a GAD approach.

Chapter Three examines whether participatory rural appraisal has the potential to meet these criteria of a GAD technique. The term PRA describes a growing range of methods which have been developed "to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act."² The long term goal of PRA is to enable local people to take more command of their lives and resources in order to be able to improve their own well-being as they define it. PRA's origins and methods are reviewed in order to draw connections to GAD goals and technical demands. The treatment of women and gender issues in PRA has been

²Robert Chambers, "Rural appraisal: rapid, relaxed and participatory", paper prepared for a workshop on Participatory Rural Appraisal sponsored by the Aga Khan Foundation of Canada, Ottawa, 29-30 September 1992, p. 1.

mixed, but is increasing in both quantity and quality. As a result of the gendered nature of the sectors in which PRA operates, gender analysis is being recognized as an essential part of PRA processes, particularly with regard to appraisal and planning, monitoring and evaluation, and training and orientation. Thus, while there is no automatic priority given to women's needs and decision-making in PRA as would be expected in a GAD approach, there is a sensitivity to the gender dimensions of power. A review of various exercises described in the PRA literature illustrates the compatibility between the core principles of PRA and the critical, participatory and reflexive requirements of a GAD technique.

Chapter Four provides a more systematic and in-depth review of two examples where PRA has been used in a gender context, with women's empowerment as an explicit goal. Two projects - the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme in India and the Bali Sustainable Development Project in Indonesia - are examined to illustrate both the successes and the limitations of PRA as a GAD technique, using criteria developed in the second chapter. In evaluating these studies, three questions are addressed: (1) were each of the technical requirements present, (2) were they effective or not, and (3) were the weaknesses inherent in PRA as a technique or were they specific to these projects?

The fourth chapter is not a traditional case study. This is partly because it does not consider a traditional development approach. PRA is a fairly recent

innovation, with many projects being implemented in an ongoing or open-ended manner, by many agencies operating on a small and relatively informal basis. As a result, formal project documentation, particularly evaluation reports, is limited. For both cases, a range of published and unpublished documents addressing project objectives, implementation and monitoring were consulted, and this information was filled out through correspondence with project personnel, particularly the two women responsible for the projects' gender components.

The focus for both projects is on the time during which PRA was being utilized in conjunction with explicit gender objectives. As a result, the overall history and full range of activities of each project will not be considered. In particular, the Aga Khan Rural Support Project in India was operational for several years and utilized various participatory techniques prior to developing its own approach to PRA. This thesis is concerned with the project following its elaboration of a concrete gender strategy in 1991.

This thesis is centrally concerned with the technical requirements of gender and development theory. It argues that the question of technique, understood as a combination of methods and tools linked by appropriate attitudes, is crucial to realizing the transformatory potential of GAD. However, the development of a specialized GAD technique cannot remove all the barriers to the wider implementation of GAD in the field. While it is beyond the scope of the thesis to consider these

other obstacles in any depth, a brief review is provided in the concluding chapter in order to situate the thesis and its significance more widely. Some of the remaining obstacles relate to the issue of male dominance and resistance to structural change, classified as a "political" constraint in the first chapter. Others relate to the difficulties in promoting "strong" participation through development agencies, particularly the large governmental and multilateral institutions which control so much of the development agenda as well as its financial resources. These too are "political" obstacles to GAD, but of a different sort, and requiring different solutions.

An elaboration of GAD's technical requirements and the development of appropriate GAD techniques is, nevertheless, a task of some urgency, since it offers a greater range of options to those practitioners committed to supporting women's self-empowerment. The refinement of a technique such as PRA specifically for the implementation of a GAD approach provides strategies for dealing with both of these kind of constraints, if it cannot eliminate them. First, a technique that is both critical and participatory would enable practitioners to work with both women and men in a way that facilitates the cooperation of men, rather than arouses their hostility. In this way, new "spaces" are opened up for women's dialogue and action in support of their own development needs. Second, a technique that is both participatory and reflexive would encourage the establishment of new relationships between both women and men in and between developed and developing countries, based on mutual respect, support and solidarity.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT THEORY

Little attention was given to the impact of development efforts on women before 1970. That year saw the publication of Esther Boserup's ground-breaking study *Women's Role in Economic Development*¹, which examined the effects, often negative, of agricultural mechanization, industrialization and urbanization on women in the developing world. For the first time, Boserup highlighted women's considerable contribution to national economies by their productive labour as both farmers and non-agricultural workers, and challenged the development industry to take a new and serious look at women as a force for development.

In the ensuing years, challenges have in turn been directed at Boserup's approach, and the women in development movement that it created. In highlighting the ways in which women had been left out of mainstream development projects, WID failed to recognize how they were incorporated: as unpaid, overworked, yet invisible labourers, within and beyond the home, in subordinate positions to men. The strongest critique of the WID approach is provided by gender and development

¹Esther Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, 1970 Reprint ed. (London: Earthscan), 1989.

theory. This chapter elaborates the GAD critique of WID, focusing on the latter's failure to address women's strategic gender interests and improve the position of women in developing societies.

Despite the depth and theoretical effectiveness of the GAD critique, however, there is little question that WID still dominates in project activities concerned with the situation of women. The limited implementation of GAD is a result, in part, of a wide array of political obstacles presented by the personalities and structures of the modern development industry. However, of more immediate concern is GAD's lack of methodology. While GAD offers a coherent theory that rejects mainstream development techniques, it has not yet developed its own tools for operationalizing this theory. That is, GAD has sensitized development workers to the complexity of gender relations, but has failed to provide them with concrete methods to begin to make these relations more equitable.

Women in Development

Boserup's study appeared at a time of considerable change for women in the donor countries of North America and Europe. As Pam Simmons notes:

The complaint that women had been excluded from development first occurred in the midst of the new wave of feminism which swept across the US and Europe in the 1970s. What was being demanded at that time was equal rights - equal opportunities, equal pay, the right to be regarded as fully 'human' and

the right to be heard in public.²

The term "women in development" was coined by women in the Washington D.C. chapter of the Society for International Development. Women in the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations (UN) lobbied for increased resources to ensure that women benefitted from development as well as men. They were equally concerned to open up more management positions for women in their own organizations, which were overwhelmingly male-dominated. Thus, from the start, there was a strong western, liberal feminist bias in WID, manifest in an implicit faith in the modernization process which western countries believed was an emancipator of women, and in an emphasis on women's public, rather than their private, roles and positions.

The WID lobby scored several early successes. In 1973, the US Senate signed the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which required US assistance to "encourage and promote the integration of women' into all aspects of development planning and into policy-making bodies themselves."³ USAID set up an office to promote WID throughout the agency's programmes. Furthermore, with added pressure from Scandinavian women and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the

²Pam Simmons, "Women in development: a threat to liberation," *The Ecologist* 22, no. 1 (1992), p.19.

³Kate Young, *Planning Development with Women: Making a World of Difference* (London: Macmillan), 1993, p. 24.

UN declared 1975 International Women's Year, celebrated through the first World Conference on Women in Mexico City, followed by a UN Decade for Women (1976-85). The high profile of these UN-sponsored activities spurred many governments into action, at least in the form of collecting national statistics on women and establishing national machineries to address women's concerns. A large number of NGOs, women's activist groups and international networks were formed over the Decade. The World Plan of Action, signed by governments in Mexico in 1975, increased the profile of women's concerns in development activities and organizations, and provided a mandate for both government and NGO activities over the ensuing decade.

The primary focus of the early WID lobby was to increase equity between women's and men's involvement in development projects and aid agency management. Despite the successes noted above, there was considerable resistance to this equity approach in both the major development organizations and many Third World governments. As a result, the meaning and interpretation of WID altered over time. Keeping in line with changing trends in development theory and practice, the theme of gender equity was replaced in the literature by a more instrumental view of women as key resources for development. In this regard, WID proponents were extremely practical; perhaps their personal stakes in the continuation of institutional WID programmes encouraged them to adapt to new economic and political circumstances. In particular, two common variations of WID deserve brief

consideration here: the "anti-poverty approach" and the "efficiency approach."

The "anti-poverty approach" to WID, as it was classified by Mayra Buvinic⁴, arose as a result of both the resistance encountered by the original equity approach and the growth in popularity of the basic needs strategy being promoted in the late 1970s.⁵ It focused on increasing women's productivity by expanding their access to employment and income-generating opportunities. While the equity approach was associated with largely top-down initiatives in promotion of women's equality, such as legal change, the anti-poverty approach spawned much smaller-scale activities such as micro-enterprise development and primary health care.

The second major WID variant, the "efficiency approach"⁶ coincided with the shift in World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies towards economic stabilization and structural adjustment programmes as a response to the marked deterioration in the world economy in the early 1980s. In this version of WID, intervention on women's behalf is justified not out of any concern for gender equality, but on the grounds of tapping women's productivity to increase overall

⁴Mayra Buvinic, "Women's issues in Third World poverty: a policy analysis," in *Women and Poverty in the Third World*, ed. Mayra Buvinic, Margaret Lycette, and William McGreavy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 1983, 14-33.

⁵Proponents of the basic needs approach included the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Bank.

⁶Caroline O. N. Moser, "Gender planning in the Third World: meeting practical and strategic gender needs," *World Development* 17, no. 11 (1989): 1799-1825.

economic efficiency and promote national economic growth. Increasing women's productivity is a convenient strategy to make up for reductions in social service provision by governments, a common effect of structural adjustment programmes. The "efficiency" argument is still the most widely used rationale for the women-focused programmes of the major development agencies. A good example is found in the World Bank's progress report on their own WID activities:

The rationale for any long-term effort by the World Bank is its potential contribution to economic growth and the reduction of poverty. The Bank's women in development initiative is no exception. Expanding women's opportunities, especially in ways that enhance their productivity and earning potential, will raise women's own living standards and contribute to better economic performance, the reduction of poverty, and improved family welfare.⁷

Behind the efficiency rationale there is an assumption, evident in the above quote, that both equity and poverty reduction concerns can be addressed through an increase in women's economic participation in development.

Despite its varying objectives,⁸ WID's implementation in the field has been remarkably uniform. The starting point for WID planning has been to examine the

⁷World Bank, *Women in Development: A Progress Report on the World Bank Initiative* (Washington: World Bank), 1990, p. 1.

⁸Two other policy approaches to WID are described in the literature: the "welfare approach" and the "empowerment approach". I will not be considering either of these here. The former is essentially a "pre-WID" approach, and can be used to describe a whole range of "charity" style interventions on behalf of women, almost exclusively in support of their role as mothers. The latter, while identified by Moser as a WID policy approach, is more akin to GAD than WID, incorporating feminist analysis of the causes and structures of women's oppression and focusing on strategic gender needs. See Buvinic, "Women's issues in Third World poverty"; and Moser, "Gender planning in the Third World". The GAD critique of WID, incorporating the differences noted here, is discussed below.

roles and responsibilities of women and men, and to develop projects to protect and enhance women's roles.⁹ "Women's projects" - whether designed as independent initiatives or as components in so-called "integrated" development schemes - began, therefore, from an acceptance of existing social structures and the prevailing gender division of labour.¹⁰ Projects promoting women's employment opportunities or income-generating schemes concentrated, for the most part, on enhancing their "traditional" skills, those which were an extension of their domestic responsibilities: sewing, crafts production, catering, health care.

At the time when WID was reaching the height of its popularity during the Decade for Women, an alternative analysis of the problems and needs of women in the development process was being formulated. Known as "gender and development"

⁹I will be using Moser's three-fold classification of women's roles into productive, reproductive and community-management roles. Productive labour is involved in the creation of exchange values (such as wages), while reproductive labour is concerned with the creation of use values (which are consumed rather than exchanged), and includes such activities as household management and growing family food as well as child-bearing and rearing. Community management activities are based on the provision of items of collective consumption. Men are widely (though inaccurately) seen as solely responsible for productive labour, and are largely free of responsibility for reproductive labour, and Moser characterizes their role in the community as leadership rather than management. Moser, "Gender planning in the Third World."

¹⁰The gender division of labour (also called the sexual division of labour) is the allocation of different tasks, including productive and reproductive tasks, to women and men on the basis of their (socially-constructed) gender. All societies have some form of gender division of labour; furthermore, women are almost everywhere assigned the bulk of reproductive labour. Even though the specific form of the gender division of labour can change significantly between societies, in almost all societies the tasks assigned to men are given a higher value than those assigned to women. The gender division of labour can be seen as structuring and reinforcing women's subordination to men. It also creates an interdependence between the sexes, since each relies on the other for the provision of those goods and services which it does not undertake to provide itself. See Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 139-141.

(GAD), it rejected WID's acceptance of the status quo and questioned the sources and nature of women's subordinate position in existing social structures.

The GAD Critique of WID

The distinction between WID and GAD is based first on an appreciation of the difference between sex and gender. While sex is a biological term, gender is a sociological and psychological one: sex is physically given, gender is socially constructed.¹¹ Since gender is socially determined, those characteristics and behaviours which are attributed to and expected from women and men is changeable across time and place. WID is primarily concerned with women by virtue of their sex, while GAD is interested in gender relations: "GAD is not concerned with women *per se* but with the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and men."¹²

While WID began as an initiative of Western women working in development administration, GAD was shaped predominantly by women working in academic environments in both developed and developing countries. GAD theorists "set out to contest the WID approach from a perspective which was informed by the marxist

¹¹An important early study of this distinction is Ann Oakley, *Sex, Gender and Society* (London: Temple Smith), 1972.

¹²Eva Rathgeber, "WID, WAD, GAD: trends in research and practice," *Journal of Developing Areas* 24 (July 1990), p. 494.

analysis of social change, and a feminist analysis of patriarchy."¹³ The Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex hosted an international conference in 1979 to examine the continued subordination of women in the development process. The resulting papers were an important early enunciation of a theory of gender and development. The participants argued, contrary to the view implicit in WID, women were already integrated into development: the problem was that they were consistently, across cultures, relegated to an inferior and subordinate position compared to men.¹⁴

GAD analysis seeks to move beyond illuminating the functions of women and men in society to examining the relations between them, how those relations affect the development process, and how they are perpetuated or changed.¹⁵ An important assumption of GAD theory brought out at the IDS Subordination of Women conference is that, though the gender division of labour creates a certain

¹³Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 134.

¹⁴An alternative analysis to both WID and GAD perspectives has been developed by marxist-oriented "women and development" (WAD) theorists. Like WID, WAD concentrates on the productive role of women at the expense of an analysis of their reproductive role. Like GAD, WAD also begins with the assumption that women are already integrated into the development process in an inferior position. But unlike both, WAD argues that the primary site of women's oppression is not in gender relations, but in the structures of the global capitalist economy. As Rathgeber notes "there is a tension within the WAD perspective that discourages a strict analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men, since both sexes are seen to be disadvantaged within oppressive global structures based on class and capital." Rathgeber, "WID, WAD, GAD," p. 493. A separate analysis of WAD is beyond the scope of this paper, but the importance of class will not be ignored, since the recognition of differences between women (on bases such as class and race) is acknowledged and incorporated within a GAD perspective.

¹⁵Canadian Council for International Cooperation, *Two Halves Make a Whole: Balancing Gender Relations in Development* (Ottawa: CCIC, Match International Centre, and Association québécoise des organismes de coopération internationale), 1991, p. 5.

interdependence between women and men, gender relations are not necessarily harmonious, complementary or non-conflictual:

The belief that what men and women do within their own spheres and domains fits together in a fundamentally cooperative fashion led to the policy position that the benefits of development can be expected to accrue equitably to both genders, even when programmes are directed specifically at men.¹⁶

This conclusion challenges the assumptions behind two decades of "trickle-down" development practice directed by and towards men. It also lays the ground for a strong critique of the WID position, which implicitly supports this same belief through its refusal to look at the role of men in women's lives.

As noted above, WID is based on a strongly liberal feminist position. In keeping with the liberal tradition, it is grounded in a faith in the individual and her own capacity for rationality, utility-maximization and self-betterment, and a belief that women are equally capable to men. Liberal theory tends to downplay the significance of obstacles against an individual maximizing her personal utility - whether such constraints are imposed by other individuals or society in general. The WID focus on women's public and productive roles over their private and reproductive ones is consistent with this tendency. Yet this ignores the formidable constraints placed on

¹⁶Ann Whitehead, "Some preliminary notes on the subordination of women," *IDS Bulletin* 10, no. 3 (1979), p. 10. Amartya Sen has characterized gender relations as "cooperative conflict," and suggests that women are in a weaker negotiating position during conflict due in part to the perception (often shared by both women and men) that they have contributed less to household (and societal) resources, whether or not this is actually the case. See Amartya Sen, "Gender and cooperative conflicts," in *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, ed. Irene Tinker (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1990, 123-49.

women in the private realm. In particular, women's responsibility for reproductive labour has an enormous impact on the options available to them, and women's private lives are constrained by gender relations which uphold male power over women.

GAD theorists were quick to point out that women themselves are not the problem, so it is unreasonable to assume that working with women alone could provide the solution:

The almost exclusive focus on women appears based on the assumption that women can become sole agents of their destiny, without any corresponding change in or reaction from men. Yet women's lives are shaped in very great measure by their relations with men. . . . As a result little thought was given to how women were to be enabled to withstand the outright opposition or covert but by no means less disruptive resistance of men to any change in gender relations and the distribution of the benefits of development.¹⁷

Women in development theory fails to examine the structural nature of the problems women face, restricted to the gender-ascriptive roles of mothers, wives and daughters by cultural norms. High economic as well as social costs are imposed on women for non-conformity. Thus, while WID proposes solutions such as women's greater economic participation, there is no consideration of how women's positions in the family and their responsibility for reproductive labour would affect the solutions proposed:

[WID proponents] are not clear about who will benefit from women's increased economic contribution and there is little discussion of the fact that when women move into waged labour they retain responsibility for reproductive and domestic work. The approach does not even consider

¹⁷Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 130.

integrating men into domestic labour.¹⁸

WID assumes that gender relations will change of their own accord as women become full economic partners in development.¹⁹ Interestingly, this denies the experience of western women, upon which the WID approach is otherwise based, whose own participation in wage labour has increased dramatically throughout this century without any significant decrease in their responsibility for domestic work and child care. If western "modernization" is a model for Third World development, it is an incomplete one with regard to gender equality.

GAD theorists also criticized the wholehearted pursuit of a panacea to solve "women's problems" that characterized much of WID's implementation: if women were only given sufficient training, credit, education or self esteem then they would be able to equally participate in and benefit from development. There are two levels of critique operating here. The first objection is the over-simplification of the causes of women's disadvantaged position and condition and the one-dimensional approach being proposed as a solution. GAD is concerned to show the complex nature of women's subordination and the need to work on many different fronts to address both

¹⁸Betty Plewes and Ricky Stuart, "Women and development revisited: the case for a gender and development approach," in *Conflicts of Interest: Canada and the Third World*, ed. Jamie Swift and Brian Tomlinson (Toronto: Between the Lines), 1991, p. 83.

¹⁹Rathgeber, "WID, WAD, GAD," p. 492. This is similar to the WAD assumption referred to above (footnote 14) that gender equity will follow after the destruction of inequitable international structures. For a discussion of the failure of socialist revolution to emancipate women in Nicaragua, see Maxine Molyneux, "Mobilization without emancipation? Women's interests, the state and revolution in Nicaragua," *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 2 (1985): 227-54.

the causes and the effects of that subordination.

The second objection operates on a deeper level, attacking the aims of mainstream development and the processes by which development is to be achieved. Just as the overall WID approach shifted from "equity" to "anti-poverty" to "efficiency" in response to the changing emphasis in mainstream development theory and practice, so the explanation of the "key" to women's development also reflected priorities identified in the male-dominated mainstream. Thus, extension services for women were promoted when integrated rural development was in style, women's cooperatives were promoted when cooperatives were popular, and so on.²⁰ While this may have been a practical strategy from the perspective of WID managers in overseas aid agencies, it was not necessarily appropriate for meeting either the immediate or the longer-term needs of women in developing countries (who were unlikely to have been consulted about project form or content). The pressure was always to follow the mainstream current and try to find openings for women, despite the fact that the original motivation for promoting WID as an approach was the failure of mainstream development to meet women's needs and provide benefits to them.²¹

²⁰This observation is based on my own experience working as a "WID consultant" at the Canadian International Development Agency from 1990-92.

²¹Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 131.

The distinction between practical and strategic gender interests is at the heart of the GAD critique of WID. The distinction was originally drawn by Maxine Molyneux:

Gender interests are those that women (or men, for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. . . . Strategic interests are derived in the first instance deductively, that is, from the analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist. . . .

Practical gender interests are given inductively and arise from the concrete conditions of women's positioning within the gender division of labour. . . . Practical interests are usually a response to an immediate perceived need, and they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality.²²

GAD theorists argue that, despite its original concern with equality, WID has only been addressing women's practical gender interests and needs, ignoring their strategic interests, and in this way subtly reinforcing, rather than challenging the prevailing forms of gender subordination.²³ Therefore, while WID projects try to improve the condition of women's lives (that is, their daily material circumstances of poverty),

²²Molyneux, "Mobilization without emancipation?", p. 232-233.

²³The difference between interests and needs is suggested by Moser: interest is a prioritized concern, and need is a means by which the concern is satisfied. The question of who defines interests, particularly on the strategic level where they are determined deductively, or who translates interests into needs is of great importance. The language of needs has been criticized as being top-down, translated by experts who know what is best for people, as opposed to the language of interests which is seen as bottom up. The debate is well presented in Naila Kabeer, "Triple roles, gender roles, social relations: the political sub-text of gender training," in *IDS Discussion Paper 313* (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies), 1992.

For the purpose of this paper, it is important that both interests and needs are determined in a participatory manner by or with the women and men concerned. This is more likely to happen naturally at the level of practical interest/needs, since these are defined by people on a daily basis in the course of pursuing their survival strategies, and are more obvious to external planners. It is therefore crucial that the "strategic" side retain its linkage to the grassroots through the use of the term interests rather than needs. In this paper I will refer to practical needs and strategic interests, also used by Young, *Planning Development with Women*.

they do not improve women's position relative to men in their families or societies.

Unfortunately, WID projects may not even successfully improve women's daily material condition, particularly if they are based on an underestimation of the time burden of women's reproductive tasks. This problem is common when the "efficiency" rationale is behind such projects. As Moser suggests:

the efficiency approach relies heavily on the elasticity of women's labour in both their reproductive and community managing roles, and only meets practical gender needs at the cost of longer working hours and increased unpaid work. In most cases, this approach not only fails to reach any strategic gender needs, but also, because of the reductions in resource allocations, results in a serious reduction of the practical gender needs met".²⁴

In essence, therefore, the WID approach merely shifts costs from the paid to the unpaid economy, through the use of women's unpaid time. This shift is not likely to result in either a substantial increase in equity or a decrease in poverty for most women.²⁵

²⁴Moser, "Gender planning in the Third World," p. 1814, emphasis in original.

²⁵While Moser is specifically criticizing the efficiency approach, very similar results have been credited to the anti-poverty approach (and equally to many mainstream, non-WID projects). Women in most developing countries are primarily responsible for the provision of basic needs such as food, clothing, fuel, health-care and often shelter for their families. Many of the "basic needs" projects implemented under the anti-poverty approach in the 1970s and 1980s exploited women's skills in this regard by expanding their "mothering" responsibility to the whole community, for little or no pay. For a discussion of this exploitation of women in community health care projects see Joanne Leslie, Margaret Lycette, and Mayra Buvinic, "Weathering the economic crisis: the crucial role of women in health," in *Health, Nutrition and Economic Crises: Approaches to Policy in the Third World*, ed. D. Bell and M. Reich (Dover, Mass: Auburn Publishing), 1988, 307-48. The negative effects of structural adjustment policies on women are well summarized in the Commonwealth Secretariat, *Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s*, Report of the Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment. (London: Commonwealth Secretariat), 1989.

GAD theory posits that structural change, or change in women's position relative to men, is necessary in order to sustain improvements in women's condition and to meet strategic gender needs. It also highlights the often close relationship between practical and strategic interests: women's practical needs result from their subservient position in the gender division of labour, and it is in their strategic interests for this position to change. Proponents of GAD acknowledge that it is necessary to try to ameliorate the often adverse material circumstances of women's lives, but argue that this should be done in such a manner as to ensure the sustainability of such improvements. Kate Young provides the concept of "transformatory potential" to understand how this connection can be made: "The idea here is to allow the interrogation of practical needs (by women themselves) to see how they can become or transform themselves into strategic concerns."²⁶

This section has shown that gender and development theory provides a strong critique of women in development theory and practice on several grounds, including its restricted focus, its incomplete analysis, and its modernization bias. The central challenge arises from WID's refusal to address women's strategic gender interests. Although WID attempted to justify this rejection through its focus on women's practical gender needs, it has been unsuccessful in meeting even those needs. WID's failure to recognize and acknowledge the impact of men on the lives of women meant

²⁶Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 156.

that WID projects often reinforced the structures of women's oppression (such as the gender division of labour) rather than challenging them.

At best, WID has been able to improve the daily living circumstances of poor women. Yet even here, while WID grew in popularity throughout the Women's Decade, the material condition of many women's lives actually deteriorated; even where improvements in social indicators were recorded, women did not benefit proportionally as much as men from these improvements.²⁷ Since the rise of structural adjustment ideology and the "efficiency approach" to WID, many of these social indicators have fallen below their pre-Decade levels, and increasing burdens have been placed on women's time and energy.

In spite of the successful theoretical challenge that GAD has posed to WID, WID remains the dominant framework within which projects relating to women are developed. By implication, GAD has had little influence on projects. It has not been systematically integrated into development agency approaches, and exists more in rhetoric than practice. The following section explores some of the reasons for this state of affairs.

²⁷Kate Young, "Introduction: reflections on meeting women's needs," in *Women and Economic Development: Local, Regional and National Planning Strategies*, ed. Kate Young (Oxford: Berg and UNESCO), 1988, p.2.

Barriers to GAD's Implementation

The perceived legitimacy of women as a "target group" for development planning and projects grew throughout the 1980s on the strength of WID's argument that development initiatives would be more efficient and effective with the involvement of one hundred percent of the population. In most donor countries and funding agencies, WID units or offices were established and a few women were given the mandate to monitor and improve the involvement of and impact on women of their agency's activities. As GAD arguments concerning the importance of gender relations reached a wider audience, some of these agencies changed the titles of their units or offices from WID to GAD. Almost all began to use the language of gender and gender relations. Women and gender, WID and GAD began to be used synonymously, resulting in a certain degree of confusion. However, in most cases the shift was only rhetorical: styles of working remained unchanged, the efficiency rationale still operated, and women alone remained the target of traditional development projects which reinforced their subordinate place in the prevailing gender division of labour.²⁸

Despite a growing acceptance of the importance of gender and the strength of

²⁸There are some genuine GAD approaches, particularly among NGOs, which are promoting women's strategic interests as well as their practical needs. Examples include the Gender and Development Unit in Oxfam, and the Gender and Development Programme of Match International Centre.

the GAD critique, two principal kinds of obstacles contribute to WID's continued dominance in the field: one political, the other technical.

The Political Barrier: Resistance to Structural Change

GAD's commitment to structural change in favour of women's empowerment renders it highly political from the perspective of development institutions in both donor and developing countries. Despite two decades of WID activity and considerable improvement in the number and position of women in development agencies, the development industry as a whole - donor government agencies, national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations, developing country governments, field offices and local NGOs - is still strongly male-dominated, particularly at the decision-making level. Given its initial acceptance of the gender division of labour (a division which favours men), WID is a less threatening approach than GAD. As the early WID lobby discovered when its equity goals were scaled back, the women's agenda has found official favour only to the degree that radical or fundamental demands for gender and economic equity are replaced by reformist ones.²⁹ GAD maintains a radical stance in favour of women's empowerment demanding commitment to structural change and power shifts in gender and international economic relations.

²⁹Nüket Kardam, *Bringing Women In: Women's Issues in Development Programs* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 1991.

In donor countries, development officials are fond of couching their refusal to consider gender relations as a relevant focus for development action in terms of non-interference with other cultures or traditions. In itself, respect for different cultures or values is laudable, but all too often this "is used as a justification by (Western) practitioners for doing nothing to question, far less weaken, structures of subordination which women in the LDCs are not anxious to preserve."³⁰ These same practitioners fail to understand that even technical, infrastructure-building projects - such as building roads or dams which may open up market access to some new areas or displace various communities - have an enormous impact on gender relations. Usually this impact is to women's detriment, increasing their burden of productive and reproductive work.

Male managers in development institutions may also feel personally threatened by serious discussions about gender equity. Adopting a GAD perspective at an organizational level requires close attention to internal administrative and management structures, as well as to affirmative action and sexual discrimination policies, to ensure that, as one NGO suggests, "we practice what we preach."³¹ Kabeer suggests that men who understand the concept of strategic gender interests tend also to realize that their own male strategic interests may be directly at odds with women's strategic interests, and that the planning agency itself is as likely to be a site of "resistance" as

³⁰Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 132.

³¹CCIC, *Two Halves Make a Whole*, p. 44.

any community in a developing country.³²

The problem of male resistance is compounded by the patriarchal structures in many developing countries. Governments in these countries are often quick to object that plans to promote women's development are "Western impositions" of no interest or relevance to "their" women. Furthermore, the lack of accessibility of state planners to poor women and the near absence of women in senior bureaucratic positions combine to leave governments out of touch with the needs and concerns of their female constituents. Prevailing attitudes about gender-appropriate behaviour can also make it very difficult to undertake development projects involving women or (even more problematic) both women and men together. Cultural norms may dissuade women from attending public meetings and talking to men (particularly non-relatives) or foreigners. Women's daily burden of productive and reproductive tasks may simply not leave any time for involvement in development projects. WID projects are easier to implement in these contexts because they avoid challenging prevailing power structures and focus solely on women, adapting to reach women where they can be found, such as through maternal and child health programmes or welfare-oriented projects linked to religious or local government structures.

In sum, the political constraints to GAD are deeply imbedded in the

³²Kabeer, "Triple roles, gender roles, social relations," p. 32.

institutions and attitudes of both donor and developing countries. However, even if the political environment were to become more open to change, GAD proponents would still face the challenge of operationalizing their agenda: how could development projects be designed and implemented to actually promote this change, rather than reinforcing the status quo as WID has tended to do in the past?

The Technical Barrier: Absence of Technique

GAD promotes women's empowerment and structural change, but these have proven difficult concepts for development planners to operationalize. There is little question that millions of women worldwide live in debilitating poverty. Since WID is oriented towards addressing women's material condition, their practical gender needs, it presents itself as an appropriate strategy. Its very mixed record is made up for by its accessibility - WID can be easily "added-on" to other development approaches. GAD, on the other hand, requires a longer term view in planning which encompasses women's strategic interests, as well as a different approach to implementation, and is consequently seen as an unwelcome burden. Furthermore, GAD rejects mainstream development approaches as inappropriate or male-biased. As Moser suggests "it has proven remarkably difficult to 'graft' gender onto existing planning disciplines. These have proved remarkably resistant to change."³³

³³Caroline O. N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training* (London: Routledge), 1993, p. 5.

Above and beyond any hostility to a gender approach felt by male decision-makers, WID has institutional inertia in its favour. Many planning tools and frameworks have been developed to implement a WID approach.³⁴ For example, the Canadian International Development Agency developed a "coversheet" or checklist to ensure the consideration of WID concerns in project design and approval stages, and their Women in Development Directorate produced a number of handbooks to provide managers with guidelines and examples for incorporating a WID component into their projects.³⁵ Considerable time and effort would be required to rethink these tools from a GAD perspective and retrain project managers who have become quite comfortable and adept at their use.³⁶ As suggested in one NGO manual: "Integrating GAD into the fabric of the organization may require a process of (re-)orientation, training and dialogue with staff, volunteers and overseas partners. It is likely to require changes in project development, implementation and monitoring practices."³⁷

³⁴The most well-known among these is the Harvard Gender Analysis Framework for project review, described in Catharine Overholt et al., eds., *Gender Roles in Development Projects: A Case Book* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press), 1985. This framework is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

³⁵See for example the following CIDA publications: *Women in Development and the Project Cycle: A Workbook*, Revised Edition ed. (Hull: CIDA WID Directorate), 1989 (referred to as the "WID Workbook"); *Key Intervention Areas for WID Within the Project Management Cycle* (Hull: CIDA WID Directorate), 1988; and *The Women in Development Source Book* (Hull: CIDA WID Directorate), 1989, as well as the WID coversheets for the Project Identification Memorandum (PIM) and the Project Approval Memorandum (PAM), which had to be completed for all bilateral aid projects.

³⁶Perhaps, in some cases, managers can become too adept at using these WID tools. From personal experience at CIDA, it was not unusual to find WID PAM annexes which asked questions such as "how many women will benefit from this project?" or "at what levels will women be involved in this project?" being completed without any prior research being done upon which answers could be based.

³⁷CCIC, *Two Halves Make a Whole*, p. 44.

There seems to be widespread agreement that anything is better than nothing at all when it comes to institutional approaches to women and development concerns. Even among writers promoting a GAD perspective, there is a strong tendency to ignore the conflation of WID and GAD in institutions. They will discuss the organizational integration of "WID/GAD policy" as if it were one thing, despite the fact that "in their original meaning [WID and GAD] are representative of very different theoretical positions," and consequently "differ fundamentally in terms of their focus, with important implications for both their policies and planning procedures".³⁸

A large part of the difficulty arises from the academic and theoretical origins of GAD, which do not compare well to the practical origins of WID's tools and mechanisms. To date, GAD theory has been applied primarily in research on development issues. As Moser notes,

the concern of feminist academic research, by its very nature, has been to highlight the complexities of gender relations and divisions of labour in specific socio-economic contexts. It has not been concerned to identify how such complexities might be simplified into methodological tools which enable practitioners to translate gender awareness into practice.³⁹

³⁸Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, p. 3. Moser's distinction between WID and GAD in the introduction fades during her discussion of the institutionalization of WID/GAD policy in the sixth chapter. The same tendency is evident between chapters in Lise Ostergaard, ed., *Gender and Development: A Practical Guide* (London: Routledge), 1992. A more detailed examination of Moser's methodology is provided in the second chapter.

³⁹Ibid, p. 5.

Many of those committed to integrating a GAD perspective find themselves at a loss for how to proceed. From its critique of WID, GAD implies that development interventions must focus on both women and men, and must address women's reproductive as well as their productive roles, their strategic as well as their practical gender interests. Furthermore, GAD suggests that planners themselves must examine their own assumptions and acknowledge the political nature of development planning. Planners and project workers are unsure how to balance and integrate all these concerns into the process of designing and implementing development programmes and projects, and have not been provided with tools to facilitate this.

This is a critical technical problem: GAD's rejection of mainstream development methods and approaches means that it must develop new techniques. Alternatively, existing techniques or methods from other development perspectives could be adapted for use in GAD contexts, provided that they are sufficiently compatible. Given that the critiques of development practice, from WID to GAD, were developed and refined largely by women working separately from other critics of mainstream development, limited cross-fertilization of tools and ideas has taken place.⁴⁰

GAD theory originated as a response to the failure of mainstream approaches

⁴⁰Women theorists were concentrated in institutional "WID" units or in academic environments, while many of the male critics of mainstream development congregated in the NGO sector, limiting their interaction.

to women and development to alleviate either women's subordination or the harsh material circumstances of their lives. Yet despite the coherence of its critique, GAD has not been widely implemented by development agencies, whether governmental or NGO. This is due to both diverse political constraints facing GAD and its absence of a coherent technique. The lack of specifically-designed tools and methods allows the two constraints to compound each other. New techniques are necessary to enable GAD proponents to work with both women and men in ways that facilitate the cooperation of men. New methods must be developed to enable development practitioners to target women's strategic gender interests through their practical gender needs, thereby creating the space for women's empowerment.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF A GAD TECHNIQUE

Chapter One highlighted both the inadequacies of WID and the underdevelopment of GAD. While WID has been widely implemented in the field using various strategies and techniques, it has achieved neither its original intended goal of equity for women in the development process, nor its later goal of improving the material conditions of women's lives. On the other hand, the more promising perspective of GAD, which seeks to improve the position and condition of women through women's self-empowerment and the creation of equitable gender relations, has not yet been implemented in any systematic or widespread manner. The challenge taken up by this thesis, therefore, is to explore new strategies and techniques to move GAD from theory to practice.

This chapter outlines the core tenets of GAD theory including its central concepts and its emancipatory agenda. At the heart of GAD lies women's strategic interest for the transformation of inequitable gender relations. To address this agenda, a GAD technique must incorporate three characteristics: it must be critical, participatory, and reflexive. These three requirements and their synergistic interrelationships are described in detail, to demonstrate their centrality to the

successful implementation of gender and development theory. The chapter then shifts to an examination of the two dominant frameworks for understanding and integrating gender issues in development planning in the major Western development agencies: the Harvard gender analysis framework and the gender planning methodology developed by Caroline Moser. These frameworks are briefly reviewed and evaluated to see their limitations both from the perspective of GAD theory and the requirements of GAD technique.

Emancipation

The first chapter presented GAD primarily in opposition to WID, as a critique of the WID agenda to integrate women into male-dominated mainstream development efforts which often increased their workload and reinforced their subordinate social position. But GAD theory is more than a critique. It has a positive content, with powerful concepts for understanding society and a vision of a transformed social order grounded in principles of equity and sustainability. GAD theory focuses on women's empowerment. Empowerment includes gaining strength and power on several levels: on a political level, increasing women's capacity to control or influence public decisions which affect their lives and to act collectively in defence of their interests; on a socio-economic level, expanding their access to and control over the productive resources needed to secure their livelihoods without reliance on men; and on a

psychological level, increasing their self-confidence and sense of personal potency.¹

As such, GAD theory calls for empowerment at the level of the household or family, in society (both at community and national levels), and in the international context as a whole.

However, women's increased political, social, economic and psychological power is not pursued in order to simply reverse the structures of subordination and raise women to the role of oppressors. GAD theory conceptualizes empowerment not in terms of "power over" but "power with".² In this sense GAD is not only interested in empowerment, it is also concerned with emancipation. In Nederveen Pieterse's definition, "emancipation refers to collective actions which seek to level and disperse power, or seek to install more inclusive values than the prevailing ones."³ Emancipation, understood as a liberation from socially-constructed barriers to freedom or self-expression, has a particular resonance with the concept of women's strategic gender interests, as defined in the previous chapter.

¹Adapted from John Friedmann, *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (Oxford: Blackwell), 1992.

²The concept of "power over" suggests that power is a finite commodity which is differentially allocated so that some individuals have more than others and can therefore dictate the behaviour of the less powerful. Any gain for the less advantaged would result in a concrete power loss for those on the top. The concept of "power with" suggests a power not based on domination and subordination, or conceived as a finite commodity, but allows for a situation in which individuals (or groups such as women) can pursue their own interests as well as the wider interests of the whole.

³Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Emancipations, modern and postmodern," *Development and Change* 23, no. 3 (1992), p. 32. Nederveen Pieterse suggests that it may be more appropriate in a post-modern age to speak of emancipations rather than emancipation, but believes that an emancipatory project must have a moral content: "not every form of empowerment is emancipatory" (p. 11).

In pursuit of less hierarchical and more inclusive societies, GAD theorists have recognized and embraced the strengths of class and race analysis. Because societies are stratified according to class and racial or ethnic lines, women from different social positions may have little in common with each other, and more in common with men of their own position. It is difficult, therefore, to speak of "women's interests", which implies a false homogeneity or biological determinism. GAD's attention to gender interests and needs allows for a recognition of difference, resulting in different practical gender needs, as well as similarities, which result not from their sex but from their gender subordination, thus allowing for the creation of certain common strategic interests.

The focus on women's strategic gender interests is GAD's central defining feature. However, given their pressing practical needs and also the differences which separate them, women do not necessarily recognize their strategic gender interests, nor do all women agree on the prioritization of different strategic interests or the utility of trying to achieve them. But women's failure to recognize or act on particular strategic gender interests is not simply attributable to "false consciousness," whereby women have accepted their subordinate position as natural and immutable.⁴

⁴False consciousness is a problematic concept, which tends to ascribe a certain superiority to an objective observer over the observed subject. However, it also makes an important point about the ideological content and nature of social power. As Kabeer notes: "Power relations are kept in place because the actors involved - both dominant and subordinate - subscribe to accounts of social reality which deny that such inequalities exist or else assert that they are due to individual misfortune rather than social injustice." Naila Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought* (London: Verso), 1994, p. 227. Kate Young also notes that GAD does not assume women

On the contrary, women may be rationally opposed to changes in the status quo either because they benefit from it due to their social position, or because,

such changes realized in a piecemeal fashion could threaten the short-term practical interests of some women, or entail a cost in the loss of forms of protection which are not then compensated for in some way. Thus the formulation of strategic interests can only be effective as a form of intervention when full account is taken of these practical interests. Indeed, it is the politicization of these practical interests and their transformation into strategic interests that women can identify with and support which constitutes a central aspect of feminist political practice.⁵

Women's every-day activities tend to focus on their practical gender needs, which derive from their roles as mothers, wives and daughters in the gender division of labour. While these needs warrant immediate attention, gains are bound to be short-term unless the underlying problem of women's subordination is ameliorated. An important GAD strategy, therefore, is to meet women's practical gender needs in such a way that their strategic gender interests are also addressed. Women's practical gender needs, therefore, become an "entry point" for revealing and addressing their strategic interests. As Kabeer notes:

Women's practical and strategic gender interests are not separate and dichotomous categories, but rather linked through the transformatory aspects of . . . divergent strategies for empowerment. This transformatory potential lies

have perfect knowledge of the world around them or some greater intuitive power than men, and are therefore affected by ideology. Because of this, providing space for women to discuss their condition and unravel the images of ideology from the reality of interest is a crucial GAD strategy. Young, *Planning Development with Women*. See also Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan), 1974; and Judith Shklar, *The Faces of Injustice* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1990.

⁵Molyneux, "Mobilization without emancipation?", p. 234, my emphasis.

in the extent to which strategies seek to open up, rather than foreclose on, the possibilities available to women.⁶

The importance of "process" cannot be overemphasized in the promotion of empowerment and emancipation. There is an intimate connection between ways of thinking and ways of doing, and between ways of doing and outcomes. Hence the question of technique is crucial to realizing the transformatory potential in GAD.⁷

The term technique should be understood throughout this paper to refer to a comprehensive way of achieving a purpose, which comprises various procedures, tools and methods but cannot be reduced to them individually. A project technique, for example, involves all stages of the project cycle⁸ and refers both to these stages and to the overall approach or attitude with which they are undertaken. "Technique", therefore, implies an overall conceptual coherence and purpose - if this is lacking the various procedures or elements cannot be said to form a technique. Technique connects theory to practice, leading to praxis.⁹ It has a particular significance for

⁶Kabeer, *Reversed Realities*, p. 261.

⁷This emphasis on process, with its implicit faith in the role of agency, is not intended to deny the importance of structure. On the contrary, a GAD approach is keenly aware of the structural nature of women's subordination, but recognizes the social construction of these structures, which ultimately indicates their mutability.

⁸Including, in most accounts, project identification, design, approval, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

⁹Praxis in Marx's early writing implied a kind of practical philosophy oriented towards revolutionary transformation of the world. This same sense of praxis is found in Freire, for example in his definition of dialogue: "Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed - even in part - the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus to speak a true word is to transform the world."

GAD as the linkage between practical gender needs and strategic gender interests.

The Demands of A GAD Technique

The inclusionary and empowering focus of GAD theory demands certain requirements of any attempt to put theory into action. Women's strategic gender interests are derived from an analysis of concrete situations, and therefore cannot simply be assumed to be the same for all women at all times - the specific shape and structures of oppression in any community, and the ideologies which hold such structures in place, must be uncovered and analyzed individually. Furthermore, if the uncovering and pursuit of women's strategic gender interests is to be managed without jeopardizing women's present condition, then the women concerned must be engaged in the analysis and in determining the direction and pace of change. Finally, both the analysis and participatory action must be on-going and self-aware - analysis generates action which is reflected upon or analyzed, and further action is adapted to the conclusions of such reflection - if they are to contribute to women's self-empowerment. Thus, three requirements for a GAD technique can be identified: it must be critical, participatory and reflexive.

Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin Books), 1972, p. 60. However, Freire's approach has been criticized for its paternalism, which stems from an over-emphasis on the necessity of external facilitators, whose role in exposing the false consciousness of the oppressed is seen as essential for their emancipation. See also Chapter Three note 6.

Critical

As noted in the previous chapter, GAD theory challenges the western, middle-class liberal bias inherent in both WID and in mainstream development. Rather than taking institutions and social structures as given, it begins by questioning their underlying power relations and their social construction. GAD is, essentially, a critical theory, hence techniques designed to facilitate its implementation must also be critical in nature and intent.

"Critical" in this sense derives from the roots of critical social theory as developed by members of the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt (commonly known as the Frankfurt School) in the 1930s. Critical theory is seen as having two roles: one negative and one positive or creative. The negative role is essentially to critique ideology: criticism should illuminate the systems of domination and the ideologies which conceal and legitimate the social and economic structures of oppression and unequal power relations. However, critical theory also has a practical intent which is the basis for its positive or creative role: it aims to radically improve human existence.¹⁰ By exposing the social basis of previously concealed or anonymous domination, critical theory helps to awaken people's consciousness of

¹⁰Richard J. Bernstein, *The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory* (London: Methuen), 1976. Bernstein notes, however, that this dual negative/positive role for critical theory is drawn from both Hegel's and Marx's use and understanding of critique.

themselves as subjects capable of positive action in their own lives.¹¹ Max Horkheimer, director of the Institute from 1930 to the late 1950s, emphasized this idea of critical theory as a force for change: the "theoretician and his [sic] specific object are seen as forming a dynamic unity with the oppressed class, so that his presentation of societal contradictions is not merely an expression of the concrete historical situation but also a force within it to stimulate change."¹²

Patricia Maguire drew an early connection between gender and development theory and critical theory, recognizing that both are centrally concerned with issues of social justice and power distribution. As she notes:

One assumption of theories within the critical approach is that society is in conflict, not harmony. Societal conflict is rooted in class and group struggles and competition for power and scarce resources. Critical theories seek to explain how domination and oppression are structurally maintained.¹³

GAD theory examines the damaging effect on individual women, and womankind in general, of commonly held assumptions about the unity of family interests (as expressed by the male head of household) and the complementarity of male and female tasks in the household gender division of labour. Recognition of conflict within the most basic social institution, the family, led to the exploration of conflict at

¹¹David Held, *Introduction to Critical Theory: Horkheimer to Habermas* (Hutchinson: London), 1980.

¹²Max Horkheimer "Traditional and critical theory," *Critical Theory* (New York: The Seabury Press), 1972; quoted in Bernstein, *The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory*, p. 181.

¹³Patricia Maguire, *Women in Development: An Alternative Analysis* (Amherst: Centre for international Education: University of Massachusetts), 1984, p. 20.

macro levels, muted and concealed by ideology as well as by additional structures of class and gender oppression. GAD's fundamental questioning of existing social structures and institutions leads to the conclusion that these must change, and that such change will result in "the loss of power of entrenched elites, which will affect some women as well as men."¹⁴

It is for the illumination of women's strategic gender interests that the critical nature of a GAD technique becomes most important. As Molyneux notes, strategic interests "are derived in the first instance deductively, that is, from the analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist."¹⁵ In academic and research contexts, GAD theorists have concerned themselves with uncovering the structures of gender and power relations, and the ways in which gender interacts with other axes of difference in communities (class, race, age) to create further divisions between women as a group (and men as a group), compromising their ability to act cooperatively in defense of their common strategic gender interests.

A critical understanding of women's subordination in a given socio-economic environment requires an awareness of how tasks are divided and valued within the existing gender division of labour. It must also consider who has access to and

¹⁴Rathgeber, "WID, WAD, GAD," p. 495.

¹⁵Molyneux, "Mobilization without emancipation?", p. 232, my emphasis.

control over available resources (both productive and symbolic resources such as respect) as well as over benefits which ensue from their use. Analysis must also extend inside the household to uncover the pattern of cooperative conflict operating between husbands and wives and the relative negotiating strength of each partner.¹⁶ It must also expand beyond an examination of what men and women do, to an analysis of why tasks are divided in this way, that is, to an exploration of culture and the role of ideology in women's oppression. As Kate Young claims: "until the structures of male dominance, both those which are external and those which have been internalized by women as much as men, are unmasked and changed, they will continue to reproduce subordination."¹⁷

As Moser succinctly notes: "Since gender relations are socially constructed, they are contextually specific and often change in response to altering economic circumstance, and consequently cannot be read off checklists."¹⁸ The process of development affects considerable change in both economic and social relations, consequently it is not enough for planners to undertake a once-only, pre-project analysis of prevailing structures of women's subordination. Rather, this analysis must be undertaken on an ongoing basis to ensure that GAD projects are responding to

¹⁶See Sen, "Gender and cooperative conflicts," and footnote 16 in Chapter One above.

¹⁷Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 158. See also Kabeer's comment on power in note 4 above.

¹⁸Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, p. 98.

changing circumstances in a way that promotes their emancipatory goals.

Participatory

A critical technique must also be participatory, facilitating women's own discovery and analysis of their strategic gender interests, in order that women become consciously aware of these strategic interests and of themselves as subjects capable of acting for change and self-empowerment.

Concern over the participation of people in the development process has surfaced, disappeared and resurfaced in various approaches to development over the past forty years.¹⁹ Popular participation is seen as valuable for a range of reasons, depending on the level or kind of participation and the goals of development being pursued: first, it improves the efficiency of a society and the effectiveness of development projects (including their cost-effectiveness); second, it contributes to individual human development and emancipation; and third, it promotes the transformation of class domination. Participation from a GAD perspective would be concerned with all three of these issues, but the last two more than the first.

In broad terms, two kinds of participation can be identified in the development

¹⁹The more prominent "participatory" approaches include the community development of the 1950s, the basic needs approach popular in the 1970s, and the alternative development styles advocated in the 1980s.

literature: instrumental or weak participation, and empowering or strong participation.²⁰ In weak participation, local people may be consulted for their input into project design, but they have not initiated the project and have no control over its shape. Their primary area of involvement is in project implementation, such as contributing time and labour for construction or health programmes. The emphasis is on the efficiency and effectiveness of the project itself, rather than any result for the participants, such as building their capacities or self-reliance.²¹ This is the common interpretation of participation in the WID literature, which promotes women's involvement as a way of improving the efficiency and effectiveness of development projects.

Strong or empowering participation, on the other hand, emphasizes the human development and well-being of the people involved. Strong participation implies a level of participant control, where local people (in this case women) have sufficient

²⁰Different classifications of participation are provided by Sherry R. Arnstein, "A ladder of citizen participation," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35, no. 4 (1969): 216-24; Peter Oakley, "State or process, means or end: the concept of participation in rural development," *Reading Rural Development Communications Bulletin* 21 (March 1987): 3-9; Michael Bamberger, *The Role of Community Participation in Development Planning and Project Management*, EDI Policy Seminar, Report Number 13. (Washington D.C.: Economic Development Institute of the World Bank), 1988; Dharam Ghai, *Participatory Development: Some Perspectives from Grass-Roots Experiences*, UNRISD Discussion Paper, #5. (Geneva: UNRISD), 1988; and Tom Gabriel, *The Human Factor in Rural Development* (London: Belhaven), 1991.

²¹See John Cohen and Norman T. Uphoff, "Participation's place in rural development: seeking clarity through specificity," *World Development* 8, no. 3 (1980): 213-35; A. I. Nkunya, "The role of popular participation in programmes of social development," *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 2, no. 1 (1987): 17-28; Bamberger, *The Role of Community Participation*; and Peter Oakley, et al, *Projects with People: The Practice of Participation in Rural Development* (Geneva: ILO), 1991.

influence that they can "govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which 'outsiders' may change them."²² Clearly, GAD's goals of empowering women, building their capacities and meeting their strategic gender needs demands a strong interpretation of participation. As Maguire notes, any feminist development approach like GAD "must include mechanisms for women to speak for themselves; women are weary of being spoken for and about. Women everywhere have their own visions to shape development interventions affecting their lives."²³ A GAD technique, therefore, must be directed towards facilitating empowering participation, whereby women are the agents who determine the goals, objectives and methods of projects that are intended to meet their prioritized needs.²⁴

Given that women's practical gender needs are based on their current position and condition, they are best placed to identify what these needs are. Hence, women's participation in project planning is necessary if the intention is to address women's needs.²⁵ In addition, the analysis of women's strategic gender interests must also be

²²Arnstein, "A ladder of citizen participation," p. 223.

²³Maguire, *Women in Development*, p. 3.

²⁴Strong participation, where participants exercise control over project directions, has certain implications for project development and participant-donor relations which are considered in the concluding chapter.

²⁵Despite the obviousness of this point, many WID projects failed precisely because women were not asked what they wanted or needed and planners failed to understand or examine what women actually did. See Barbara Rogers, *The Domestication of Women* (London: Tavistock), 1980.

a participatory process, since strengthening women's skills in critical analysis is empowering. As strategic gender interests are derived deductively, some writers have implied that they need to be formulated by outside, "objective" agents or professional planners.²⁶ But strategic interests may not be the same or be prioritized in the same way by women in different classes or communities. Young suggests that the transformatory potential of GAD is only realized when women themselves examine how their practical needs "can become or transform themselves into strategic concerns."²⁷ An important first step in this process is the "provision of space, resources and time which will allow women to articulate their own interests,"²⁸ and also allow for increasing their skills and confidence in themselves as actors in their own development.

Strong participation extends beyond needs identification into the development and implementation of strategies for needs satisfaction. Securing women's participation as central players at all levels of project design, implementation and evaluation is not as simple as it may first appear. To begin with, women who are overburdened with work, childcare and the provision of their family's daily needs require some relief from these burdens. Otherwise, they can ill-afford the luxury of

²⁶See Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, p. 40, as an example. The comment made about the veiled paternalism of Freirian approaches is also relevant here, see footnote 9 above.

²⁷Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 156.

²⁸Kabeer, "Triple roles, gender roles, social relations," p. 38.

contemplation about their long-term strategic interests, or of participation in planning meetings and other activities.

To open up space for women's meaningful participation, therefore, men's participation must also be solicited to enable a change in the distribution of domestic responsibilities. This point highlights a fundamental divergence between GAD and WID. To the extent that WID interventions were concerned with women's domestic responsibilities, this was primarily to improve the efficiency of basic tasks, in order to free up time for extra-household activities and income generation. If additional assistance with home-based tasks was needed for women to become involved, project planners were more likely to assume that it would be provided by female relatives or daughters than by husbands, male relatives or sons. Since women's domestic work is given little or no economic or social value, men often feel it is beneath themselves to do it.²⁹ As Maguire asks:

Where are the men in development programs to integrate men into the domain of reproductive and domestic work either in the public arena or within the private family. Development rhetoric may acknowledge men's attitudes as an obstacle to women's integration, but the solution has been to do something to or for women not with men. The dynamics and mechanisms of patriarchy are left intact.³⁰

Men have a large degree of influence or control over women's lives, both

²⁹Rogers, *The Domestication of Women*. It should be emphasized that this view is far from confined to the developing world.

³⁰Maguire, *Women in Development*, p. 53, my emphasis.

within the domestic arena in their roles as fathers and husbands, and beyond in the wider economy where they are a majority of managers, resource-owners and decision-makers. Men have a vested interest in women's subordination, as it ensures their own dominant position, at least in the short term. If women's access to resources and decision-making is to increase, those who are currently in control will have to allow for this redistribution, either consciously or not. Ideally, through their participation, men may be persuaded that women's increased access to and control over valued resources is warranted on social justice grounds. However, a more instrumental approach is often required, whereby men are convinced that women's increased control will also ultimately benefit them through enhanced family or community welfare.

An inherent tension exists between these two elements of the participatory requirement in GAD. On the one hand, there is a necessity to involve men in a gender approach to development, while on the other, it is essential that women define their own needs, goals and strategies as the basis for development if it to be in their interests. This tension creates a problem about how to organize the participation of both sexes such that women's needs (at both a practical and strategic level) receive priority.

It is generally agreed that participation requires some form of organization and

is most effectively promoted through limited-size groups³¹, however the relative merits of single-sex and mixed-sex groups are more contentious. Several arguments exist in favour of mixed groups, including that they can provide men with an opportunity to learn about women's concerns and priorities, and they may guard against the continued marginalization of women's interests from the mainstream. In many places, however, culture and tradition may discourage women from playing an active part in mixed-sex groups. Even in more permissive surroundings, women may lack the confidence or experience to articulate their needs and aspirations, especially where these have been ignored in the past. The biggest disadvantage of mixed groups is that, in practice, men tend to dominate the process, with a decrease in autonomy experienced by women. Male control of leadership positions in groups will more than likely result in male priorities in projects. As Abdou Sarr advises on involving men in women's projects: "They should not be integrated so that they become actors, technicians or beneficiaries, but one must integrate them in order to have their approval and support at the outset."³² It is likely that some combination of segregated and mixed groups at different stages of project development and implementation is most effective for women, providing space for them to develop confidence, analyze and plan on their own, and mixing with men for the benefits

³¹See discussions in Peter Oakley and David Marsden, *Approaches to Participation in Rural Development* (Geneva: ILO), 1984; Stan Burkey, *People First: A Guide to Self-Reliant, Participatory Rural Development* (London: Zed), 1993; and Ghai, *Participatory Development*.

³²Abdou Sarr, "Strategy for the liberation of African women: the view of a feminist man," in *Changing Perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development*, ed. Tina Wallace and Candida March (Oxford: Oxfam), 1991, 289-94, p. 291-292.

noted above.

Conflict between women's and men's priorities is likely to arise at some point in project design or implementation, hence a GAD technique should be able to provide mechanisms for managing and diffusing conflict. Part of the key to conflict resolution is being able to anticipate areas of contention, which should be uncovered by critical analysis. Approaching women's strategic interests through their practical needs is another way of avoiding conflict, at least initially, because it allows women to strengthen their skills and confidence before directly challenging male oppression. Furthermore, men can be readily engaged in helping to meet women's practical needs, as they see the benefits accrue to their families. However, genuine emancipation may require a less instrumental strategy for male involvement. Just as dialogue and collective action are important for women's self-empowerment, so too are they important for men as a group:

Men [must] undergo a process of reflection and transformation which makes it possible for them to recognize the ways in which their power is a double-edged sword. It structures their relations with other men in competition and conflict, and makes cooperation and building on advances highly problematic.³³

A GAD technique must provide a method to balance and mediate between men's and women's participation and priorities, and to do so effectively in the pursuit

³³Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 159.

of women's strategic interests. This requires constant monitoring and adjustments to guard against poor women losing control over the direction of the project to men or outsiders, who may find it easier to ignore the strategic focus. Privileging women's needs and priorities and maintaining a focus on strategic interests, therefore, demands the commitment of project managers. The reflexivity necessary for maintaining such commitment, as well as for enabling project re-alignment, is the third essential element of a GAD technique.

Reflexive

The term reflexive is defined as "an action by the subject upon itself."³⁴ The reflexive requirement of GAD, therefore, embodies a process of continual monitoring and re-appraisal such that projects are open to ongoing revision to ensure that goals and objectives are being met. As Kabeer argues:

Alternative visions . . . have to be worked out by constantly monitoring and evaluating the assumptions, procedures and outcomes of all policies and programmes, and working out who gains and who loses in the different processes of development and why.³⁵

This reflexive requirement applies equally to the local communities affected by the development initiative, the individuals involved in project implementation, and those in the development agencies themselves. Moreover, reflexivity requires a critical

³⁴*The New Lexicon Webster's Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Lexicon Publications, Inc.), 1988.

³⁵Kabeer, *Reversed Realities*, p. 67.

self-awareness of the attitudes and assumptions which underpin an initiative.

Most WID projects have insufficient scope for reflection or provision for rigorous monitoring and evaluation. This gap contributes substantially to the failure of WID projects to achieve their stated objectives such as improving women's opportunities for sustainable income generation. Rather, as Mayra Buvinic details, WID projects exhibit a marked tendency to slip into a welfare orientation. She called this "project misbehaviour" and attributed it to flaws in project design, the legacy of welfare-oriented institutions that have traditionally been called upon to implement women's projects. Also at fault is what Buvinic called the "political economy of women's projects", the complex perceptions of WID goals and activities within male-dominated international development agencies. Once projects begin to misbehave, it is difficult to correct them due to basic project inertia, and because most development agencies harbour a fundamental ambiguity concerning their approach to women: whether the weak "welfare" or stronger equity or empowerment goals will be applied. This ambiguity is often built into project foundations.³⁶ As Maguire notes: "with the position that evaluation should be a rigorous, one-time event at project completion, agencies absolved themselves of responsibility for mid-project correction."³⁷

³⁶Mayra Buvinic, "Projects for women in the Third World: explaining their misbehaviour," *World Development* 14, no. 5 (1986): 653-64. The "welfare" and "equity" approaches of WID are described in the first chapter. The "empowerment" approach is similar to GAD (see Chapter One footnote 8).

³⁷Maguire, *Women in Development*, p. 40. I would argue from my experience at CIDA that this basic point about lack of genuine reflection and project inertia applies to a significant proportion of mainstream development projects as well. Most large development projects take over five years to

The kind of project monitoring and evaluation required by a GAD approach is less concerned with financial accountability or cost/benefit analysis (though this is important in any project, particularly to a donor organization), than with social accountability over the degree to which women's empowerment is being pursued and achieved, their practical and strategic needs are being balanced and met, and more equitable gender relations are being built. Ongoing evaluation is a way of assessing a project according to its goals and objectives, and then feeding the information back to project participants and managers to enable them to amend policies or procedures as necessary during project implementation. It facilitates a "learning process" approach to development initiatives: the project cycle changes from a linear flow (i.e. from project identification, to design, implementation, and final evaluation) into an iterative loop of analysis, planning, action, creative investigation and self-evaluation, then back to analysis, planning and action. This cycle is repeated as a project progresses, each round informing the next.³⁸ In this view, "evaluation" becomes a learning exercise for all project participants, a tool to enable them to become managers of their own development.

become operational, and the amount of time and energy invested up front gives rise to an expectation that the project will be implemented as stated and, in all likelihood, be extended for another "phase". Monitoring generally occurs on an annual basis, but is inclined to ask questions about how to improve the efficiency or effectiveness of what is being done, rather than more critical questions about whether the project is meeting its goals and objectives. The depth and subsequent impact of monitoring reports is largely up to the project manager. In mid-term evaluations, also, there is a bias against finding anything radically wrong or necessitating significant changes (although this does happen). For a discussion about the tendency for big aid projects to continue in the face of internal contradictions and external opposition, see Graham Hancock *Lords of Poverty* (London: Macmillan), 1989.

³⁸Jacob Pfol, *Participatory Evaluation: A User's Guide* (New York: Private Agencies Collaborating Together (PACT)), 1986.

Ongoing, reflexive monitoring and evaluation create new roles for development professionals that are at once more active, given the iterative processes at work in which they must be involved, and more passive since these processes should be managed and directed by the participants themselves - the women whose needs and interests the project is addressing. As such, a reflexive approach challenges the existing practices of development agencies and the attitudes of their professionals.

Development bureaucracies are neither neutral nor passive when it comes to prevailing gender and class relations; despite a mandate to address the concerns of the poor and disenfranchised, they have direct interests in supporting dominant groups. The history and extent of male-bias in most development agencies and NGOs is well documented and need not be reviewed.³⁹ The specific concern here is its relationship to GAD implementation, and the consequent need for planners and managers to re-examine their own assumptions and procedures. As Kabeer notes, advocacy for gender equity has wider implications than advocacy for other forms of institutional change, as it directly concerns the personal as well as the professional lives and relationships, beliefs and values of those who are required to devise and

³⁹See, for example: Kathleen Staudt, "Bureaucratic resistance to women's programs: the case of women in development," in *Women, Power and Policy*, ed. E. Boneparth (New York: Pergamon Press), 1982, 263-81; and Dianne Elson, *Male Bias in the Development Process* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 1991.

implement change.⁴⁰

The structures, practices and personnel of development agencies must be subject to the same process of reflection that GAD projects require, with the same critical intent as in the analysis of the communities where projects are to be implemented: that is, with a conscious concern for change. Non-participatory and inflexible organizations will be less able to implement participatory and flexible projects. As the CCIC Inter-Agency Working Group on Women and Development concluded:

Effective overseas work is hampered by the failings of our own systems which have not been created to promote equality and mutuality. We need to see our work with people in the South as building toward a better world for all of us. We need to learn from our partners and seek an active exchange of skills, insights and support.⁴¹

Part of the shift from WID to GAD involves a change from understanding women as the objects of development to seeing them as the subjects of development. This is key both to a participatory and also to a reflexive approach, as it breaks down relations of superiority which have traditionally existed between First World and Third World societies and people, and helps to create new relationships based on solidarity between equals. Reflexivity in a GAD context implies trying to create the same gender equity

⁴⁰Kabeer, *Reversed Realities*, p. 36-37. As Canadian GAD analysts, Betty Plewes and Ricky Stuart suggested, not only is the personal political, but so is the organizational. Plewes et al., "Women and development revisited."

⁴¹Canadian Council for International Cooperation, "Feminist perspectives on development", discussion paper of the Inter-Agency Working Group on Women and Development (Ottawa: CCIC), 1987.

and empowerment "in here" as "out there".⁴² As Maguire notes, the process of change and organizing is as important as the outcomes: "organizers and leaders should employ methods that as just as participatory, collective and just as the society that they are building."⁴³

A reflexive GAD technique, therefore, would be able to accomplish three things. First, it would devise mechanisms for the institutionalization of ongoing monitoring, so that results could feed-back into and change the project directions to ensure progress in meeting women's strategic gender interests. Second, it would focus on the process of project development and implementation: all component activities or steps would all have to contribute to and promote the empowerment and equity of participants. Third, it would enable the sponsoring development agency to analyze its own structures and procedures and promote empowerment and equity among its own staff.

Summary

To implement GAD theory, a technique must display all three characteristics:

⁴²It is interesting that a number of development NGOs are now exploring the idea of establishing programmes to address inequality and promote social change in the developed countries in which they are based. Two examples are Oxfam, which has become more outspoken on poverty in the UK, and CUSO in Alberta which is looking at supporting women's empowerment in Canada as well as abroad.

⁴³Maguire, *Women in Development*, p. 59.

it must be critical, participatory and reflexive. Each one on its own is an important element and has much to contribute to improving development interventions, but it is the three together that provide the coherence of a technique as defined above. Each is a necessary condition for each of the others to function properly and for the emancipatory objectives of GAD to be realized. Critical participation allows for the uncovering of women's strategic gender interests and shows their relation to practical gender needs, identifying "entry points" by which the former can be pursued through the latter. Critical reflection ensures that analysis of the structural constraints and opportunities for women's emancipation is ongoing and responsive to the changes in social and gender relations generated by development processes. Reflexive participation is necessary to ensure that these processes are directed by the women whose self-empowerment is the goal of GAD. Only those women themselves are in the position to ascertain the appropriate balance between their strategic and practical gender needs, and how this balance both affects and is affected by project activities. Critical, reflexive participation thus links analysis to action. It is only through the conscious, calculated and concerted efforts of both women and men that a more satisfactory, equitable set of gender and social relations can be created.

Reflexive and critical participation also casts development professionals and agencies in a new role: as facilitators of women's self-empowerment. Agencies and professionals must recognize and correct their own gender biases if they are to become agents of change. If their own critical reflection is overlooked, development

workers "may be among those men and women whose collusion, tacit or explicit, supports systems of oppression."⁴⁴

That no comprehensive technique which meets these three criteria has yet been developed or identified partly accounts for the limited implementation of GAD in the field. While a limited number of frameworks have been developed to explain GAD theory, none are centrally concerned with implementation.

Existing GAD Frameworks

There are currently two main competing frameworks that try to encourage the implementation of a GAD perspective through the integration of gender concerns into the development planning process. One is the Gender Analysis Framework, designed by a team from the Harvard Institute for International Development, the other is the gender planning methodology developed by Caroline Moser. Both frameworks have been highly influential, particularly where the sensitization and training of development planners on gender issues is concerned.

Despite their popularity, a close examination reveals that neither framework embodies a "technique" in the sense in which I have defined this term. Rather, they

⁴⁴Maguire, *Women in Development*, p. 3-4.

represent different collections of methods, procedures and conceptual tools. While these disparate elements are useful on their own and help to increase the explanatory potential of gender analysis, they do little to move theory into the realm of transformatory action and therefore have little empowering potential for women in developing countries. Neither of the two frameworks meets all of the requirements of a GAD technique identified above: each is weighted in favour of project design and the needs of planners, and each utilizes a truncated conception of participation.

The Harvard Gender Analysis Framework

The Gender Analysis Framework was developed in the mid-1980s as part of a project to translate research on women's role in development into training materials which "will improve the ability of development planners and practitioners to address the differing ways in which women and men may be involved in and affected by development."⁴⁵ Since the standard mechanism for the delivery of aid was through projects, the Harvard approach began with the premise that project design and implementation was the most critical area to influence if development was to become more focused on and beneficial to women.

The Harvard approach was originally published in a paper entitled "Women in

⁴⁵Dwight H. Perkins "Foreword," in Overholt et al., *Gender Roles in Development Projects*, p. x. The framework was developed by the Harvard consultants at the request of, and in conjunction with, staff from the USAID Office of Women and Development.

Development: A Framework for Project Analysis" in 1985, as part of a series of technical papers covering the implications for women of projects in agriculture, technology transfer and small-scale enterprises.⁴⁶ The papers were followed by case studies based on actual USAID projects, designed to stimulate use of the analytical framework. Despite the increasing sophistication of gender (as opposed to WID) analysis during the late 1980s, the exact same framework was re-issued in another case book in 1991, re-named the "Gender Analysis Framework" (GAF).⁴⁷ This is a clear example of a rhetorical shift from WID to GAD referred to in the first chapter, unaccompanied by any genuine change in perspective.

The objective of the framework is to ensure the integration of women into development projects through the use of four tools or stages of investigation: an activity profile; an access and control profile; an analysis of factors influencing activities, access and control; and a project cycle analysis.⁴⁸ The activity profile ensures the visibility of women's labour for the social and economic well-being of communities. It delineates the various tasks involved in the production of goods and services and the reproduction and maintenance of human resources, according to whether they are performed by women or men (further divided by age into children,

⁴⁶Overholt et al., *Gender Roles in Development Projects*, pp. 3-15.

⁴⁷Catherine Overholt et al, "Gender Analysis Framework," in *Gender Analysis in Development Planning: A Case Book*, ed. Aruna Rao, Mary B. Anderson, and Catharine A. Overholt (West Hartford: Kumarian Press), 1991, 9-20. Cited as GAF hereafter.

⁴⁸These four tools are reproduced in Appendix A.

adults and elders), the amount of time allocated and the location of their performance (such as home, farm or market). The second stage, the access and control profile, enhances the understanding of community structures by outlining the resources required to carry out essential activities (including land, labour, capital, and skills) and the benefits which accrue from these activities (income, ownership of assets, basic goods, education, power and prestige). It specifies whether women or men have access to these resources and benefits and/or control over them. The relative power of men and women is shown in this profile. The third step in the framework is an analysis of the factors influencing activities, access and control, including: general economic conditions, institutional structures, demographic factors, socio-cultural factors, community norms, legal parameters, training or education, and political factors.⁴⁹ These factors are identified to determine which may facilitate or constrain a project and how they may or may not be changed by various interventions. The authors suggest that particular attention be paid to exogenous trends that may be affecting a target community: "Projects are not implemented and carried out within the static environment implied by the activity and access and control profiles. Dynamic forces - political, social, environmental, or physical - can either enhance the accomplishment of a project's objectives or seriously impede it."⁵⁰

Finally, the remainder of the framework consists of analyzing a project

⁴⁹GAF p. 13-14.

⁵⁰GAF, p. 14.

according to the data collected in the first three steps. A series of questions are posed about the "women's dimension" in project identification, design, implementation and evaluation. Planners ask which activities the project will affect, how issues of access and control affect these activities, and which factors are most important for determining the potential impact of the project on women's lives.

Given its implicit support of mainstream development projects and timid promotion of women's increased access to resources and benefits, the GAF maintains, essentially, a WID orientation and approach. To its credit, from the beginning the GAF was concerned with gathering information about the activities of both women and men, which was more than many WID analysts had done. However, despite recognizing that women and men have differential access to and control over resources and benefits, and therefore different relative power, the relations between women and men were not explicitly considered. These power relations, and the socio-political and economic constraints facing women (identified in the third step) are accepted as given and unchangeable rather than recognized as socially constructed. Thus, the GAF analysis is **in-depth** but not **critical** - there is no explicit agenda for change in the direction of greater gender equality.

Furthermore, the GAF takes an instrumental view of participation: women are seen primarily as sources of information and recipients of project inputs rather than active subjects in their own development. The description of the project cycle

analysis notes that during project identification, questions "that relate to women as project clientele need to be addressed. This includes defining project objectives in terms of women, identifying the opportunities and/or constraints for women's project involvement, and, finally, identifying possible negative effects on women."⁵¹

Women participants are offered no control over decision-making about the kinds of interventions that will be designed, which may not even be in their interests after planners have analyzed their needs. As in other WID approaches, there is no discussion about men's participation in projects and how this affects the participation of women.

The GAF also lacks a reflexive component. Its analysis is weighted to the initial phases of a project - the identification and design stages. While this period is of crucial importance, the GAF is weakened by the absence of mechanisms for monitoring and guarding against the possibility of project "misbehaviour" at the implementation phase. There is no reference to monitoring or reflection in the GAF. Women are to be "involved" in project evaluation, but this is perceived as a one-off occurrence at the end of a project. Women, therefore, have no real opportunity to affect project directions. Moreover, because the GAF assumes the planner to be a neutral agent, reflexivity on the part of agency personnel is completely ignored. Kabeer suggests: "There is little in the [GAF] which would prompt planners to

⁵¹GAF, p. 15, my emphasis. This implies that projects which have negative effects on women may still be implemented, a situation which would be difficult to imagine under a GAD approach.

consider the need to realign their priorities with the disempowered of the communities they serve. It thus offers a 'safe' option to those who use this framework."⁵²

Perhaps because of its modest ambition, the GAF has proven extremely influential among development agencies. Both USAID and CIDA organized training programmes for all senior staff using the framework as a first step for implementing their respective WID policies, and the GAF formed a significant part of their own in-house gender awareness training programmes for staff.⁵³ Moser suggests that sensitization was the main strength of the GAF:

The Harvard approach was designed to create awareness. Its tools are intended to ensure the meticulous documentation of differences between men and women in divisions of labour, as well as the ownership and control over resources. It assumes that feeding this information into the project cycle, based on rational comprehensive procedures, is sufficient to change practices.⁵⁴

It is clear from the above critique that the GAF is unable to meet any of the three criteria of GAD technique. Furthermore, the absence of mechanisms to connect

⁵²Kabeer, "Triple roles, gender roles, social relations," p. 27. The Harvard approach is referred to as the "gender roles framework" in her account.

⁵³The USAID WID Policy dates from the Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act in 1973. Several training courses for senior staff were undertaken in 1984-85 - see Overholt et al., *Gender Roles in Development Projects*. In CIDA, the first WID training program for senior staff was held in January 1985, and followed the Harvard framework. CIDA's "Women in Development Action Plan" was officially tabled in Parliament in June 1986 - see Canadian International Development Agency, *Women: A Vital Force in Development*, Report on CIDA's Progress in Implementing its Women in Development Action Plan. (Ottawa: CIDA Public Affairs Branch), 1989.

⁵⁴Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, p. 153-54.

planning to development practice and project implementation ultimately means that the GAF fails to achieve the comprehensiveness necessary for it to be considered a technique.

The Moser Gender Planning Methodology

The second influential GAD framework is a considerable step forward from the GAF. Gender planning, as a distinct planning methodology, was first developed by Caroline Moser and Caren Levy in the mid 1980s.⁵⁵ The stated goal of gender planning, as it has evolved, is "the emancipation of women from their subordination, and the achievement of equality, equity and empowerment."⁵⁶ Unlike the GAF, Moser's focus on addressing women's strategic gender needs places her methodology clearly within the GAD tradition.

Moser recognized a theory-practice gap in GAD. While there was conceptual awareness of gender and development issues amongst planners and broad acceptance of the important role which women play in the development process, this was not

⁵⁵Caroline O. N. Moser and Caren Levy, "A theory and methodology of gender planning: meeting women's practical and strategic gender needs", DPU Gender and Planning Working Paper No. 11, London: Development Planning Unit, 1986. Both were at the Development Policy Unit of University College, London. Moser is now a Senior Urban Social Policy Specialist at the World Bank.

⁵⁶Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, p. 1.

translated into actual planning practice.⁵⁷ GAD analysts illustrated the complexity of structures of gender relations in a given context without subsequently showing how these complexities could be simplified into workable tools for planners. Moser's focus is essentially on policy, and on how policy is operationalized through planning, rather than on project implementation.

The conceptual tools which Moser includes in her gender planning methodology are widely used in GAD theory, including the triple role of women (productive, reproductive, and community managing), and women's practical and strategic gender needs. Moser argues that these concepts cannot simply be grafted onto other planning methodologies.⁵⁸ Gender planning is based on a conception of planning as "debate", or a process of negotiation, involving the participation of women, "gendered organizations" and planners. The gender planning process does not comprise a logical sequence of clearly defined stages, rather it is an iterative process with a number of overlapping procedures utilizing various methodological tools derived from core gender planning principles.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Moser, "Gender planning in the Third World," p. 1799.

⁵⁸Specifically, she compares her planning process to the classical "blueprint plan" approach or the procedural "rational comprehensive plan", both of which have been widely used in development practice. Moser characterizes the GAF as rational-comprehensive planning. See Appendix B for models of these planning frameworks, as well as for Moser's gender planning model.

⁵⁹Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, p. 90. See Appendix B.

Gender planning begins with the process of gender diagnosis, through which the contextually-specific development problems of women and men are identified. This phase uses tools such as gender roles identification (similar to the activity analysis of GAF but with a community management role added to the productive and reproductive) and gender needs assessment, in which the causes of women's subordination and the barriers against their emancipation are identified and women's practical and strategic needs are discerned. This diagnosis is meant to be carried on in conjunction with gendered consultation and participation, which ensure negotiation and debate during planning, and both activities should be repeated throughout the planning process. Gender diagnosis and consultation lead to the elaboration of gender objectives that address the dominant problems. Gender objectives are to be continually refined during the planning process, "responding to changes brought about either by actions to make interventions more gender-aware, or by other factors external to the process."⁶⁰ These objectives are the basis for determining the appropriate gender entry strategy, defined by Levy as:

A prioritized and tactical set of actions designed to expand the room-for-manoeuve at a particular socio-economic and political juncture to overcome constraints which may block or subvert desired gender interventions, and to utilize potential which may provoke a resource or an opportunity to promote them.⁶¹

A gender entry strategy has two elements: the identification of how strategic gender

⁶⁰Ibid, p. 98.

⁶¹Caren Levy, "Training materials for gender planning, 1990-92," quoted in Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, p. 105.

needs can be reached through practical gender needs, and an assessment of the opportunities and constraints embedded in the planning agency's institutional structures and operational procedures. It must also consider the societal blockages against and opportunities for change in gender relations (which affect the first element of the strategy), and the level of gender awareness of planners (which affects the second). Well defined, the entry strategy provides a snapshot picture of what is likely to be achieved through gender planning by a particular agency in a particular context. Implementation of the strategy requires ongoing gender monitoring and evaluation, diagnosis and consultation, which ideally should result in the realignment of gender entry strategies to gender objectives as part of an iterative process.

It is immediately apparent that Moser's gender planning framework is both more critical and reflexive than the Harvard GAF. First, it has an explicit agenda for change through women's empowerment and emancipation.

The focus of gender planning on social transformation means that its procedures relate to processes of negotiation and debate. These are concerned with the redistribution of power and resources within households, civil society, the state and the global system.⁶²

Second, unlike the Harvard approach, gender planning is oriented towards women's strategic needs: practical gender needs are viewed as an entry point through which to tackle the larger structural constraints. Moser clearly shows how actions to support women in their different roles (as producers, reproducers and community managers)

⁶²Ibid, p. 90.

can meet either practical or strategic gender needs, and therefore can either reinforce or challenge the existing gender division of labour.⁶³

While addressing the critical and reflexive requirements of a GAD technique, Moser's gender planning methodology falls short on participation. There is a troubling duality in the way in which Moser discusses the issue of participation in her framework. On the one hand, she appears to adopt a strong interpretation of participation: "In a planning methodology that emphasizes debate, negotiation and conflict resolution, gendered consultation and participation is the most critical yet complex gender planning procedure."⁶⁴ On the other hand, this statement is immediately followed by a clarification that "throughout the ensuing text the term 'participation' is used generically to include consultation."⁶⁵ This second quote suggests a weaker interpretation of participation, and the image of consultation is dominant throughout the text. This duality affects Moser's ability to prescribe means of operationalizing "gendered participation". Furthermore, like the Harvard framework, Moser ignores the issue of men's participation, and how this should be

⁶³Moser provides a good example with a proposed project to provide child care, normally seen as part of women's reproductive role. She suggests that providing such a service at a woman's workplace reinforces traditional roles and the existing gender division of labour, and therefore meets only a practical gender need, whereas situating such facilities at a man's workplace can challenge the existing division of labour in a way which serves women's strategic gender needs. Similarly, skill training and employment opportunities for women address a practical need, but if they are provided in areas of traditional male dominance, they can also address a strategic need. See Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*, pp. 48-54.

⁶⁴Ibid, p. 100.

⁶⁵Ibid, my emphasis.

incorporated and mediated. Despite recognizing that the planning process involves conflict, there are no suggestions on how conflict situations can be managed or resolved or how a focus on women's strategic needs can be maintained in the face of conflict.

Ultimately, Moser's methodology fails to meet the standards of a participatory technique because it is designed for an particular elite. It is oriented to the needs of planners in mainstream development agencies who are concerned with adopting gender planning in their organizations. The language of the methodology is jargon-laden and bureaucratic. Therefore, the methodology is not suited for use in the field by uneducated, poor women themselves. While women and "gendered organizations" are meant to participate with planners in order to meet women's strategic needs, the process itself is finally controlled by the planners, who may frequently be far removed from the physical and social environment of their erstwhile clients. Women may be consulted about their needs and may participate in interventions to meet them, but they do not have a "veto" over decisions taken about the shape and style of these interventions.

While the gender planning methodology devotes more attention to the assumptions and operational procedures of development agencies themselves than does the GAF, the challenge is limited: Moser acknowledges the political as well as the technical nature of planning but fails to summon institutions "to reflect on the class

and gender interests which may shape their own practices and which may seriously curtail their ability to translate the 'prioritised concerns' of women from low-income households into a set of means for addressing them."⁶⁶ In discussing the institutional structures that can provide opportunities or constraints for the implementation of gender entry strategies, she loses her conceptual separation between WID and GAD, which was meant to be the foundation of gender planning, and begins to refer to the incorporation of "WID/GAD policy" as if these were comparable or interchangeable things.⁶⁷ Furthermore, her "WID/GAD policy matrix" (a spatial representation of the range of policy approaches to women: welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment)⁶⁸ as an indicator with which to measure the effectiveness of interventions to meet women's practical and strategic gender needs, seems to present the five policy options as equally valid choices for institutions to make. As a result, it seems entirely possible that WID interventions could be the legitimate product of Moser's gender planning methodology.

⁶⁶Kabeer, "Triple roles, gender roles, social relations," p. 32-33.

⁶⁷A further example is instructive, comparing a statement from the introduction and conclusion of Moser's book. On p. 3 she distinguishes between WID and GAD, noting that the terms "are all too often used synonymously, yet in their original meaning they are representative of very different theoretical positions with regard to the problems experienced by low-income women in the Third World. Consequently, they differ fundamentally in terms of their focus, with important implications for both their policies and planning procedures." In the concluding comment (p. 210-11), she suggests that the purpose of the book "has been to describe the development of gender planning as a legitimate planning tradition in its own right, with its particular conceptual rationale, its planning process, and its WID/GAD principles, tools and methodology" (my emphasis in both cases). Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*.

⁶⁸Ibid. These five approaches were discussed in the first chapter.

Moser's stated goal is to increase the implementation of gender planning practice, rather than the implementation of GAD projects themselves. Her methodology does not meet the requirements that have been established for a GAD technique. Specifically, it does not provide for women's meaningful participation as agents of their own self-empowerment, or for men's meaningful participation in the transformation of gender relations.

Conclusions

Gender and development theory presents a powerful vision of women's empowerment and emancipation which incorporates class and racial analysis as well as gender analysis. This chapter has argued that any technique designed to implement GAD theory would have to be critical, participatory and reflexive. All three requirements are essential for translating GAD's transformatory potential into practice.

Existing tools such as the Harvard Gender Analysis Framework and Caroline Moser's gender planning methodology are unable to fulfil the requirements of a GAD technique. Both frameworks have contributed a great deal to raising awareness about the complexity of gender relations and women's triple roles as producers, reproducers and community managers, and about the impact of these issues on project planning

and success. In this way, they have opened greater space for thinking about gender issues in development agencies. However, both are oriented more to the needs of planners and the planning process than to the needs of poor women. Neither provides any mechanism to transfer control over project planning and implementation to women, thus limiting the scope of their participation and ultimately their self-empowerment.

The limitations of these existing frameworks requires us to look elsewhere for techniques with which to implement GAD. Since GAD's agenda focuses on the empowerment of women, it is appropriate to examine alternative empowerment-focused techniques which have been developed to see whether they meet GAD's three core requirements. Participatory rural appraisal (PRA), a technique designed to enable local people themselves to investigate and analyze their situation, to plan and to act collectively, is a promising candidate to which we now turn.

CHAPTER THREE

PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL AS A GAD TECHNIQUE

The term participatory rural appraisal (PRA) describes a growing range of methods that have been developed to enable local people to collectively explore, enhance, analyze and systematize their own knowledge of life and conditions, to plan their future, and to act in support of their own development. PRA's long term goal is to enable local people to take more control of their lives and resources and to improve their own well-being as they define it. Thus PRA has an implicit "empowerment" agenda, though it was not developed to respond specifically to gender issues

This chapter explores the compatibility of PRA as a GAD technique. Beginning with a review of the roots and principles of the PRA approach, the chapter assesses whether PRA provides adequate tools to meet, in theory, the three requirements of a GAD technique. Possible limitations of PRA are discussed in the conclusion of the chapter, followed by a review of practical examples that highlight the strengths and weaknesses of PRA as it has been applied in the field to issues of women's empowerment and gender and development.

The Roots of PRA

Similar to the gender analysis and planning techniques discussed in the last chapter, PRA has been used primarily in research and planning, as a way of gathering and analyzing information in order to plan development projects or programmes. Because of its relatively recent development (since the late 1980s) and its grounding in research, PRA has not yet been widely utilized as a development technique by either governments or by NGOs.

Rapid and participatory methods of enquiry grew out of a general dissatisfaction with conventional research methods such as large-scale rural questionnaire surveys and brief visits by foreign "experts" with little appreciation of the context of rural people's lives. Both these methods were generally expensive procedures that contributed little of benefit to poor rural people. Survey data was analyzed and information produced so slowly that it was often rendered out of date before it became available for use by development planners or fieldworkers. Furthermore, since in both cases all activities and decisions are in the hands of outsiders, the capacities of local people are neither utilized nor enhanced.

PRA, therefore, emphasizes both rapidity (so that information gained is immediately useful to field-based decision-makers) and participation (so that those who have the most stake in the information determine its method of collection and

later use). PRA is specifically concerned with rural people's own knowledge about their situations, basing development plans on their needs and their information: both the source of knowledge and the beneficiaries are the local people and communities.

As an approach, PRA has many and diverse roots, including social anthropology, activist participatory research, agroecosystem analysis, farming systems research, and rapid rural appraisal.¹ Not all of these have conceptualized the purpose of research in the same way, and each shall be briefly explored here.

PRA's connections with anthropology and ethnography include using techniques such as participant observation and semi-structured interviewing, emphasizing a consciousness of one's own subjectivity, placing considerable value on indigenous knowledge systems, and on establishing rapport between "outsiders" and "insiders".² However, the anthropological approach of extended field residence has many recognized downfalls as a basis of project planning, including the limited technical perspective of the observer (i.e. one person's areas of specialized knowledge are by nature limited) and the long-term nature of the residency, which would considerably delay project development.

¹The most comprehensive review of the formation, principles and directions of PRA has been written by Robert Chambers of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. I will draw extensively on his arguments in this and the next sub-section. Chambers, "Rural appraisal."

²Joachim Theis and Heather M. Grady, *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development: A Training Manual Based on Experiences in the Middle East and North Africa* (London: Save the Children and IIED), 1991.

The activist participatory research tradition associated with Paulo Freire and the adult education movement have also provided a rich background of attitudes and perspectives for PRA.³ Both approaches share a belief that poor people are creative and capable, and need to do their own investigation and analysis if the process (of education or of development) is to be empowering. Activist participatory research, represented currently by advocates of participatory action research (PAR)⁴, has also clarified the importance of the role that outsiders can play as facilitators, convenors and catalysts. PAR is a participatory approach that promotes social change through the conscientization of the oppressed classes. It operates through dialogue, involving the poor and an external "change agent", about the structures of their subordination. As Chambers notes: "compared with most activist participatory research, PRA has entailed less extended dialogue and those who have facilitated it have been less ideologically committed *ex ante* to radical social change."⁵ Part of the explanation for this may arise from the more scientific or technical background of many PRA and PRA practitioners. A danger inherent in a Freirian tradition such as PAR, however,

³See Paulo Freire, *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogue on Transforming Education* (London: Macmillan), 1987; Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and the adult education journal *Convergence* for examples.

⁴See, for example, Orlando Fals Borda, "The application of participatory action research in Latin America," in *Globalization, Knowledge and Society*, ed. Martin Albrow and E. King (London: Sage), 1990; or Orlando Fals Borda and Md Anisur Rahman, eds., *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research* (New York: Apex), 1991.

⁵Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 5. By "dialogue" Chambers is referring to the conscientization process advocated by Freire, which is based on dialogue between the change agent and the poor about the conditions of their lives. PRA tends to be quicker and to cover a wider range of topics through both dialogical and visual processes.

is that "change agents" often have a predetermined (Marxist) idea about the direction of change, and become promoters of their personal vision of the future rather than catalysts for poor people developing their own visions.⁶ PRA, on the other hand, advocates more control for local people over the pace and nature of change in their lives.

These two "sources" for PRA can be seen as the sociological stream which fed the development of PRA. A second stream of influence derives from disillusionment regarding the limitations of technology-driven agricultural development efforts, particularly the Green Revolution. Agricultural researchers and development workers recognized that rural societies and their agricultural practices were part of a complex and integrated system:

It was realized that a system . . . develops through adaptive change rather than by linear progress, that it is dynamic and its parts interact by influencing each other. It is not possible to effect change in one element of the system in isolation without affecting the other parts. Consequently the system as a whole has to be understood in order to identify and help bring about desired changes.⁷

This systems perspective was particularly strong in ecological approaches such as agroecosystem analysis, developed originally in Thailand at the University of Chiang Mai during the late 1970s. Agroecosystem analysis developed many of the tools which have been used in PRA, including informal mapping and diagramming which

⁶Majid Rahnema, "Participation," in *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (London: Zed), 1992, 116-31.

⁷Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*. p. 24.

are discussed further below.⁸

A concurrent systems-oriented approach was field research on farming systems, in which researchers (including geographers, agricultural economists and biological scientists) drew attention to "the complexity, diversity and rationality of much apparently untidy and unsystematic farming practice" in the developing world, such as mixed cropping.⁹ Farming systems research also drew attention to the capabilities, professionalism and experimentalist attitudes of small and poor farmers, and recognized that these farmers could and should play a much greater part in agricultural research. Hence, field research contributed further to appreciation for and understanding of local knowledge, and the ability of poor farmers to conduct their own research and analysis.

Rapid Rural Appraisal

The final and most significant contributor to PRA was its immediate predecessor rapid rural appraisal (RRA), itself a close relation of agroecosystem analysis in its practical orientation and range of visual methods. RRA also dates back to the late 1970s and the search for better ways for outsiders (particularly development professionals) to learn about rural life and conditions and indigenous

⁸See Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 5-6 for greater detail about this approach.

⁹Ibid, p. 7.

technical knowledge. Sensitive but rapid appraisal techniques were seen as necessary to counter the long and slow appraisal of the anthropological tradition, the high monetary and time costs of traditional, scientifically-accepted questionnaire surveys for information gathering, and the biases and weaknesses inherent in "rural development tourism" - the phenomenon of the brief rural visit of the urban-based development professional.

Chambers describes several biases inherent in rural development tourism. Spatial biases exist regarding what sites are visited: they tend to be near roadsides and larger towns, and in village centres rather than outlying areas. Furthermore, established project sites are visited, rather than areas where no officially-sponsored projects are located but where there nevertheless may be considerable need or independent innovation. Seasonal biases regarding the timing of visits are also common: experts from the North rarely travel in the hottest or wettest seasons, though these are often times of greater hardship for poor people. Also, interviewees are more often men rather than women, village leaders and elites rather than the poor, and those who accepted projects or services rather than those who did not, all leading to "person" biases. A "diplomatic bias" during visits, where the outsider avoids raising sensitive topics or asking to see the poorest conditions in order to avoid giving offence, further restricts the range of useful information collected through rural development tourism. Lastly, Chambers notes the presence of professional biases, where outside experts are inclined to focus solely on their individual area of expertise

and miss the linkages between different systems and conditions in the lives of the poor.¹⁰

RRA was developed as a means of reversing these biases and gathering comprehensive information in a qualitative, cost-efficient and time-efficient manner. It sought to enable outsiders to learn from isolated farmers, rural women and marginalized groups (as well as the more accessible groups) about their knowledge, the realities of their lives and their needs. Chambers lists six basic principles of RRA.

1. **Learn from rural people.** Outsiders should seek to understand the complexity of local systems and the perceptions, priorities and needs of local people. Local physical, technical and social knowledge should be the foundation of research and planning.
2. **Learn rapidly and progressively.** Conscious exploration, improvisation, and flexibility in methods used, cross-checking and on-the-spot analysis, enable practitioners to reject a blueprint approach in favour of a learning process approach to research and project development. Plans should be revised, adapted and modified as fieldwork proceeds.
3. **Offset the biases of rural development tourism.** Greater understanding of the lives of the poor can be gained "by being relaxed and not rushing, listening

¹⁰Robert Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* (Harlow: Longman Scientific and Technical), 1983.

not lecturing, probing instead of passing on to the next topic, being unimposing instead of important, and seeking out the poorer people and women, and learning their concerns and priorities."¹¹

4. **Optimize trade-offs between the costs of collecting additional information and the benefits of having it.** Practitioners should be guided by the ideas of optimal ignorance (only gathering as much information as is necessary for appropriate action at each stage, knowing what is not worth knowing), and appropriate imprecision (not measuring more precisely than is necessary, and not measuring anything which will not be used) rather than seeking absolute comprehensiveness.
5. **Triangulate.** Planners or researchers should ensure that all information is cross-checked three (or more) times. "Accuracy is achieved through diverse information and different kinds and sources of information, not statistical replicability."¹² Triangulation is also applied to the composition of PRA teams (ensuring different disciplines are represented, including locals and outsiders, men and women), the sources of information (using people, places, events and processes), and the tools and techniques chosen (including interviews and discussions, direct observation, and visual diagrams and maps).¹³

¹¹Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 13.

¹²Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*, p. 27.

¹³Ibid, p. 30.

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6. **Seek diversity.** RRA looks for variability rather than averages. "It goes beyond the cross-checking of triangulation, for defined broadly it deliberately looks for, notices and investigates contradictions, anomalies, and differentness."¹⁴

These principles show a genuine effort to reduce the power imbalance between outside "experts" or development professionals and rural people, whose needs the experts had often presumed to understand after minimal or no consultation. However, RRA was primarily oriented towards the learning process and needs of outsiders, who collected and analyzed the information, not insiders. Projects that were based on information collected in an RRA were still likely to be designed without the further participation of local people. As Chambers notes: "its normal mode was, and remains, extractive."¹⁵

A typology of RRA generated at an international conference at the University of Khon Kaen in Thailand in 1985 listed "participatory RRA," as one of several variants.¹⁶ "Participatory RRA," which soon became known as PRA, had a focus on

¹⁴Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 14.

¹⁵Ibid, p. 9.

¹⁶Four variants of RRA were listed in an 1988 overview: exploratory RRAs, topical RRAs, monitoring RRAs and participatory RRAs. See Jennifer A. McCracken, Jules N. Pretty, and Gordon R. Conway, *An Introduction to Rapid Rural Appraisal for Agricultural Development* (London: IIED), 1988. Appendix C provides an overview of the differences between RRA and PRA.

stimulating community awareness, with outsiders acting as catalysts.

Core Principles of PRA

PRA was developed, through parallel initiatives in Kenya and India in the field of natural resource management, as an alternative to redress the extractive nature of RRA.¹⁷ Much of the early innovation and experimentation in PRA was undertaken in India by a number of smaller NGOs and some government departments.¹⁸ PRA incorporates the six basic principles of RRA outlined above, but adds three further principles to embrace its concern with participation and empowerment.

7. **Facilitate.** Investigation, analysis, presentation and learning should be done by rural people themselves. In this way, projects that are developed address their problems and needs, are owned by them, and are more likely to be

¹⁷In Kenya, the earliest PRA exercises were undertaken to develop a village resource management plan in Mbusanyi, Machakos District, an effort coordinated by the National Environment Secretariat of the Government of Kenya and the Program for International Development at Clark University in the US. See National Environment Secretariat and Clark University Program for International Development, *An Introduction to Participatory Rural Appraisal for Rural Resources Management* (Nairobi: National Environment Secretariat), 1989; and Charity Kabutha, Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter, and Richard Ford, *Assessing Mbusanyi: Using Participatory Rural Appraisal for Sustainable Resources Management* (Worcester: Clark University), 1991. In India, the earliest exercises were undertaken by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in 1988 with support from the International Institute of Environment and Development (IIED), London. More information about AKRSP is provided in Chapter Four.

¹⁸Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 10, lists the following Indian NGOs as early PRA pioneers (in alphabetical order): ActionAid, Activists for Social Alternatives, the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, Krishi Gram Vikas Kendra, MYRADA, Seva Bharati, SPEECH, and Youth for Action. Government departments involved included the Drylands Development Board, Karnataka, the District Rural Development Agency in Andhra Pradesh and several state Forestry Departments. The IIED has played a formative role in the development and spread of RRA and PRA through training, research and the publication of a practical, field-oriented journal, *RRA Notes* (since 1988).

implemented and monitored by them. Facilitating has been described as "handing over the stick", whereby an outsider begins a process and then sits back, listening and watching without rushing or interrupting, while local people complete an exercise or an analysis. Facilitating can involve giving guidance and explanation, but not direction.

8. **Maintain self-critical awareness and responsibility.** "Facilitators are continuously examining their behaviour, and trying to do better. This includes embracing error - welcoming error as an opportunity to learn to do better - and using one's own best judgement at all times, meaning accepting personal responsibility rather than vesting it in a manual or a rigid set of rules."¹⁹
9. **Share.** Information, ideas, innovations, concerns, and lessons learned should be continually shared among participants, among them and facilitators, among different facilitators, and among different organizations.

Based on these nine principles, Chambers suggests that if PRA is done well it becomes "self-improving and self-spreading: self improving through critical awareness, embracing error, and learning what works; and self-spreading through sharing."²⁰ PRA is also considered less of a "one-off" process, that is, applicable and essential beyond the planning process. By encouraging local people's own analysis and decision-making, PRA skills are transferred to and remain in the

¹⁹Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 14.

²⁰Robert Chambers, "PRA: start, stumble, self-correct, share", 1992. Photocopy. p. 2.

community, where they can be used in project implementation and monitoring.

The above principles are applied to a variety of tools and methods, with which practitioners facilitate the investigative, analytical and planning processes with local women and men.

Tools and Methods of PRA

Practising PRA involves choosing from an extensive "basket of tools", which are designed to facilitate both information collection and analysis. The range of tools used in particular circumstances will vary according to the time available, the amount and kind of information that is needed (keeping in mind the principles of optimal ignorance and appropriate imprecision), and the goal of the PRA process itself (for example whether it is to develop a comprehensive resource management plan, or a monitoring or training exercise). Some of the methods and tools of PRA, which have been drawn from a range of sources, were already referred to in the first section of this chapter.

The menu of PRA methods can be divided into five broad categories: tools for observation, interviewing, diagramming, ranking, and analysis.²¹ Each of these

²¹Lists of PRA and RRA tools by category is provided in Appendix D.

groups is reviewed briefly here to show how they can be used and for what purposes. Specific methods and examples are covered in greater detail in the following section, where their GAD potential is explored.

Observation

Direct observation of village or group activities and interaction, as well as of physical surroundings, is a rich source of information in PRA as in applied anthropology. Observation can provide important indicators with which to cross check or support other findings (such as house type and location as indicators for wealth, variations in dress as indicators for status or ethnic affiliation), and with which to identify different groups of people who should be consulted using other tools about their particular needs and concerns. PRA encourages hands-on observation or "learning by doing" whereby outsiders on a PRA team ask to be taught to perform the everyday tasks of different villagers (including women), such as transplanting rice, drawing water or making local foods, as a way of encouraging understanding and building trust between the PRA team and the local participants. Transect walks through villages are another rich source of information. For a transect, an outsider walks with a number of key informants through the village and surrounding area, observing, asking questions, identifying different agricultural zones, seeking problems and local solutions. Lastly, the tradition of having outsiders stay overnight in villages in local accommodation for the course of a PRA exercise (anywhere from a few days

to a few weeks) provides diverse opportunities to learn about village customs and lifestyles.

Interviews

Another tool borrowed from anthropological research is the semi-structured interview. In this form of interview some of the questions are predetermined according to a checklist, while many others are formulated during the interview in order to explore the interviewee's responses more thoroughly. Interviews are conducted with individuals, key informants on particular topics, and different sized groups. Group interviews are used for brainstorming sessions to generate ideas, or for focused discussions on specific options. In addition to prepared questions, PRA encourages the use of visual information such as photographs, or the maps and diagrams generated with other PRA tools, as the basis for interviews. Particular emphasis is placed on the attitude and behaviour of interviewers - ensuring that they listen closely without interrupting, build rapport, avoid leading questions that predetermine answers, pay attention to non-verbal responses as well as what is said, probe on important issues, and avoid lecturing or advising.²²

²²Theis and Grady provide four pages of guidelines on semi-structured interviewing, the bulk of which is directed towards attitudinal or behavioral issues. Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*. pp. 57-60.

Maps/Diagrams

Participatory mapping, modelling and diagramming, and the subsequent analysis and discussion of their products, form one of the cores of PRA. Maps provide simplified and readily understandable visual models of different aspects of community life: from social maps showing family or business relationships, to health maps showing the incidence of disease, to natural resource maps, farm or whole village maps that detail land types and uses. Diagrams are used to represent historical trends, to show daily or seasonal routines, or to illustrate institutional relationships in a community. PRA emphasizes that local materials and points of reference should be used as much as possible in mapping and modelling. Thus, maps and diagrams are often drawn on the ground using sticks, rocks and leaves are used to mark pictures and score matrices, and local names for seasons and objects are used. Presenting information in a visual manner is given a high priority within PRA. First, it allows for the active participation of both literate and non-literate people. Second, it facilitates sharing of information, since as Chambers notes "all who are present can see, point to, discuss, manipulate and alter physical objects or representations."²³ Third, the act of creating the map or diagram is in itself an analytical procedure, which encourages progressive learning and triangulation as information is checked and cross-checked by others, amended and expanded during the process.

²³Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 20.

Maps and diagrams, used in all stages of PRA, present logical connections between different exercises. They are very useful for showing problems or opportunities in specific areas and in clarifying issues during discussions. Furthermore, permanent maps or diagrams provide a wealth of baseline data from which to monitor the success of projects designed during a PRA process.²⁴

Ranking/Scoring

Ranking and scoring tools are used in determining preferences, imputing relative values, and placing things in order. Two of the most common ranking methods are: pairwise ranking, in which items of interest (such as tree varieties) are compared pair by pair and informants express a preference between them until an overall sequence of importance is established; and matrix ranking, in which items of interest are laid out in vertical columns and judging criteria are described in rows, with each box being filled out with a perceived relative value, such as a number of stones out of ten per square. Like diagramming, the act of ranking is both participatory and analytical. PRA ranking tools are commonly used to compare the value of different crops, to determine people's priorities among different problems or options for action, and to compare relative positions of households or individuals in a community through wealth ranking. Ranking through relative values does not require

²⁴It is common to do the original mapping on the ground and copy the information onto paper after the exercise is complete, for a more permanent record. Ideally, this transference is done by local participants.

literate or numerate skills, and can be based on local units or measurements, thus enabling even the poorest and uneducated individuals to express their priorities. Ranking exercises bring out not only people's preferences, but also the reasons behind those preferences, and allows for the comparison across axes of difference in a community (such as gender, age, class, ethnicity, religion).

Wealth ranking is a particularly sensitive but informative exercise. Using a number of participants from representative groups in a community, households are enumerated and then placed in order of prosperity according to each informant's perceptions. Variations in income and socioeconomic status can greatly influence people's behaviour, priorities and coping strategies. In order to be able to focus on the less advantaged in a community, these people need to be identified. Wealth ranking allows the PRA team and villagers to investigate perceptions of difference and inequality in a community and to discover local criteria or indicators for wealth and well-being, as well as to establish the relative position of households.²⁵

Analysis Groups

Analysis groups employ a combination of semi-structured interviews and ranking exercises. These discussions are specifically for decision-making and

²⁵Barbara Grandin, *Wealth Ranking in Smallholder Communities: A Field Manual* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications), 1988.

planning. Information gathered throughout the PRA exercise is summarized and analyzed, and recommendations for future action are made on the basis of collective prioritizing. Analysis groups can discuss both the causes and the relative importance of problems, as well as the relative benefits and costs or solutions. As one manual notes: "The degree to which some of the solutions will meet root causes of the problems, as opposed to symptoms, will depend on the depth and detail of the analysis that takes place at this stage."²⁶ Different project options or "innovations" are discussed and described according to various criteria such as: level of community participation, sustainability, equitability in distribution of benefits, technical feasibility, and cost. They are then compared in a matrix to determine the order of priority for further study or implementation. The decisions of the analysis group exercise form the basis of any action plan which is developed.

The range of methods used comprises one of what Chambers calls the "three pillars" of PRA: methods, behaviours and attitudes, and sharing.²⁷ Originally, priority was given to methods, ensuring practitioners were trained to utilize a wide variety of tools in their work. Increasingly, however, the key to good PRA appeared to be the behaviour and attitudes of practitioners, which could either facilitate or constrain genuine participation. Combining methods and attitudes is key to "handing

²⁶Elizabeth Odour-Noah et al., *Implementing PRA: A Handbook to Facilitate Participatory Rural Appraisal* (Worcester: Clark University), 1992, p. 28.

²⁷Chambers, "PRA: start, stumble, self-correct, share".

over the stick", enabling local people to direct the PRA process so that "they own and retain more of the information, and they are strongly placed to identify their priorities for action, and then to determine and control that action."²⁸ The third pillar, sharing, is an important element in the successful use of the tools - villagers and the PRA team share with each other - and in a more general sense encourages the improvement and spread of PRA as a technique.

The sources and development of PRA reviewed above reveal that the technique was initially applied to agriculture and resource management. The goal of many early PRAs was the development of a village resource management plan (VRMP), later widened into the Community Action Plan (CAP).²⁹ While PRA initially focused largely on the planning process, increasing attention has been paid to utilizing PRA for implementing, monitoring and evaluating these plans and projects. Since PRA strives to be both participatory and enabling, the skills and confidence of local people, groups and institutions should be strengthened by the PRA process. In addition, PRA encourages the design of projects based on local needs and, as much as possible, locally sustainable solutions.

²⁸Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 17.

²⁹These have been described and promoted in the work and publications of the Program for International Development at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, see Charity Kabutha, Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter, and Richard Ford, *Participatory Rural Appraisal Handbook* (Worcester, Washington and Nairobi: Clark University, World Resources Institute, Egerton University and the National Environment Secretariat), 1990; and Odour-Noah et al., *Implementing PRA*, respectively.

Mapping, diagramming and ranking all provide a wealth of information which can serve as baseline data from which to assess project directions, methods and success through regular monitoring. In themselves, they are also good monitoring methods. PRA encourages a process- or learning-approach to the project cycle, where monitoring and evaluation are built into an iterative cycle of analysis, planning, action, and self-evaluation, thereby "improving both activities still in progress and future planning, programming and decision-making."³⁰

PRA endeavours to facilitate the participation of a broad cross-section of interests in each community. At the start of the PRA process, it may be practical to work with existing groups in a community (such as cooperatives, labour organizations or religious groups) to gather basic information. However, groups like these are by their nature exclusionary: by defining a constituency they leave others out. In many cases, the most marginalized and poorest people in a community will not be included in membership organizations, since they will not have the land, employment status or time required to be involved. Yet it is the knowledge, needs and priorities of these people with which PRA must be concerned if it is actually to address the "biases" of rural development tourism reviewed above. Exercises such as wealth ranking and social mapping help to identify who the least visible members of the community are, and PRA facilitators then endeavour to seek their views and active participation.

³⁰Pfot, *Participatory Evaluation*, p. 9.

While focusing on and trying to include the poorest in a community, PRA has not generally been concerned with promoting their formal organization. There is little discussion on the importance of organization to the process of empowerment in the PRA literature, although this is a broad theme in general debates about participation and those about women's empowerment. Organization of the poor is considered crucial for channelling and sustaining popular energy necessary to implement plans and meet identified needs.³¹ The degree to which specific groups are established through PRA will vary according to the style of the PRA leaders and the priorities of the local people concerned. Ultimately, however, this inattention to formal association may be a significant weakness of PRA, limiting the sustainability of its analytical process by failing to secure a base from which to continue.

PRA as a GAD Technique

PRA's involvement with issues of gender and relations between women and men has evolved through three stages: from a women-only, "WID" phase, to a recognition of gender difference in practical needs, and more recently to a consideration of gender difference and strategic needs.

³¹For discussion about the role of local organizations, see Michael J. Esman and Norman T. Uphoff, *Local Organizations: Intermediaries in Rural Development* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 1984; and David D. Gow and Jerry Vasant, "Beyond the rhetoric of rural development participation: how can it be done?" *World Development* 11, no. 5 (1983): 427-446.

A "WID" interpretation was common throughout most of the RRA and early PRA literature. Women, when they were considered at all, were treated as a separate group. While early PRA plans and exercises often did not include a specific gender analysis component, in practice it was found that women's involvement in the sectors being investigated meant that an awareness of their roles was crucial. Researchers of agricultural systems in Africa and Asia realized that where women were responsible for the majority of food production, they should participate in making decisions about the directions and utility of farming research, which had not been happening. A recognition of PRA's early gender-blind routine led to a focus on "women's PRAs", or simply on involving women's groups in a separate set of exercises within (but secondary to) the "main" community-wide PRA. This reflects a common pattern for the treatment of women which can be traced through virtually all significant development trends - practices which are originally thought to be gender inclusive are shown to be excluding women, resulting in attention to women-specific situations and women-only projects. More subtle, gender understandings follow slowly, but not inevitably, after this. The limitations of WID theory and practice in terms of affecting change in women's subordination (reviewed in Chapter One) also apply to this phase of PRA.

A more gender-aware (rather than women-specific) approach has been

advocated by Alice Welbourn.³² Welbourn observes that those who attend and speak at village meetings organized by outsiders (such as a PRA team) are a particular and limited section of any community. They tend to be neither the wealthiest, who have little to gain, nor the poorest, who have little expectation that the meeting will be relevant to their lives. Rather, those who are given "voice" through contact with outsiders tend to be those from above-average socio-economic groups who have more self-confidence and respect. They also tend to be men. This bias obscures the many "axes of difference" which divide communities, including gender, class, age, religion and ethnic origin. The lines between them are rarely either clear-cut or independent, and different divisions may have more importance in one community than the next. Welbourn has used rural appraisal "as a method for identifying, exploring and analyzing intra-communal difference; and as a means of training development workers to appreciate the importance of this to their work."³³ In her PRA training programmes, Welbourn divides facilitators into groups of women, older men and younger men, who are then directed to work with their corresponding constituency in their village field work, gathering information with various PRA tools. By comparing and contrasting information gained from the different groups, trainee facilitators are able to "see for themselves that people's views of the same problem differ according

³²Alice Welbourn, "RRA and the analysis of difference," *RRA Notes* 14 (December 1991): 14-23. See also Alice Welbourn, "Rapid rural appraisal, gender and health - alternative ways of listening to needs," *IDS Bulletin* 23, no. 1 (1992): 8-18.

³³Welbourn, "RRA and the analysis of difference," p. 14.

to their own status and experience and according to whom they are talking."³⁴ Since gender is presented as only one of several axes of difference relevant to understanding community needs, much of the trainees' hostility to gender as a foreign, feminist construct is removed. Welbourn noticed a marked improvement in how facilitators perceived women's abilities and their needs as a result of this training strategy.³⁵ A similar gender-aware approach has been taken by researchers on the Ecology, Community Organization and Gender (ECOGEN) project at Clark University, which encourages gathering information with women's and men's groups separately.³⁶

The "axes of difference" approach is conceptually close to GAD due to its appreciation for differences between women as well as its recognition of the power imbalance in gender relations. However, both the axes of difference and structures of gender relations are often accepted as "givens" in a community. In the case of women, this assumption often results in projects that only focus on their practical gender needs.

Ultimately, if the goal of PRA is empowerment of the less advantaged, it is

³⁴Alice Welbourn, "A non-threatening approach to gender-awareness training? - Some possibilities", June, 1991. photocopy, p. 4.

³⁵Ibid, p. 5.

³⁶For an overview of ECOGEN, see Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter, Dianne Rocheleau, Dale Shields and Mary Rojas, *Introducing the ECOGEN Approach to Gender, Natural Resources Management, and Sustainable Development* (Worcester, Clark University), n.d.. ECOGEN is a research project that is increasingly involved in adapting PRA tools to be more gender-sensitive and to facilitate collection of gender-disaggregated information.

not enough to simply recognize axes of difference - this deeper understanding must also be incorporated into an action plan for change. Women's strategic gender interests must become the focus of projects, using practical gender needs as an entry point but not as a goal. While gender analysis is increasingly being recognized as an essential part of PRA processes at all levels (appraisal and planning, monitoring and evaluation, and training and orientation), there is still no automatic priority given to women's needs and decision-making in PRA as would be expected in a GAD approach.

While no set of methods are *in themselves* sensitive to gender differences and inequality - each method is only as good as its practitioner - PRA's qualitative, dynamic and interactive methodology makes it more likely to pick up on gender differences in needs and priorities as well as on categories of need which might remain submerged in more conventional approaches to policy design. PRA techniques not only emphasize more empathetic ways of communicating with the poor, but allow exploration of issues generally considered sensitive: gynaecological problems, sexually transmitted disease, domestic violence and alcoholism.³⁷

For PRA to be an effective GAD technique, its tools and methods must be capable of uncovering women's strategic gender needs and stimulating women's action for their own self-empowerment. In other words, it must meet the three GAD requirements identified in Chapter Two.

³⁷Kabeer, *Reversed Realities*, p. 236, emphasis in original.

Critical

PRA is critical by design: it attempts to raise "people's self-awareness, suggests viable solutions, and helps people analyze complex issues and problems."³⁸ Its methods are intended to reveal a range of physical, social, and economic conditions and structures that constrain or stimulate development and local empowerment. The primary actors in the analytical process are intended to be community members themselves, both women and men. Their knowledge about their own circumstances is the starting point for inquiry and the base for action: "PRA helps communities to organize and systematize their own information in ways that they will be able to control."³⁹

At the same time, PRA encourages planners, who are usually outsiders, to seek a deeper understanding of specific local conditions and culture rather than generalizing across communities or regions. Awareness of the social hierarchies which operate in a particular community can ensure that those who are most disadvantaged are identified and consulted where otherwise they might have been passed over. PRA methods and processes can be used to uncover the local gender division of labour and the particular constraints that keep local women in a subordinate position to men. Comparing the recorded perceptions of different groups

³⁸Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*, p. 32.

³⁹Odour-Noah et al., *Implementing PRA*, p. 4.

helps to illuminate various structures of social and gender relations operating in a community:

It is important that diagrams . . . are done with a number of different people (women and men, young and old, etc.), as they often have different perceptions, viewpoints, and information. Comparing diagrams drawn by different people can lead to a deeper understanding of the diversity of opinions and of decision-making processes in a community.⁴⁰

Encouraging separate groups of women and men to do their own analysis and then examine variations between their own and the other's diagrams can be a powerful tool for promoting discussion about the gender division of labour and responsibility.

PRA tools such as seasonal or daily activity diagrams and focus-group discussions provide excellent means for determining what women and men actually do, and their different areas of responsibility, which can provide the basis for a discussion of practical and strategic needs. Cornelia Butler Flora describes plotting a daily activity profile among women in the Dominican Republic. Using a focus-group method, Flora initiated a discussion about what the women present did during the course of an average day, and whose help they had access to for each activity (spouses, children, relatives or neighbours). As facilitator, she intervened only for clarification to ensure that all the tasks and procedures were understood. Convincing the women that she considered them to be the experts about their lives and needs was a critical factor in generating their trust and participation in the exercise. Following

⁴⁰Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*, p. 77.

the completion of the activity charts, the women were asked what they had gained from the exercise:

They told us that they were thrilled to know how much they were worth and all that they contribute to the household. By listening and discussing all their tasks and activities, their contribution had become visible. They asked that their husbands come to a similar session to see all that the women did.⁴¹

Flora does not discuss whether this exercise was later repeated with the involvement of men, but men's reactions could help to illuminate both entry points to women's strategic gender interests and areas of particular resistance.

As noted above, however, recognizing gender imbalances is a necessary but insufficient condition for changing them. This is shown in a report from a PRA exercise in The Gambia.⁴² In this case, the completion of a similar seasonal, gender disaggregated activity calendar clearly showed that women performed the bulk of the work in the village, including collecting water and fuel, farming, food preparation and domestic cleaning. The men's activity chart combined periods of farm work with several periods of "rest and pray," and further noted that the men "rest most of the time during the dry season," while women's daily burden did not diminish.⁴³ This imbalance became a topic for discussion:

⁴¹Cornelia Butler Flora, "Using focus groups with rural women," in *Tools for the Field: Methodologies Handbook for Gender Analysis in Agriculture*, ed. Hilary Sims Feldstein and Janice Jiggins (West Hartford: Kumarian Press), 1994, p. 63.

⁴²Richard Ford et al., *Sustaining Development Through Community Mobilization: A Case Study of Participatory Rural Appraisal in The Gambia* (Worcester: Clark University), 1992.

⁴³Ibid, p. 18.

A number of village men openly admitted that women do virtually all of the village's work and that there may be better and more equitable ways to organise the work load. . . . While there was no agreement that all of the men would reorganise their work day or start gathering water - both would be difficult if not impossible to implement on any short term notice - the men did reflect on the nature of the problem and thought about some things they might do to ease the burden of labour on their wives"⁴⁴

It is unclear whether the judgement on the impossibility of change was made by the village men themselves or by the PRA facilitators and report-writers. Clearly, however, a problem with both practical and strategic gender interests for men as well for women was raised. Women's overwork was subsequently listed as a major problem for the village, and prioritized fourth after water shortage, poor farm productivity, and poor health - all of which are closely related to areas of women's responsibility. Unfortunately, the community action plan that arose from the exercise dealt only with improving water supply. It is probable that more sensitive PRA facilitators, committed to a GAD approach and to gently probing the uncomfortable area of gender relations, would have tried to continue dialogue on this issue. Women in the community could gain some leverage for a re-negotiation of the gender division of labour if the issue was included in an approved action plan.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Ibid, p. 12, my emphasis. The traditional coping strategies for dealing with the overburden of women were listed later in the report as marrying more wives and using child labour for tasks, which adds a further burden of child-bearing and rearing on women (p. 25).

⁴⁵For other examples of gender-disaggregated seasonal and daily activity calendars, see Nina Bhatt et al., *Managing Resources in a Nepalese Village: Changing Dynamics of Gender, Caste and Ethnicity*, ECOGEN Case Study Series (Worcester: Clark University), 1994; Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter, Andrea Lee Esser, and M. Dale Shields, *Tools for Gender Analysis: A guide to Field Methods for Bringing Gender into Sustainable Resource Management* (Worcester: Clark University), 1993; and Welbourn, "Rapid rural appraisal, gender and health."

Alice Welbourn provides a good example of how a mapping exercise, carried out with two different groups of women in Sierra Leone (in relatively wealthier and poorer villages respectively), can uncover both practical and strategic interests through the dialogue and analysis it generates. In each case, women were asked to draw "mental maps" of their villages showing its lay-out and the elements of significance to them (see Appendix E). They were then asked to draw in any improvements they would like to see for their village. In the first village, women initially protested that it was not their role to propose changes, this was an area of male decision-making. When they were encouraged, however, women drew in a hospital, school and several wells, all in easily accessible places, reflecting their practical gender needs which derive from their responsibility for health care, child care and household water supply.⁴⁶ In the poorer village, the same exercise was performed, but when asked to make their desired changes on the map the women replied that "We can't draw changes on this map, because the kind of changes we need can't be drawn." Welbourn notes that the women had been telling her about "overwork, breakdown in co-wife support and beatings from their husbands."⁴⁷ The women recognized the structural nature of their problems and their own strategic

⁴⁶Welbourn, "RRA and the analysis of difference." This exercise was also done with a group of men in the same village, which produced a substantially different map showing roads leading beyond the village, concerns with boundaries and objects of status. Men's proposed changes reflected their priorities: a new administration building was proposed for close to the centre of the village, while a new hospital and school were situated further away, though along the main route into the village to impress visitors. Men were not responsible for taking the sick to hospital or children to school, so distance was not a consideration for them. The two different "mental maps" are reproduced in Appendix E.

⁴⁷Ibid, p. 17.

needs for more equitable gender relations, though they felt powerless to propose changes.

Social structures can also be investigated through wealth ranking. Determining the relative economic position of households through ranking can facilitate an exploration of their different social positions and the relations of power and dependency that may exist between households across different class boundaries, as well as networks of support. However, as mentioned previously, wealth ranking can be a very sensitive exercise, and requires a high level of rapport between the facilitator and participants. Concerns about the confidentiality of information are often voiced. Experience has shown that wealth ranking exercises are more effective if they follow social mapping, which will have produced basic information about different households such as their size and basic assets.⁴⁸

A procedure called gender resource mapping has been developed to investigate intra-household divisions of control, responsibility and labour between men, women and children.⁴⁹ Working with individual households, a map is drawn showing different crops and natural resources which are harvested or processed, and indicating

⁴⁸Andrea Cornwall, ed., *'Look Who's Talking': A Report of a Training of Trainers Course in Participatory Rural Appraisal for ActionAid, Ethiopia* (London: ActionAid and IIED), 1992. See also the discussion on wealth ranking in Ford, et al., *Sustaining Development Through Community Mobilization*, pp. 27-31 and 41.

⁴⁹Thomas-Slayter et al., *Tools for Gender Analysis*.

who has control over each resource and the proceeds from it, responsibility for managing it, and who contributes labour for its utilization. Women's and men's areas of control, responsibility and labour are sometimes complementary and sometimes conflictual, such as for resources where women contribute all the labour but men have control of the proceeds. When this kind of household-level investigation is repeated to cover the range of different socioeconomic strata in a community "one learns how the gender divisions and land use change according to class."⁵⁰

Participatory

In both name and practice, the essence of PRA is participation. Unlike its predecessor RRA (in which a team of outsiders led exercises and directed investigations for their own purposes, with information largely analyzed outside of the community where it was gathered), PRA places control over development processes in the hands of the intended beneficiaries. Local people are engaged as actors in their own development, and the prioritization of needs and interventions is theirs to determine. In order to meet the participatory requirements of a GAD approach, PRA must allow women themselves to define their own needs and priorities and to make their own decisions, while engaging both women and men at a grassroots level. Two

⁵⁰Ibid, p. 18. The exercise can illuminate not only the intersection of gender and class divisions, but gender and ethnicity or other major axes of difference. The authors also describe a tool called the benefits analysis flow chart, which can be used in a similar way to uncover who has access to and control over various products or by-products of a family's livelihood activities, and can also be compared for different social groups, see pp. 24-27.

of the particular advantages of PRA as a participatory GAD technique include: it is rapid, and therefore adaptable to the time constraints facing many women; and it is visual, enabling illiterate women to understand and communicate alongside literate men, where traditionally less-educated women have often been excluded.

The previous chapter reviewed some of the benefits and constraints of working with women and men in sex-segregated or mixed groups. In many societies, women are expected to place the needs of their husbands and families before their own, and often feel constrained from discussing their needs in front of men. Men frequently dominate mixed group discussions. Preliminary discussion of women's needs is therefore easiest in women-only groups. Further differentiation, such as working with poor women separately, can "give them collective awareness and confidence to confront others and argue their case."⁵¹

Men-only groups can be useful for exploring men's perceptions of women's work and needs, of which they may be ignorant or may deliberately underestimate. An example is provided by Mehreen Hosain, who undertook to explore women's needs and priorities for a women's component on a social forestry project in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan. She found that it was,

pointless asking the men what activities the women were engaged in, as inevitably the answer was 'nothing.' Again, it reflected on male honour if you

⁵¹Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 46.

even suggested that their women were doing any 'work'. The way around this problem in some cases was to actually mention the kind of work, e.g. 'who feeds the livestock', in which case they would admit that the women did that. When asked what one could do to help the women out, their answer was often limited to 'open a sewing centre.'⁵²

Men's attitudes are important to understand in order to be able to anticipate and respond to potential conflict situations. For example, the first case study in the next chapter focuses on a project that explored men's perceptions of women's work and needs, in order to promote a more equitable gender division of labour.

An interesting example of how PRA methods can anticipate and manage conflict situations is provided by a local development project in Andhra Pradesh, India.⁵³ The Integrated Rural Development Project, managed by the District Development Agency, was having difficulty targeting its assistance to the poorest of poor families, finding instead that the already better-off tended to have more access to project credit sources. Furthermore, competition for funds among village factions and individuals, and corruption among local decision-makers further complicated the selection process. A "credit camp" was held in one village to try to identify the 31 poorest families who would receive project assistance, using a method called "pass on

⁵²Mehreen Hosain, "Rapid appraisal for women in the North West Frontier of Pakistan," *RRA Notes* 12 (July 1991), p. 28. Hosain points out that women also tended to request sewing projects for income generation when first asked. She suggests that this is a result of the way in which women have been approached in traditional development projects by the government and other organizations, which have limited women's involvement to "handicrafts". Both women and men are thus providing answers which they believe are expected of them.

⁵³K. Chandramouli, "Pass on the pen approach: identifying the poorest of the poor families," *RRA Notes* 14 (December 1991): 29-32.

the pen". The project director explained that rural people associated the pen with knowledge and with "Saraswathi", the goddess of learning and truth. The person to whom the pen was handed was directed to speak only the truth about herself or himself. With the whole village assembled, everyone was asked to try to identify the poorest among them, the individual who was, by all accounts, worst off in the village. This person was then passed the pen and required to describe her/his situation, which was verified by the group. Once everyone had agreed that this person was deserving of assistance under the project, s/he was to pass the pen to the person who was next closest to them in material condition, next worse off. The 31 poorest families were selected with the cooperation of all the villagers, even those who would not themselves gain from the project. The director concluded:

Thus, the technique not only helped us in going through the exercise to our utmost satisfaction, it allowed the real poorest of the poor to be identified and kept all the non-official elements from interfering (though they were present in the credit camp). Just as important, the exercise which brought together members of two rival groups, encouraged people to thank each other, talk to each other and smile at each other, at least for that one day.⁵⁴

While this example is organized around class-based differences rather than gender, two important parallels can be made. First, woman-headed households often comprise a large proportion of the poorest of the poor, and this kind of method may be an appropriate way of reducing their invisibility and directing resources towards them. Secondly, gender and class share the characteristics of apparently intractable

⁵⁴Ibid, p. 32. The first two pen-holders are identified as male in the article, though the gender of the other 29 is not specified.

socially-constructed categories. This example shows how PRA can be used to get the agreement of powerful groups to address the needs of the least powerful by focusing on their material condition rather than their social position. It also shows that a practical need, accepted without controversy, can serve as an entry point for addressing strategic needs, including equitable social (and gender) relations.

Conflict, disagreement and competition are present in all communities, whether along age, class, ethnic, gender, political, religious or other lines. Richard Ford and his colleagues provide an example of how PRA's ranking exercises provide a way for participants to manage disputes and solicit broad agreement on a plan of action between diverse groups.⁵⁵ A community in Madagascar spent an afternoon at the end of a week-long PRA process doing a pairwise ranking of what they had identified as their major problems.⁵⁶ The villagers of Ambodirafia concluded that their most pressing concern was road conditions, since roads were impassable in the wet season, followed by agricultural degradation. Health, population growth and lack of income-generating opportunities were tied for third. Interestingly, the community action plan that was developed following this ranking exercise gave precedence to the second priority of agricultural degradation, although those supporting road upgrading

⁵⁵Richard Ford, Ndranto Razakamanarina, and Christiane Randrianarisoa, *PRA for Monitoring and Evaluation: A Village Log Book from Ambodirafia, Madagascar* (Worcester: Clark University), 1994, p. 36.

⁵⁶In this procedure each problem is compared in a matrix format, and the frequency with which they appear is recorded. The problems can then be listed according to their agreed degree of priority. See Appendix D for greater detail.

may have been influential members of the community with many contacts in other villages. The villagers analyzed the resources required to meet each priority and decided that agroforestry and agricultural activities could be started immediately by them, whereas work on transport and road repair would involve several layers of government approvals and might require external funding.⁵⁷

While the above exercise was reported (and may have been undertaken) without specific regard to gender difference, it is revealing to look at it briefly through a gender lens. In PRAs that have been done with women, the quality of roads and transportation to other villages is less frequently listed as a concern than when the same exercises are done with men - a difference that can be attributed largely to men's greater mobility and interaction with outside communities.⁵⁸ On the other hand, women's involvement in fuelwood and fodder collection, and their widely documented roles in food production, cause them to place greater emphasis on agroforestry and agricultural activities. The prioritization of these latter issues over road and transport concerns in the community plan of action could be a strategic entry point by ensuring that greater value and attention is given to women's work and areas where they may exercise more control. Furthermore, the problems that were jointly ranked as third most serious were poor health, rapid population growth and lack of

⁵⁷Ford *et al.*, *PRA for Monitoring and Evaluation*, p. 36.

⁵⁸See Welbourn, "RRA and the analysis of difference;" and Dianne Rocheleau, Karen L. Schofield, and J. Njoki Mbuthi, *People, Property, Poverty and Parks: A Story of Men, Women, Water and Trees at Pwani*, ECOGEN Case Study Series (Worcester: Clark University), 1991.

income generation opportunities, are all issues of importance to women. Health and population, in particular, are sectors in which women's involvement is crucial, and in which both practical needs and strategic interests, such as control of their own fertility, can be addressed.

The question of who participates in PRA groups is not limited to consideration of gender. While the analysis and ranking procedures in PRA can be a means for overcoming community differences and achieving consensus on an action plan, the composition of village meetings can have a profound effect on the fairness of the outcome as far as the more disadvantaged groups, particularly women, are concerned. The presence of outsiders, government officials, or members of the local elite (all groups which have been traditional sources of both largesse and control) in ranking or planning meetings can encourage factionalism and the dominance of men over women. This was evident in a PRA exercise in Pwani, Kenya.⁵⁹ The wide cross-section of villagers present for the ranking exercise all agreed that water was the most important problem facing their community, but the second most serious problem proved much more contentious. A woman's suggestion that fuelwood scarcity was the next most serious concern met wide approval from women, but not from men, who emphasized roads and markets. By the end of the group meeting, action for

⁵⁹Rocheleau et al., *People, Property, Poverty and Parks*. See also Richard Ford, Francis Lelo, and Joseph Ayieko, *Community Action: Water, Trees and PRA in Pwani* (Worcester: Clark University), 1992. This example is particularly interesting since the results of the PRA have been described twice, first with a careful analysis of the gender implications of all PRA activities (Rocheleau et al. for the ECOGEN project), and again without reference to gender (Ford et al.).

fuelwood had been disregarded, in favour of a secondary school, roads, a hospital and improved agriculture.⁶⁰

The dynamic set in motion by the presence of outsiders and the unusual nature of the forum had firmly separated the room by gender and it became clear that the matter being discussed was not merely fuelwood, but rather women's place in the household, in the landscape, and in community meetings.⁶¹

In this case a more equitable outcome for women was eventually achieved, as villagers recognized how the presence of outsiders may have been a problem, and repeated the ranking exercise on their own without outside facilitators. Women's concern for fuelwood was reconceptualized to include other tree and forest produce and benefits, and the wider "tree planting and tree protection," integrated into the concept of sustainable agriculture, became the third priority for village action behind water and a secondary school.⁶²

As the above examples suggest, community-wide ranking of problems or opportunities and the development of action plans will not necessarily result in gender equitable participation or women's needs and views receiving equal attention to men's, hence pro-active steps may be necessary in GAD-oriented projects. For

⁶⁰Rocheleau et al., *People, Property, Poverty and Parks*, p. 28. Interestingly, the authors note that the prioritization of a hospital by men was the result of their misinterpretation of women's complaints about lack of family planning services - an information and service need of women, relating to both practical and strategic interests, was interpreted as an infrastructural issue by men.

⁶¹Ibid, p. 28.

⁶²Ibid, p. 29.

example, in the above illustration from Madagascar⁶³, ranking and planning exercises, which were done in community-wide mixed groups, could have been conducted in ways that intentionally made women equal or lead decision-makers, to redress the imbalance that commonly occurs in mixed settings. A number of variations are possible. Two lists of the main community problems could have been developed separately with women and men, with each group then discussing their own and the others' list of problems. Areas of difference could be examined in a mixed setting, with a female facilitator encouraging negotiation on a more gender-equal basis, and leading to the development of a new list from which action plans would be made. Alternatively, the list of problems could have been ranked by women with their priorities being used as the basis for development of an action plan in a mixed group.

Evidence on the appropriateness of suggestions such as these is sparse, however, and it is acknowledged that further exploration of the potential of PRA methods for conflict resolution, particularly gender conflict, is necessary.⁶⁴ Another way to try and maintain a focus on women's strategic needs in projects, as discussed in the previous chapter, is through on-going reflection, monitoring and re-alignment.

⁶³Ford et al., *PRA for Monitoring and Evaluation*.

⁶⁴Irene Guijt, "Making a difference: integrating gender analysis into PRA training," *RRA Notes* 19 (February 1994): 49-55; Ranjani Krishnamurthy, "Gender and participatory approaches: implications and experiences", paper presented at the IIED/IDS workshop on PRA and gender, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies, 6-7 December 1993; Chambers "Rural appraisal;" and Odour-Noah et al., *Implementing PRA*.

Reflexive

Both flexibility and reflexivity are essential to a PRA approach. PRA does not follow a blueprint style of planning, but is adaptable to changing circumstances and new information, and local participants are encouraged to review and revise information, plans and activities on an ongoing basis as required. As mentioned above, two principles form the core of the reflexive character of PRA: rapid and progressive learning (embodying an institutionalization or project monitoring), and self-critical awareness and responsibility.

Rapid and progressive learning ensures that the conclusions of one PRA exercise inform all subsequent ones, and that plans and approaches to information gathering and analysis are modified as the PRA proceeds. Sequencing, where one technique leads to another as a project is planned and implemented, facilitates this progressive learning. This process is also supported by triangulation, the principle of ensuring that all information is cross-checked at least three times through different exercises or sources. The principle of progressive learning applies equally to the implementation of projects as to the research and design phase, and requires that monitoring and evaluation become regular, integral aspects of a project.⁶⁵

⁶⁵Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*.

The development or adaptation of PRA tools for monitoring purposes is currently receiving a great deal of attention.⁶⁶ One monitoring tool is the impact diagram, in which all the positive and negative effects of a particular project input are traced, showing their relationships to one another. Impact diagrams have been used to trace the positive effects of improved stoves on women's productive and reproductive tasks, and the impact of volunteer community health workers on the health and well-being of community residents.⁶⁷ The diagrams show whether the desired impact of a particular input has been achieved, and what adverse effects may have arisen in the process. In a GAD context, it would be possible to do an impact analysis that traced the effects of a particular action in support of women's practical needs on reinforcing or improving women's position. This would be useful for assessing the suitability of various "entry points" to address women's strategic gender interests.

Practitioners at the Program for International Development at Clark University have developed the idea of a village log book, in which the charts, diagrams, plans

⁶⁶Several NGOs have been exploring the use of PRA in monitoring over the last four years. See for example reports from the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (India): Parmesh Shah, Girish Bharadwaj, and Ranjit Ambastha, "Farmers as analysts and facilitators in participatory rural appraisal and planning," *RRR Notes* 13 (August 1991): 84-94; and Parmesh Shah, Girish Bharadwaj, and Ranjit Ambastha, "Participatory impact monitoring of a soil and water conservation programme by farmers, extension volunteers and AKRSP in Gujarat," *RRR Notes* 13 (August 1991): 128-33.

⁶⁷See Suzanne Quinney, "Applying PRA methods to participatory monitoring and evaluation: report of a course held in El Obeid, Sudan," *RRR Notes* 19 (February 1994): 85-87; and Marcy Vigoda, "Participatory rural appraisal in women's health education project in Bangladesh," *RRR Notes* 19 (February 1994): 70-74. Sample impact diagrams are provided in Appendix F.

and conclusions from a PRA planning exercise are displayed alongside a series of "blanks", providing space for exercises to be repeated a year or more following the start of plan implementation.⁶⁸ Later charts and diagrams can be readily compared to the original on to determine progress. The log book also includes space to record decisions taken at analysis groups and meetings, and is designed to remain on public display to encourage community ownership of the plan and its implementation.

Ford suggests that:

The concept of community groups comparing trends, transects, sketch maps, institutional relationships, and livelihood systems at regular intervals over an extended period of time offers opportunity for self-assessment. It also creates an atmosphere in which community groups can reassess what they are doing and why.⁶⁹

Another tool which helps to institutionalize monitoring and evaluation is the sustainability matrix. This exercise is an examination of the different elements or projects which comprise the community action plan. The goals and objectives of each activity are described, along with the output and impact indicators for each (those criteria which would determine the level of success of each activity). Each activity is then assessed according to how the community is managing it: the strengths and weaknesses (what the community does or does not do well), and what practices should be continued, started, or stopped (because they are proving ineffective, or detrimental to the project's success). The matrix "sharpens the group's analytical skills and

⁶⁸Ford, et al., *PRA for Monitoring and Evaluation*.

⁶⁹Ibid, p. 7.

brings out important issues. It forces the group to ask a number of important questions and leads to decisions regarding the continuation and modification of the activities."⁷⁰

The sustainability matrix could be readily adapted as a monitoring tool to ensure a sustained focus on women's strategic gender interests within projects and activities. For example, activities that were identified as entry points linking practical gender needs to strategic gender interests could be listed with their goals (to meet a particular practical gender need in such a way that a strategic gender interest is also addressed), their output indicators (factors that showed the practical need was being met), and their impact indicators (factors that showed the strategic interest was being addressed). The community's implementation of each activity or project could then be analyzed according to its strengths, weaknesses, and those practices that should be maintained, started or stopped. Project "misbehaviour", or the diminishing of the strategic focus of activities, could be detected at an early stage by the women participants themselves, enabling them to determine the necessary steps to correct problems.

The second reflexivity principle is self-critical awareness and responsibility. An important objective of PRA is that outside "experts" are challenged to listen to

⁷⁰Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*, p. 123. A sample sustainability matrix is provided in Appendix G.

and learn from local people, who are often illiterate. The outsiders are required to revise their assumptions about the abilities and creativity of rural people, and about the unity or common interest of communities or even households. Ideally, outside experts will be encouraged through PRA to examine how these and similar assumptions operate to maintain discriminatory or hierarchical structures within their own agencies or institutions, and to re-evaluate the way development is perceived and pursued by these agencies.

Several government officials in India have found PRA exercises to be successful in changing their attitudes towards community participation and planning, and towards cross-disciplinary working with other government officials. The impact of one PRA training programme in Andhra Pradesh is illustrative:

Before the PRA began, the participants from each of the different departments sat separately. By the end they were sitting by mixed team, their morale was high, they were now willing to be with villagers and respected the people's wisdom. A further impact upon internal institutional working has occurred after high level officials have been in the field and seen for themselves. They are less inclined to send instructions from the state HQ about what should be done.⁷¹

Reports of many PRA training programmes are filled with testimonials of how the technique has triggered a radical perceptual shift in individuals' thinking. The difficulty is in transferring or "scaling up" personal reflection to the institutional or organizational level. "To become less bureaucratic and more enabling, an agency

⁷¹James Mascarenhas, et al., "PRA in India: review and future directions," *RRA Notes* 13 (August 1991), p 28.

must examine every aspect of its work and determine whether its programmes and procedures are capable of responding to the needs and priorities of local people," and in particular local women.⁷² Flexibility, not rushing, and embracing error are equally important characteristics for both institutions and individual practitioners of PRA.⁷³

Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the development of PRA, and examined its underlying principles and content - i.e., a wide variety of tools and methods that facilitate collection and analysis of information about communities, their resources and social systems by local people themselves. There are three central principles of PRA: first that outsiders should facilitate local participation and analysis, represented by the image of handing over the stick; second that outsiders should maintain critical self awareness and responsibility, continually re-examine their own behaviour and avoid transposing biases from their own experiences onto villagers; and finally that sharing of ideas, concerns and insights should occur at all levels of PRA practice - between participants, facilitators and sponsoring organizations.

⁷²John Thompson, "From participatory appraisal to participatory practice: viewing training as part of a broader process of institutional development," *RRA Notes* 19 (February 1994), p. 56.

⁷³Chambers, "Rural appraisal."

The attitudes and behaviours that form one of the three pillars of PRA, are the glue that binds its diverse methods and tools into the coherence of a technique. That same glue can be applied to GAD theory to make its critical, participatory and reflexive characteristics stick in practice. PRA tools can facilitate the uncovering of local structures of gender and class relations. The renegotiation of these unequal social relations can be pursued with the use of tools that encourage conflict management:

While there are no simple answers to . . . problems in village-based development, PRA is building a base of experiences that suggest that: (1) local solutions are frequently possible though not always obvious; [and] (2) the solutions become available as a result of the very dialogue and communication that PRA promotes among different elements inside and outside of the community.⁷⁴

Furthermore, additional tools that encourage ongoing critical monitoring and re-alignment of plans and activities to meet goals and priorities make PRA useful for ensuring that projects maintain a focus on women's strategic gender needs, as required by GAD.

As noted above, PRA is not automatically gender sensitive, and its effectiveness as a GAD technique will depend on the conscious commitment of those facilitating the process. While there is increasing awareness of gender differences among PRA facilitators,

many . . . continue to think that gender-sensitivity just means consulting

⁷⁴Odour-Noah et al., *Implementing PRA*, p. 40.

women, as well as men. Few have a deeper understanding of what gender means, how it is manifested and how it affects individual development options. Any value which might arise from equal consultation of women and men in a PRA process is lost when the findings disappear into the melting pot of community averages, obscuring any possible gender differences.⁷⁵

While examples of this kind of surface-level gender awareness abound, one illustration will suffice: a report from a PRA workshop in The Gambia, directed by staff of ActionAid with support from the Program for International Development at Clark University.⁷⁶ During the data collection phase of the PRA, when village sketch maps, time and trend lines, seasonal calendars, and institutional diagrams were developed, the community was divided into three groups: older men, older women and young people up to the age of twenty-five. The description of the activities of each group makes it clear that differences in their diagrams were common, yet following each exercise the three assessments were merged into one "average" map or calendar. Furthermore, this aggregation was done by members of the PRA team without the participation of all the groups (in some cases group leaders were involved), and no reference is made to any substantive discussions on the nature or significance of the differences in interpretation by women, men and young people.⁷⁷ In this case, the resulting "average," rather than more broadly reflecting a community's position, became less representative and less accurate.

⁷⁵Guijt, "Making a difference," p. 49.

⁷⁶Ford et al., *Sustaining Development Through Community Mobilization*.

⁷⁷Ibid, pp. 7-22 passim.

The problem of the competence and commitment of PRA facilitators is not confined to PRA as a GAD technique. The rapid spread of PRA over the last several years has created concerns about quality assurance. As Chambers notes, there is a danger "that bad performance will lead to discredit and disillusion", since to a large degree, "capability depends on personality."⁷⁸ Over-reliance on individuals, particularly outsiders, opens PRA up to criticisms similar to those levelled at participatory action research.⁷⁹ Furthermore, PRA's methods are more easily spread and adopted than its attitudes and behaviours. Use of the former without the latter would result in a very instrumental kind of participation, reminiscent of the "efficiency" approach of WID.⁸⁰ Theis and Grady suggest that in addition to the need for suitable people, another crucial consideration that determines whether PRA is an appropriate technique for development interventions is "the degree to which project structure and decision-making are sufficiently flexible to make use of new information."⁸¹ The technique could become discredited if the programmes that result fail to respond to identified needs, or if unrealistic expectations are raised about projects. Both of these concerns are mitigated if PRA is undertaken in a sufficiently

⁷⁸Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 45.

⁷⁹PAR was briefly reviewed at the beginning of this Chapter.

⁸⁰Cost effectiveness and efficiency arguments are commonly used to promote limited and highly directed kinds of participation. See Arnstein, "A ladder of citizen participation"; Oakley, "State or process, means or end"; and Rahnema, "Participation."

⁸¹Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*, p. 36. These issues have implications for the funding and management structures of large development agencies, which are considered in the concluding chapter.

reflexive manner and backed-up with strong institutional commitment.

Once PRA has been introduced in a community and local people have become familiar with its principles and procedures, there is some evidence that they continue to use the technique, minimizing the need for outside assistance to plan or monitor activities, though not necessarily eliminating the need for outside sources of funding for plan implementation.⁸² Specific evidence from two projects that utilized PRA to pursue GAD goals is examined in the next chapter, throwing additional light on the strengths and weaknesses of PRA.

⁸²Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 48-49.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRA AND GAD IN PRACTICE

The previous chapter established that PRA embodies the necessary components of a GAD technique: that its tools and methods, combined with its attitudes and behaviours, offer a technique which is critical, participatory and reflexive. However, the majority of the examples supporting the appropriateness of PRA methods and attitudes were derived from projects and exercises implemented without explicit reference to gender. This chapter redresses this imbalance, focusing on two examples where PRA has been applied directly to gender issues, with women's empowerment as an explicit goal, in order to test the suitability of PRA to meet the three requirements of a GAD technique in practice.

PRA as a development technique is a fairly recent innovation. Within the field as a whole, application to gender issues is extremely new; but like PRA itself, it is spreading rapidly. In December 1992, the Institute of Development Studies in the UK gathered a package of material on women's PRAs based on articles in *RRA Notes*, other journals, field notes and personal correspondence between practitioners. The first of the fourteen articles in the collection was dated November 1990. Prior to this, some work had been done with rapid assessment techniques and other precursors

to PRA (see Chapter Three) that focused on women or gender issues in the health¹ and agriculture sectors.²

Most of the work to date on PRA and gender concentrates on describing the actual PRA tools that were used with women's groups or in an examination of gender issues in individual workshops. Furthermore, the exercises have largely been the appraisal of women's problems and needs, without describing the subsequent implementation of projects to meet these needs, or examining the strengths and shortfalls of projects designed with PRA tools. Very little comparative or evaluative work has been undertaken assessing the impact of the exercises on the participants themselves, on the agencies sponsoring the activities, or on the relative success of projects using the technique. This is a general limitation of the PRA literature: the attention paid to spreading the use of PRA has overshadowed the importance of consolidating experience and lessons learned. "To date, almost all assessments of the PRA experience are anecdotal and impressionistic. Furthermore, the very nature of PRA as a 'process' approach to development makes accumulation of hard data

¹Susan Scrimshaw and Elena Hurtade, *Rapid Assessment Procedures for Nutrition and Primary Health Care: Anthropological Approaches to Improving Program Effectiveness*, UCLA Latin American Centre Reference Series, vol. 11. (Tokyo and Los Angeles: United Nations University and UCLA), 1987; and Purnima Kashyap and Richard Young, "Rapid assessment of community nutrition problems: a case study of Parbhani, India", Ottawa, IDRC, 1989.

²For example: Susan Poats, Marianne Schmink and Anita Spring (1988) *Gender Issues in Farming Systems Research and Extension* (Boulder: Westview Press); Hilary Sims Feldstein and Susan Poats, editors (1989) *Working Together: Gender Analysis in Agriculture, Case Studies and Teaching Notes*, volumes 1 and 2 (West Hartford: Kumarian Press); and Dianne Rocheleau (1989) "The gender division of work, resources and rewards in agroforestry systems," in A.E. Kilewe, K.M. Kealy and K.K. Kebaara, editors, *Agroforestry Development in Kenya* (Nairobi: ICRAF).

difficult."³

Despite these limitations, it is both possible and necessary to assess the effectiveness of PRA in a GAD context. Two examples are analyzed below: a community development project in India, and a sustainable development planning project in Indonesia. In both examples, the gender-oriented PRA activities comprise only one part of a larger project. This provides an opportunity to examine both the effectiveness of PRA as a technique for the GAD component, and the impact of the participatory GAD approach on a larger, more "mainstream" project. I have chosen examples from different countries representing significantly different conditions for women. By examining cases from a range of cultural settings, I hope to show that PRA is adaptable to different gender contexts and appropriate in more than one environment. The objective of this chapter is to provide evidence in support of the theoretical arguments made in the previous two chapters. The project reviews contain three parts: (1) project description, (2) the PRA exercises involved, and (3) the effectiveness of the PRA techniques for realizing GAD objectives.

The overall project description includes its location, its objectives and the actors involved, as well as an examination of its particular GAD objectives, and an analysis of the linkages (or lack thereof) between the gender component and the other

³Odour-Noah et al., *Implementing PRA*, p.62.

project activities. This latter issue is crucial, since these linkages will largely determine the ability of the GAD activities to effect the overall direction of the project. In each case, the rationale for using PRA methods in the project is highlighted. Generally, two justifications can be identified in the literature: either the agency managing the project has a policy of undertaking participatory work, or a specific blockage to successful implementation of a project was identified and PRA techniques were felt to be the best way of addressing the problem. The projects selected for analysis include examples of both of these rationales.

The second section of each study, on the actual PRA exercises, pays particular attention to who participated, who influenced the agenda, and the length of the PRA process. A detailed description of the PRA tools used in the GAD component of each project is undertaken, adding depth to the brief review of PRA methods given in the previous chapter. The results of the PRA exercises in both projects, both tangible and intangible, are also described.

Finally, in assessing the suitability of the PRA methods for meeting GAD objectives, and the impact of the GAD components on the larger projects, special consideration is given to the three requirements of a GAD technique (i.e., its critical, participatory and reflexive components). As discussed in Chapter Two, a "critical" technique must facilitate the uncovering of the particular local gender division of labour and patterns of access and control over resources and benefits in the

community. Furthermore, it must contribute to the illumination of women's strategic gender needs and awaken women's consciousness of themselves as subjects capable of positive action in their own lives. For a technique to be participatory, it must facilitate women's own analysis and enable them to define their own needs and priorities for action. However, it must also involve men, and contribute to men's own re-evaluation of existing unequal gender relations, and to a change in their attitudes. Additionally, the technique must have some mechanism for managing conflict that arises through the participation of both men and women. Finally, a "reflexive" technique has three characteristics: (1) mechanisms that institutionalize ongoing monitoring and allow the results to feed back into and change project directions; (2) a focus on the process of project development and implementation, such that each step of the technique contributes to GAD goals; and (3) the reflexive involvement of the sponsoring development agency, effecting a re-evaluation of its attitudes to women, its structures and processes and its promotion of empowerment and equity among its own staff. Conclusions about the reflexivity of ongoing techniques and projects will naturally be tentative. While attempting to make these assessments, it is essential to recognize that change is a long term process, particularly when its target is deeply held, culturally ingrained attitudes about the proper roles and responsibilities of men and women.

Information about these projects was gleaned from the examination of project documents and reports, including unpublished material, and from correspondence with

various project personnel. Both of the project officers responsible for the GAD activities were forthcoming with details that placed the written documentation in a broader context, and with their personal observations on the PRA process. The philosophy of sharing experience, which is a core principle of PRA and the source of its spread, seemed to be the prime motivation for their cooperation. In addition, project personnel were interested in the criteria which I had identified as central to a GAD technique. While these sources place certain limitations on the information collected (such as its subjectivity and bias to presenting those aspects of the projects which worked well rather than those which did not), they are sufficient for the purpose of examining efforts to connect GAD and PRA in the field. Visits to project sites were beyond the scope of this research and the purpose of these examples. In any case, it is unlikely that the limited field work which could have been undertaken would have been free from the biases of "rural development tourism" outlined in the previous chapter.

I. The Aga Khan Rural Support Programme - India

Introduction

The Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) operates in three districts of the state of Gujarat, western India, from a base in Ahmedabad. It was established in 1985, and funding is provided by a number of donors (including CIDA and the

EC) cooperating with the Aga Khan Foundation in London, as well as by several state government departments. Its overall goal is to promote income generation through the optimal and sustainable use of local resources. The project objectives are clearly outlined in the Annual Progress Report:

Functioning with an overriding concern for the disadvantaged, it hopes to realise the underlined objectives by organising rural people into viable and self-sustaining institutions which, in turn, will aid and abet their capacity to determine their priorities for development, take joint action in implementation, and gain access to resources and services available from Government and other agencies.⁴

Programme activities in the three districts originally centred on three sectors: agriculture, water resources, and wasteland development. The Programme's emphasis on facilitation of local planning and action, which was present from its inception and has been refined over the years, stemmed from two conclusions. First, that local people will act only when they have a stake in their own development, so "unless the village communities participate actively in the appraisal and planning process, the development process will not be sustainable."⁵ Second, AKRSP personnel felt that the majority of "participatory" development projects still tended to rely on external experts for project design and decision-making, only involving people as labourers, service users or beneficiaries, and therefore engaging people's bodies but not their

⁴Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, *Annual Progress Report 1993* (Ahmedabad: AKRSP), 1994, p. iii.

⁵Parmesh Shah, Girish Bharadwaj, and Ranjit Ambastha, "Participatory rural appraisal and planning (PRAP): the experience of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP)," *RRA Notes* 13 (August 1991): 69-83, p. 71.

knowledge and creativity.⁶

AKRSP was one of the first organizations to experiment with PRA. The technique was utilized in the hope of breaking this dependence on external resources (both human and financial) and releasing the potential of local people. AKRSP believes that "the major strength of this approach is that rural people can adapt according to their situation and carry on this process with limited or no external support after initial catalytic support."⁷ Thus, AKRSP has defined its own role as that of catalyst: it provides training in the appraisal and planning methodology for village volunteers who are selected by their own communities, encourages the establishment of village institutions which can implement resource management plans developed through PRA, and then largely withdraws, providing periodic follow-up support particularly in areas of technical, financial, management and monitoring concerns.⁸

The gender programme in AKRSP has been operational since early 1991. During its first year of operation, the women's component of the project was referred to as "Women in Development", and a "Strategy for the WID Programme" was

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Parmesh Shah and Meera Kaul Shah, "Training village analysts: from PRA methods to process," *RRA Notes* 19 (February 1994), p 88.

outlined.⁹ From mid-1991, however, the activities were reported under the heading "Gender and Development" in the Annual Progress Reports.¹⁰ The gender programme emerged from a desire to strengthen the equity impact of the PRA process and subsequent village projects. Previously the project team had tried to ensure that PRA activities were undertaken by groups genuinely representative of all interests in a community, including women from different circumstances. However, barriers to women's participation were encountered, such as women's lower confidence and men's negative attitudes. These impediments led the newly appointed WID and Training Officer, Meena Bilgi, to suggest that it was,

neither feasible nor possible to encourage joint meetings from the very beginning and to believe that women would be involved in decision making from day one. A lot of efforts were needed to bring the women to some level so that they were able to have a say in their own affairs.¹¹

Furthermore, AKRSP recognized that women's needs and priorities were frequently different from those of men, and there was a danger that they would be submerged or discounted by men in mixed group discussions. As a result, AKRSP decided on a dual strategy of working with women in separate groups to try to increase their skills and confidence and to help them identify their own needs and priorities, while also

⁹Meena Bilgi, "Strategy for WID programme", Unpublished report, Ahmedabad: AKRSP, (n.d.). Photocopy.

¹⁰See Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, *Annual Progress Report 1991/92* (Ahmedabad: AKRSP), 1992; Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, *Annual Progress Report 1990/91* (Ahmedabad: AKRSP), 1992; and Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, *Annual Progress Report 1992* (Ahmedabad: AKRSP), 1993.

¹¹Meena Bilgi, "Need for promotion of separate women's groups and AKRSP's view on women in development", unpublished report, Ahmedabad: AKRSP, (n.d.), photocopy, p. 2.

working to sensitize men and try to change their attitudes. The idea was that eventually women and men would be able to participate together in mixed village institutions, with women's needs receiving equal attention.

Several priorities for action were identified by the AKRSP gender programme. First was organizing women into groups and working on awareness-building so women could identify their problems and needs.¹² AKRSP decided to support activities directed at meeting both women's practical gender needs and their strategic gender interests. Priority was given to encouraging women's requests for labour and time-saving devices such as flour mills, pulley systems for wells, threshers, and pressure cookers, which would ease some of the drudgery of their daily household activities.¹³ While none of these devices promote change in the gender division of labour, their provision could be used as an "entry point" to women's strategic gender interests, as women are unable to become more involved in village institutions without some relief in their work burden.

Strategic gender needs are addressed through other priorities identified in the "WID Strategy". While it is called the "WID Strategy", AKRSP has been committed to working with both women and men from the beginning, hence it can properly be

¹²Meena Bilgi, Letter to author, 18 October 1993.

¹³Bilgi, "Strategy for WID programme," p. 1-2. The question of whether this pre-identified priority may have resulted in more directive PRAs, thereby limiting women's participation, is addressed in the analysis section below.

understood as having a GAD strategy.¹⁴ AKRSP supports training and extension for women in improved farming and seed management technologies, and improved animal husbandry procedures. The intention behind this is two-fold. First, women have a multitude of responsibilities relating to farming and animal care, but their roles are often not recognized or valued as productive either by the women themselves or by men. Supporting them in these activities raises the profile and status of the work that women do regularly, and can help to raise women's self esteem.¹⁵ Second, the assistance to women can also help them move into new activities that were previously male dominated, such as milk collection and marketing, veterinary care, and the purchase and sale of cattle.¹⁶ Through these activities, and by employing poor women in AKRSP-funded natural resource management projects (such as watershed development projects)¹⁷, AKRSP hopes to increase both the economic returns from women's activities as well as their financial autonomy. The importance of improving women's access to and control over money through the project activities was stressed by Meena Bilgi:

The sense of ownership would only come when women are made aware of 'how much wages they are getting' (at present, they don't even know about

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1991/92*, p. 71.

¹⁶Bilgi, "Strategy for WID programme," p. 3-4.

¹⁷Ibid, p. 4. It is part of the AKRSP Strategy to give preference to landless people and poor women for work on percolation tanks, check dams, watershed development programmes and tree nurseries. These employment opportunities arise from the implementation of village natural resource management plans, developed using PRA by village institutions with AKRSP support. For details see Shah et al., "Participatory rural appraisal and planning," and AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*.

their wages, they don't even collect them themselves). [Women should be] trained to open accounts themselves and operate by themselves. The money should be given only to women.¹⁸

To further strengthen women's economic position, AKRSP encourages the establishment of women's savings and credit groups and small revolving funds, and provides training in basic financial management.

Finally, the gender strategy emphasizes that men must be sensitized as well as women. Even in cases where local women were successfully trained as extension workers or trainers to work with other women, in several cases their husbands and families refused to allow them to travel and meet with strangers.¹⁹ AKRSP is also committed to undertaking sensitization and training of its own staff. In a gender sensitization workshop in March 1991, participating staff "resolved to bring about changes in attitude and approach towards women in their personal lives," as well as to involve women more in their specific work areas.²⁰

The PRA

Meena Bilgi, the gender programme officer, conducted a number of PRAs with women's groups to determine their needs and priorities, as well as several PRAs

¹⁸Bilgi, "Strategy for WID programme," p. 4.

¹⁹Ibid, p. 5.

²⁰AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1990/91*, p. 93.

with men about women's work and their perceptions of women's needs. In the exercises with women, she followed a practice of beginning by making a village map, on which women include both the physical characteristics of the area (roads, rivers, farm land, forests) and social characteristics (individual homes, ownership of livestock, use of biogas stoves and pressure cookers).²¹ These maps then became the basis for subsequent discussion with women.²²

Following the mapping exercise, Meena undertook wealth ranking exercises to examine the class stratification of individual villages and local perceptions of wealth and well-being. In one PRA, women suggested four categories for classification: big farmer, medium farmer, small farmer and agricultural labourer (landless). The women themselves determined the criteria for membership in each group, and then sorted slips of paper with the names of all the village households into their appropriate category. Wealth was determined by such factors as the size of landholding, the amount of irrigated land, the type of house, the number and kinds of animals, the amount of education of both adults and children, and the kind of technology owned. In other exercises, women divided villagers up by caste. While classification by caste group provides information about the underlying structures in a

²¹Meena Bilgi, "PRA in village Chingharia, 3-4 January", unpublished report, Ahmedabad: AKRSP, 1992, photocopy; and Meena Bilgi, "Visit to village Jambhar, Netrang", unpublished report, Ahmedabad: AKRSP, (n.d.), photocopy.

²²This is common practice in the mainstream AKRSP PRA activities as well. See Shah et al., "Participatory rural appraisal and planning"; and Shah et al., "Farmers as analysts and facilitators."

village, it also conveys a kind of permanence upon these structures. There is less connection between caste, which is accepted as fixed, and well-being, which is recognized as more "subjective" and amenable to change.²³

A third exercise involved a daily activity chart. Women were asked to detail how they spent their time over a twenty-four hour period. Generally, women were engaged in productive and reproductive tasks for 15-18 hours per day. In one village, women calculated that they spent between 14-16 hours in daily tasks, but informed the facilitators that in the past, they had worked an additional two or three hours daily in processing food. Considerable time had been saved by the presence of a flour mill in the village.²⁴ Women from another village did separate calculations for their tasks during the three seasons: monsoon, summer and winter (see Table 4.1).

²³Bilgi, "PRA in village Chingharia"; Meena Bilgi, "Entering the women's world: PRA exercise with women in village Nana Kandhasar", unpublished report, Ahmedabad: AKRSP, 1991, photocopy; and Bilgi, "Visit to village Jambhar". This is not meant to imply that "caste" is any less a social construct than class or gender, on the contrary, caste is as ideologically and culturally entrenched as these others.

²⁴Bilgi (1992a), p. 3-4.

Table 4.1 Daily Activity Chart for Women in Jambhar Village²⁵

Activity \ Daily Time Spent	Monsoon	Summer	Winter
Household Work: cleaning, washing, cooking, childcare	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours
Outside Home: collecting water and fuel	1 hour	4 hours	5 hours
Animal Care: Cleaning, feeding, bathing, milking, etc.	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours
Agriculture: weeding, sowing, harvesting, etc.	10 hours	9 hours	9 hours
Rest and Sleep	9 hours	7 hours	6 hours

Table 4.1 shows that while more of women's time and energy was spent in agricultural labour during the monsoon season, it was also much easier for women to obtain water for household use and animal care during that time. Water is considerably scarcer during the summer, and even less available in winter before the next rains. This dramatically increases women's working day and reduces their sleep and rest. The figures gain significance when considered from a gender perspective: water collection is a task typically assigned to women, whereas both men and women share agricultural responsibilities. The seasonal increase to men's labour is likely to come at a different time - during the monsoon season - when agricultural activities

²⁵Adapted from Bilgi, "Visit to village Jambhar," p. 5. The chart was made by women distributing 24 corn seeds among the five different categories of activities. Smaller time divisions (more seeds) could have resulted in a more detailed chart.

intensify. Furthermore, the seasonal increase in men's labour, if it is roughly proportional to the increase in women's agricultural labour during the monsoon season, is not as large as that in women's work.²⁶

A fourth exercise, repeated in different villages, was the identification and prioritization of local problems.²⁷ Problems were written down on paper or on the ground, and women ranked their importance, using readily available markers such as different sized stones or numbers of leaves. In the same village that produced the above activity chart (Table 4.1), the ranking exercise was carried out in the monsoon season. The women identified their primary problem as lack of medical facilities, with lack of wage labour seventh and lack of irrigation and drinking water coming only ninth. During the analysis of the chart which they had produced, women realized that they were taking only a short-term view, since,

at present we are getting work due to monsoon, there is no scarcity of water due to heavy rains that is why we have not prioritised these problems as major problems at present. However, in summers and winters these problems would probably come in first 5 ranks.²⁸

AKRSP decided to conduct PRA exercises with men about women's work

²⁶Information about men's labour was not calculated directly, but has been deduced from information provided in Bilgi, "Visit to village Jambhar," and Bilgi, Letter to author. This kind of unequal seasonal variation in which men's labour is both less in total and less subject to fluctuation, has also been found using seasonal diagrams in PRA exercises in Africa. See for example Welbourn, "Rapid rural appraisal, gender and health."

²⁷The facilitators did not appear to focus specifically on women's problems.

²⁸Bilgi, "Visit to village Jambhar," p. 5.

because they had experienced difficulties introducing technological improvements benefitting women:

In a number of villages, women are demanding for time saving devices such as flour mill, pressure cooker, dal mill etc., but the men are resisting on these improved technologies. They don't think that 3-4 hours per day in grinding, depounding, dehusking by women etc., increases drudgery [and] should be of concern.²⁹

Men also complained that the flour and dal which were produced using the mills, or food from the pressure cooker, was tasteless.³⁰ So women continued with their time-consuming tasks.

The first PRA to involve men in analyzing women's issues was held in Boripitha, Netrang in the summer of 1992.³¹ A group of 15-18 men were gathered together in the home of the local village institution Secretary. The procedure followed was similar to the daily activity exercise described above. Using a stick to draw on the ground, men created symbols for the different daily activities of women in order, beginning with feeding the cattle, gathering firewood and cleaning the house after rising. For each activity, they estimated the length of time that women spent.³²

²⁹Meena Bilgi, Letter to Robert Chambers, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, 31 July 1992, photocopy, p.1.

³⁰AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1992*, p. 75.

³¹Meena Bilgi, "Entering women's world through men's eyes: a participatory rural appraisal at Boripitha, Netrang", Ahmedabad: AKRSP, 1992, photocopy.

³²Ibid, p. 1-2. For example, collecting firewood was estimated to take two hours, fetching water took three-quarters of an hour (twice a day), cooking morning and evening meals between one and one and a half hours, and cutting fodder for animals took half an hour. In addition, women worked in the fields for three and a half hours. The number of hours that women worked in this village may be

At the end of the exercise, the men had determined that women worked 19 hours a day. Despite their careful deliberations during the exercise, they did not believe the result, one man saying "If women work for 19 hours, they would not be able to get up the next day. They will become ill."³³

The men decided that they must have made a mistake, and conducted the exercise again, trying to shave five or ten minutes off different tasks. They found that they could only reduce the total by one hour. Faced with the reality of such a time burden, they concluded that women's work must be softer and less strenuous than men's. In order to examine this perception, Meena initiated an analysis of the difficulties that could be experienced by women in their various tasks: collecting firewood, fetching water, and performing agricultural tasks. The men related stories of their wives and daughters who had developed problems with their feet from walking long distances barefoot or injuries on their hands and heads from collecting and carrying wood, had been harassed by forest guards, bitten by snakes and scorpions, and suffered great thirst due to the unavailability of water along the route. Water collection involved in long queues at the well or longer distances when it was out of order, several trips per day with several pots, with the strain of pulling out water causing stomach problems. Agricultural tasks such as weeding, which required

different that figures presented above, as reports cover a number of different villages.

³³Ibid, p. 2.

long periods of time spent bending over, affected women's legs and stomachs.³⁴ In the end, the men maintained that their work must still be harder, but agreed that women's work was "also not very easy".³⁵

The facilitator found that the men took a long time to come up with their answers during the exercise, as though they were thinking of these issues for the first time. She commented that "the whole process not only gave men's views about women but it sensitized them about women's hardships."³⁶

The intangible result of men's sensitization has contributed in part to more concrete results for women in several of the villages where this exercise was conducted in conjunction with women's PRAs. The AKRSP gender officer reports that men are beginning to accept pressure cookers and biogas plants, and have reduced their complaints about the taste of the food.³⁷ In Boripitha there is now an active women's group undertaking a voluntary savings and credit scheme, supported and assisted by the male village institution Secretary. In addition "men are allowing women to go out for exposure trips and trainings, [and] the village institution

³⁴Ibid p. 3-4.

³⁵Ibid, p. 4. The results of the men's PRA are shared with local women whose response is "what do these men know?" Bilgi, Letter to author.

³⁶Bilgi, "Entering women's world through men's eyes," p. 4.

³⁷Bilgi, Letter to author.

members though at a very low scale sometimes attend the women's meetings and give their suggestions."³⁸ Project-wide, over thirty women's savings groups (Mahila Vikas Mandals or MVMs) have been established in different villages.³⁹ In addition to being a focal point for women's training, these groups have created a space where women can support each other in meeting their practical needs and in building their confidence to address more strategic needs, such as increasing their involvement in community decision-making.⁴⁰

Analysis

AKRSP's PRA exercises did yield some insights into the local gender divisions of labour and into women's access to and control over critical resources. In both Jambhar and Boripitha, the PRA exercises on women's daily activities provided information about the work of women and men, and how each gender's tasks were differently valued by the community. In Boripitha, not only did the "outside" facilitator learn about village gender relations, but the villagers themselves, especially the men, also learned through the PRA process. In addition, PRAs with women often elicited information that had not been uncovered by other means, and served to strengthen project planning and implementation activities. For example, women

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*.

⁴⁰Ibid.

undertaking a matrix ranking of tree varieties performed prior to the start of a new nursery project were able to describe and rank 77 species, more than had been considered by either male informants or government officials in the past. As a result of this exercise, trees that were ranked highest by women were planted in the new nursery.⁴¹ Women became more aware of their own ability to act to secure their own livelihoods.

With regard to women's strategic gender interests, the only clear picture to emerge is that women have a strategic interest in the alteration of the unequal gender division of labour. This conclusion can hardly be considered unique.⁴² However, it was women's practical gender needs for labour and time saving technologies, with which to reduce the burden and drudgery of their everyday tasks, that became the focus of the PRA exercises with both women and men. The prioritization of practical needs may have been related to the brevity of the exercises (between one and two days), indicating that more time and probing may be required to begin a dialogue on strategic concerns. In addition, as Kabeer suggested: "Women who are overburdened by work, who must walk many miles for clean water or whose children are hungry

⁴¹Nicky May, "Trip Report: Visit to India 13-29 April", unpublished report, London: Aga Khan Foundation, 1994, photocopy.

⁴²Although, at the same time, it is not an automatic one. Wealthier women and older women who have achieved status and power over poorer or younger women or men do not have the same interest in changing the status quo.

are unlikely to prioritize the longer-term project of self-empowerment."⁴³ AKRSP's philosophy and strategy on gender issues does suggest that women's practical needs are seen as "entry points" for their emancipation. Indeed, it appears that the provision of appropriate technology, together with the expansion of opportunities for women to secure independent incomes (a clear priority for the AKRSP gender programme), can create the "space, time and resources" that enable women to consider and articulate their strategic interests. The project's most recent annual report indicates that greater attention is being paid to improving women's control over (rather than just access to) resources and to meeting their strategic need for improved status, security and dignity.⁴⁴

In the women's PRAs, the facilitator managed to create an environment in which women became the lead analysts of the information that they themselves had gathered, thus meeting one of the criteria for participation under a GAD technique. This is particularly evident from the Jambhar example, where women revised their initial prioritization of village problems when they realized (without prompting) that they were limiting their own analysis to the current season, when the gravest problems throughout most of the year (i.e., lack of work and poor access to water) were at their least problematic. Women's confidence was also strengthened through the PRA process as they saw how their own views and analysis were considered

⁴³Kabeer, "Triple roles, gender roles, social relations," p. 35.

⁴⁴AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*, p. 5 and 9.

valid, and they responded to the accessibility of the PRA process which emphasized visual tools and local materials.⁴⁵

While it is clear that women's confidence in their own analytical ability was strengthened, some questions can still be raised about the degree of direction which AKRSP imposed on women's PRA exercises, and consequently about the level of "genuine" participation that was achieved. The "WID Strategy" gave priority to meeting women's needs for simple technologies, as noted above. It was clear that the topics of pressure cookers and biogas plants were being raised by the facilitator in the PRA context, to which women responded positively. This prompting does not mean that these needs were not strongly felt by the women themselves. However, there is little written record of whether women ever prioritized different needs, such as for health care or literacy classes. Given their limited focus on natural resource management, AKRSP may not have been able to respond to women's social-sector needs, except by liaising with other organizations.⁴⁶ Regardless, even though women did not have control over the original project orientation, their level of participation could still be high if they were able to control which appropriate technologies were introduced, how or where they were provided, and who had access to and control over their use.

⁴⁵Bilgi, Letter to author; and AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*, p. 9-12.

⁴⁶AKRSP has recognized this problem in their latest Annual Progress Report, and the new Chief Executive of the programme is discussing ways of expanding or cooperating with other groups on health and education issues. See AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*, p. 5 and 49-50.

The introduction of men's PRAs on women's issues considerably improved the participatory content of AKRSP's gender programme. Through these PRAs, men were encouraged to examine their own perceptions of women's contribution to community and household well-being, and to re-value women's work more accurately. Furthermore, recent evidence suggests that men are playing some role in helping women gain new skills and income earning opportunities. In one recent case the tables were turned when a male-dominated village institution (the Gram Vikas Mandal or GVM) was taught about the operation of a savings and credit scheme by an established women's group. The GVM had been discussing the importance of savings but was hesitant and uncertain about how to proceed. Women who were members of a savings group spoke up in the meeting and explained the success of their own group, motivating the men to proceed.⁴⁷

The ability of PRA to manage conflict between men's and women's needs and interests is an important element of ensuring a balance between the two aspects of participation in a GAD technique. By focusing on women's practical gender needs as an "entry point", AKRSP has avoided some male-female confrontation. PRA's conflict resolving potential has not been conclusively shown, however, due to the continued segregation of women's and men's groups and the lack of information about mixed-sex interactions.

⁴⁷Ibid, p. 11.

The reflexive content of these PRA exercises is the most difficult to assess for several reasons. First, they were largely exploratory or sensitization procedures, both for women and men, and were concerned more with analysis than with planning projects. There is little context for ongoing monitoring in this situation. Information on whether there were follow-up PRAs with the same participants is unavailable.

Second, the exercises with both women and men were abbreviated. The PRAs with women lasted only one or two days, largely due to constraints on their time. Had AKRSP's PRAs been extended, it may have been possible to see the critical re-evaluation of information according to new sources, and a consequent re-alignment of plans and priorities, on the part of both participants and facilitators. As they were conducted, however, there was no possibility to see the integration of learning from one stage to another. The PRA with men gave them little time to adjust their long-held but evidently incorrect assumptions about women's work. Bilgi suggests that in some cases men tried to laugh away their own conclusions about the nature and extent of women's labour, and continued to claim that women loiter all day.⁴⁸ There was no record of an attempt being made to get men to work through the implications of their conclusions, or to try to plan how they may be able to reduce women's workload, either by taking on new (previously "female") responsibilities, by accepting new technologies, or by prioritizing the building of a new village well.

⁴⁸Bilgi, Letter to author.

AKRSP places considerable emphasis on the process of project development and implementation. While their mandate has been to promote income generation through sustainable natural resource development, they recognize that they have a certain responsibility to respond to the needs raised by communities through the PRA process even when these fall outside this mandate:

We are now learning that, to reach our goal, we have to address people's needs as they feel them. While we may be convinced that natural resource development and sustenance is the best path to overall development, different communities may have more urgent priorities, such as health or education."⁴⁹

However, management recognizes the tension between trying to achieve sectoral programme targets, and the often time-consuming task of trying to involve communities in planning and meeting their felt needs. AKRSP now operates in 186 villages within their three priority districts, 56 of which were added to the programme in 1993.⁵⁰ Perhaps as a result of this rapid expansion, PRA activities have become increasingly short and topical - they address specific sectors or themes such as animal husbandry, biogas, or forestry.⁵¹ This reality contradicts the intentions expressed above and could limit the kinds of practical and strategic gender needs that women are able to identify and plan to meet through the PRA process.

Nevertheless, as noted at the end of the previous section, there is evidence that

⁴⁹AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*, p. 5.

⁵⁰Ibid, p. ix and 6.

⁵¹Nicky May, Interview with author, Aga Khan Foundation, London, 28 October 1994.

space is opening up for women in local villages. At the same time, the GAD and PRA activities have had an impact on the AKRSP team as a whole, resulting in greater participation of women in the project's training and employment activities, and increasingly in management roles.⁵² The Gender Programme Officer at the Aga Khan Foundation in London recently visited the project area and reported that it was "achieving tangible benefits, and with a very committed and self-questioning staff."⁵³ Lessons learned from dealing with gender issues also seem to be affecting the mainstream activities of AKRSP, with the result that the concepts of practical and strategic needs are being applied to various sub-communities such as minority caste groups (as well as women): "unless we address communities' strategic needs and promote a more equitable society, village institutions will remain weak, vulnerable and ultimately unsustainable."⁵⁴ This issue of inclusion is also a major theme in the second project considered here, the Bali Sustainable Development Project.

⁵²AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*, p. 9-12. Social forestry and biogas activities are increasingly targeted towards women as labourers, extension volunteers and managers.

⁵³May, "Trip Report: Visit to India 13-29 April".

⁵⁴AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*, p. 5.

II. The Bali Sustainable Development Project - Indonesia

Introduction

The Bali Sustainable Development Project (BSDP) is a collaborative strategic planning study between the University of Waterloo in Canada and the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in association with Udayana University in Bali. The project is one component of the University Consortium on the Environment, an initiative funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through its Environmental Management Development in Indonesia (EMDI) Project. The main objective of the five-year BSDP was to develop a Sustainable Development Strategy (SDS) for Bali which could be integrated into the planning process for the most recent five-year development plan for the island (1994-1999). The Strategy's purpose is "to generate ideas to enhance growth, stability and equity in Bali for the period 1994-1999, and to ensure that balance is realized in encouraging economic development, enhancing traditional cultural values, and protecting the integrity of the natural environment."⁵⁵ In the context of the project, sustainable development is considered to involve meeting basic human needs, reducing injustice, and increasing self-determination, as well as maintaining ecological diversity and integrity and ensuring

⁵⁵Bali Sustainable Development Project, *Sustainable Development Strategy for Bali*, University Consortium on the Environment Research Paper, #40. (Yogyakarta and Waterloo: Gadjah Mada University and University of Waterloo, in association with Udayana University, Bali), 1992, p. viii, quoted text underlined in original.

options for future generations.⁵⁶ The project is currently operating on a reduced scale while a second phase is under consideration.

The BSDP involved collaborative research by Canadian and Indonesian researchers in seven major theme areas: demography, occupation and family size; biophysical environment; production, marketing and technology; health care; education; culture; and institutions and decision-making. The research was designed to integrate "bottom-up" perspectives derived from village-level surveys, with "top-down" perspectives from the provincial government agencies in Bali. Researchers sought to identify the stresses related to sustainable development in Bali and the capabilities of existing institutions (government and non-government) and traditional and community groups to respond. The SDS reports that a key factor influencing the research design was:

interest in and concern about gender and development. . . . The BSDP has sought to take account of varying gender roles, relationships and needs found in Balinese villages relative to a sustainable development strategy. Particular regard has been given to the roles and needs of women in planning and decision making.⁵⁷

The BSDP recognized that gender roles are central to how a society is organized and functions, and must be understood if means for facilitating social change for sustainable development are to be found.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid, p. 3, emphasis in original.

From May 1991 to July 1992, a BSDP researcher investigated the role of women in the major theme areas of the project, and analyzed the Government of Indonesia's approach to and programmes for women in development at the village level. The researcher, Sara Kondon, approached her work from a GAD perspective, with an intention to use participatory research methods. The bulk of the BSDP work undertaken over the previous two years had used conventional, extractive research methods, and had not explicitly considered gender issues. The rationale for using PRA, therefore, was to solve a particular problem: "orthodox" research in the form of surveys and directed interviews had not provided much information about gender roles and the perceptions of these roles by village women and men in Bali, or about the factors which influence them.⁵⁸ If the BSDP were to base its recommendations for a Sustainable Development Strategy for Bali on a cursory and incorrect interpretation of gender relations and needs, the Strategy's effectiveness, as well as its equity, could be endangered.

Kondon tried specifically to explore the use of PRA to strengthen the methodological approach of GAD in three ways: (1) by accessing information about gender roles, relations and needs at the village level; (2) by exploring the perceptions of government officials about the needs of village women and men; and (3) by

⁵⁸Bala Hyma, "Sustainable Development from Gender Perspectives", BSDP Working Paper, 1991, photocopy, p. 26. For another example of PRA research in the BSDP, see Trevor Wayne Wickham, "Farmers Ain't No Fools: Exploring the Role of Participatory Rural Appraisal to Access Indigenous Knowledge and Enhance Sustainable Development Research and Planning. A Case of Dusun Pausan, Bali, Indonesia" (M.A. Thesis, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, 1993).

examining the influence of cultural, religious, political and ideological factors on gender issues.⁵⁹ Her goal was to empower women and men through the use of PRA, and in particular to support women's increased involvement in decision-making and planning. The conclusions and recommendations from her research were integrated into the final SDS.

Unlike Gujarat, Balinese society is often considered to have a tradition of egalitarian gender relations. The Balinese Hindu philosophy of Tri Hata Karana "expresses the concept that human beings must maintain harmony with God, other human beings and the environment. In terms of human relations, this harmony implies equity and mutual respect between women and men."⁶⁰ Within Indonesia as a whole, women and men have legislated equality. However, despite cultural, religious, ideological and legal affirmations of gender equality, Kindon found that women were largely absent from local decision-making structures and bore primary responsibility for reproductive labour in addition to their productive tasks. This contradiction between *de jure* and *de facto* equality is built into the principle government programme for women - *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK) or

⁵⁹Her BSDP research also formed the foundation for her Masters of Arts in Geography at the University of Waterloo, and is documented in Sara Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers: Applying Participatory Rural Appraisal to Gender and Development in Rural Bali, Indonesia" (M.A. Thesis, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, 1993).

⁶⁰Putu Hermawati and Sara Kindon, *Gender Roles, Relations and Needs in the Balinese Development Process*, University Consortium on the Environment Student Paper, #14 (Waterloo: University of Waterloo), 1993, p. 3, n. 6.

Family Prosperity and Guidance. PKK consists of ten integrated programmes which complement the government's overall development goals, namely: government ideology, mutual self-help, food and nutrition, clothing, household and home economics, education and skills, health, promotion of cooperatives, environmental preservation, and appropriate domestic planning. Programmes are run on women's voluntary labour and time. Men are not involved in the implementation of PKK programmes, but the local village head (male) is the overall advisor for local activities (which are then managed by his wife) and he decides what constitutes "women's issues".⁶¹ There is, therefore, considerable scope for improving equity in gender relations.

The PRA Exercises

Sara Kindon and her Balinese research assistant, Putu Hermawati, lived for ten week periods in two separate rural villages. This allowed for considerable use of PRA's observational methods, including "night halts", "direct observation" and "learning by doing".⁶² Kindon learned the skills involved in everyday household tasks such as making offerings, cooking, and carrying loads on her head, from the

⁶¹For more on PKK, see Hermawati et al., *Gender Roles*; and Bala Hyma and Sara Kindon, *A Review of the Bali Sustainable Development Project Village Surveys from a Gender Perspective*, University Consortium on the Environment Research Paper, #29, (Waterloo: University of Waterloo), 1992.

⁶²See Appendix D for further information about these and other PRA tools mentioned below.

village women. Her intention in using these PRA methods was to reverse the traditional view of outsider as expert and villager as ignorant, breaking down a relation of power separating her from local people, and thereby building the trust that would facilitate the rest of the PRA process.

Among the mapping and diagramming tools of PRA, Kindon made particular use of daily activity profiles. The typical activities of female and male farmers, labourers and entrepreneurs were summarized in time charts, which were then used extensively in discussions with villagers and government staff.⁶³ In addition, community resource maps were developed during discussion group meetings (described below). Oral, as well as visual, methods of gathering and presenting information were also employed, such as relating and analyzing life histories, folk tales and stories of cultural events.

Over the course of each ten week period, Kindon also made considerable use of PRA's interviewing tools. Informal interviews were conducted at every opportunity focusing on gender and community development themes, combined with "key probes" and the discussion of "futures possible".⁶⁴ Questions about gender roles and relations, women's and men's access to and control over resources and decision-making, personal, family and village needs, and perceptions about quality of

⁶³Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 76-77 and 96.

⁶⁴See Appendix D.

life were addressed in a flexible manner. Interviewing a wide range of villagers from different backgrounds was an important method of cross-checking or "triangulating" sources. In addition, semi-structured interviews with key informants were used to explore the perceptions of government officials at various levels (village, district and provincial) and the history of government policy and programming on gender issues.

Discussion groups at the sub-village (*dusun*) level, in practice a combination of "focus groups" and "analysis groups", formed a major part of the PRA process. Groups of women and men met separately once a week to undertake a series of exercises intended to build group confidence, explore gender relations, and allow participants to identify their own needs concerns.⁶⁵ Six steps were taken over the course of the discussion groups: gender roles identification, description of village life and historical trends, identification of village needs and problems, needs assessment and priority selection, community resource mapping, and a planning exercise for meeting a priority need. The first three exercises were performed in segregated groups, the last three in joint meetings.

The roles identification exercise allowed women and men to explore the local gender division of labour. After participants had identified all their daily activities,

⁶⁵In one village, Kondon established separate groups of women and men in three neighbourhoods (six groups in total), who met five times each. In the other, two sets of focus groups were established, which met only three times each. The depth of analysis was affected by the number of meetings. Kondon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 80-81.

the possibility of each gender performing the other's roles was discussed, probing into why certain tasks were felt to be inappropriate for one sex. This highlighted the presence of gender stereotyping and raised the issue of the social construction of gender in a humorous, non-threatening way.⁶⁶

The exploration of stories and trends of village life and the identification of village needs were assisted through the use of pre-made cards depicting a variety of agricultural, domestic and environmental scenarios, and the physical and social characteristics of poverty. Some of the pictures came from a Western manual for working with women's groups, and some from grassroots Indonesian NGOs. The cards depicted a poor village through images of inadequate housing, roads, schools and water quality; unhygienic environmental health practices, and people with ragged clothing or no shoes.⁶⁷ Although the themes on the cards were set, Kindon found that there was considerable flexibility in their use and in the stories constructed. The pre-made cards provided an effective way of entering a discussion of individual needs which was seen as "objective" and non-threatening. Once people became involved in the discussion, "there was less inhibition about moving from the general to the personal."⁶⁸

⁶⁶Sara Kindon, Letter to author, 12 October 1994, p. 1.

⁶⁷Ibid, p. 1-2. The manual was by Suzanne Kindervatter, *Women Working Together for Personal, Economic and Community Development* (Washington: Overseas Education Fund), 1983. The Indonesian examples were provided by Bina Swadaya.

⁶⁸Kindon, Letter to author, p. 2.

The needs identified by women's and men's groups in one neighbourhood are shown in Table 4.2. Participants of both sexes expected that "women's and men's needs would be similar because of their common commitment to the development of Indonesia, their community and their family."⁶⁹ While there was some congruence, there were also significant differences. The majority of needs identified by both women and men were practical, relating to immediate necessities such as improved local facilities and training.⁷⁰ However, women also identified strategic needs, such as a more equitable division of labour in reproductive tasks, a relief from the burden of alcoholic husbands, and greater fairness in participation in community decision-making (for example in the setting of *banjar* contribution rates⁷¹). It is interesting to note male awareness of issues such as women's lack of income and employment opportunities and the need for child immunization, which seems to be greater than in the Indian context described by AKRSP above.⁷²

⁶⁹Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 120. In one case, when men were asked what they felt women's needs would be, they replied that "provided women had been able to understand the question and come to a decision, women's needs would be the same as theirs." See n. 144, emphasis in original.

⁷⁰To some extent, this may have been a consequence of using the picture cards which showed poor village infrastructure, directing villagers to think of these concerns. Kindon, Letter to author, p. 2.

⁷¹A *banjar* is a traditional Balinese organization at the sub-village level which meets monthly to decide about traditional, customary and religious activities, and to organize work groups for renovating temples and organizing ceremonies. Each household is represented by a male head. Women are allowed to attend, but this is rare. However, women must contribute money to the *banjar*, and rates are decided by men without women's input. See Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 115-116.

⁷²In personal correspondence, Kindon indicates that men also discussed the need for safer contraception for their wives. Kindon, Letter to author. This does not appear in Table 4.2 which was reproduced from her thesis, hence I assume that it was raised by a different group. The table above appears in Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 121.

Table 4.2 Needs Identified by Women and Men in one Discussion Group

Sector	Needs Identified by Women	Needs Identified by Men
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● stalls for animals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● stalls for animals ● irrigation and year-round water supply ● extension on pest prevention methods ● extension on houseyard and dryland crops
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● greater community organization ● lower <i>banjar</i> financial contributions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● greater community organization
Employment/Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● regular employment ● more income to send children to school ● better use of women's skills ● equipment to support women's enterprises 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● regular employment ● more income to send children to high school ● income-generating activities for women
Environmental and Family Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● greater environmental cleanliness and health awareness ● greater health and nutritional awareness ● clean water 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● greater environmental cleanliness and health awareness ● greater health and nutritional awareness ● child immunization
Environmental Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● more reliable sources of firewood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● more reliable sources of firewood
Marital Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● men's help with household chores ● education to prevent young marriages ● support for alcoholic husbands 	
Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● better roads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● lower transportation costs

Using the needs identified by each group. Kindon then initiated a ranking exercise to select their priorities. Individually, women and men placed pieces of coloured paper representing first, second and third priorities beside their chosen needs displayed on a chart. Ranking was done in private in order "to minimise the influence of the most dominant in each group and let each person make their selection."⁷³ When everyone's coloured slips were assigned, a discussion of the ranking took place to ensure that group agreed on the top three priorities.

Once both women and men had established their priorities, the groups were brought together for a joint, village-level meeting to compare the results. A summary of the ranking was presented by the facilitators, and participants from each of the groups provided additional information.⁷⁴

When men saw women's needs were different to their own, they were very surprised. In one *dusun* . . . they responded by supporting the idea of more joint meetings in order to share ideas and strengthen community development. In most other *dusuns*, however, men sneered at women's needs and discounted "dissimilar" as "wrong". Women thought the differences were interesting and signified a need for greater communication between women and men.⁷⁵

Discussions in the village meetings led to the identification of some further strategic gender needs for women, including their need for greater confidence in order to represent their own position in mixed settings, and their strategic need for training in

⁷³Kindon, Letter to author, p. 2.

⁷⁴In retrospect, Kindon suggests that it would have been better to have had the women and men from each group present the information to the whole. Ibid.

⁷⁵Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 120, n. 144.

areas of traditional male dominance such as mechanical maintenance for water systems, so that women would not have to rely as heavily on men.⁷⁶

A community resources mapping exercise was also completed in a mixed-sex meeting. Women and men first separately identified local human, natural and institutional resources on sketch maps, and then presented the maps to each other for comparison, generating discussion about local opportunities and constraints for development initiatives. The discussion in one *dusun* focused on how the identified resources could be applied to undertake a community clean-up and the resurfacing of a local road, a priority need of the villagers. In the discussion, men's greater "outside" exposure and knowledge meant that they had more awareness of institutional resources.⁷⁷ A planning exercise, the "planning hand game" was then conducted to see how the need could be met. In the exercise, the fingers on one hand represent the "five friends for planning".

Why?	the reasons for working toward a goal (need to be met)
Who?	the person (or people) who will carry out the plan
How?	the individual steps or tasks required
When?	the time each step will be completed and the goal achieved
What?	the personal and community resources required. ⁷⁸

⁷⁶Women's need for greater knowledge and control of water system management, such as hand-pump maintenance, also has a practical dimension based on women's position in the gender division of labour as drawers of water. See Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," pp. 120-122, and Tables 4.4 and 4.5, pp. 122-123.

⁷⁷Kindon, Letter to author, p. 2-3.

⁷⁸Kindervatter, *Women Working Together*, p. 41.

Each of the questions was answered to complete a plan for a community clean-up. In this case, more tasks were assigned to men due to the physical nature of the work. The plan was eventually carried out and supported by local religious and government officials, who also participated.⁷⁹

Kindon found that planning to meet such a complex village need was a difficult and time-consuming exercise, hence in other joint meetings the "planning hand" exercise turned into more of "a consciousness-raising exercise for men" to make them aware of women's knowledge and activities. The game focused on all the tasks involved in making a pot of coffee, which was "something where women knew more than men so they could talk more of the time."⁸⁰

In the round-table discussions with local and provincial government officials, discussions were more formal. Kindon introduced officials to GAD and to PRA, and explored their perceptions of the needs of village women and men.⁸¹ Overall, she concluded that awareness "of actual gender needs at the village level tends to decrease with higher levels of government (i.e. greater distance from the village) and as

⁷⁹Kindon, Letter to author, p. 3.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 79. See also the comparison of priority needs identified by villagers themselves (women and men) and then by Provincial, District and Sub-district level government officials in Tables 4.4 and 4.5, p. 122-23.

women's needs are interpreted or represented by male officials."⁸² It was also common for men's perceived needs to be accorded greater status than women's.

On the basis of her research findings, Kindon developed a number of recommendations on gender and development themes for the BSDP and for the Indonesian government officials who participated in her research. These included: the strengthening of government gender analysis training through the integration of PRA tools and attitudes; disaggregation of all statistics by sex; expansion of government PKK training to include leadership training for women and training for men in household tasks and marital relations, increased agricultural extension for women and training in water systems management; and initiation of a campaign to promote the education of girls and women.⁸³

Analysis

In Kindon's own assessment of her research methodology and results, she felt that one positive element was the accessibility of the PRA tools and methods to local people. These methods were particularly appreciated by women:

Women especially enjoyed, and felt valued by, being as equally involved in the process as men. Many commented that this was the first time in their lives anyone had asked their opinion and valued it equally with a man's opinion.

⁸²Ibid, p. 142.

⁸³Ibid, pp. 165-172.

Women began to realise that they knew important information and had valuable skills to offer their communities.⁸⁴

There is evidence that the discussion group exercise stimulated and amplified women's ability to think critically about their own lives and needs. Women identified both practical needs, such as for training and income generating opportunities, and strategic needs, such as a more equitable division of household responsibilities, greater participation in community decision-making, and better treatment from men.

On a broader level, the PRA exercises were able to show that gender relations were not as equitable in Bali as had been assumed by many researchers and government officials.⁸⁵ The equity and complementarity of gender roles and responsibilities had also been assumed in much of the BSDP project material, including the original BSDP village surveys.⁸⁶ Daily activity charts clearly showed the disparities of the local gender division of labour among farmers, labourers and entrepreneurs. On average, women worked 14 hours per day (including 8 hours productive and 6 hours reproductive labour), with one hour for personal activities such as hygiene and meals and two hours rest or "free time"; as compared to men's

⁸⁴Ibid, p. 142.

⁸⁵Ibid, p. 12-14.

⁸⁶Hyma et al., *A Review of the BSDP Village Surveys from a Gender Perspective*, p. 4. For the surveys of the villages where Kindon's research was conducted, see Bali Sustainable Development Project, *A Report on the Village of Bongkasa, Bali, Indonesia*, University Consortium on the Environment Research Paper, #15 (Waterloo: University of Waterloo), 1991; and Bali Sustainable Development Project, *A Report on the Village of Buahan, Bali, Indonesia*, University Consortium on the Environment Research Paper, #16 (Waterloo: University of Waterloo), 1991.

average of 8 hours work (7 hours productive and one hour reproductive tasks), with one hour for personal activities and 8 hours rest or "free time".⁸⁷ These daily activity charts "proved a valuable tool to help men, especially, think about gender roles and relationships."⁸⁸

Kindon's commitment to a GAD approach ensured that she sought men's full participation in the PRA activities and in discussions about gender roles and relations. As with the experience of Meena Bilgi in the AKRSP project described earlier, Kindon noted that men's first responses to learning about women's different needs was to refute their significance. Even after discussing daily activity charts that showed women's heavy burden of both productive and reproductive tasks, men still felt that women "used their free time to gossip, and could use their time more effectively to generate an income and participate in community development activities."⁸⁹ Yet at the same time, men did not appear willing to encourage their wives to be more involved in village development activities. One male government official suggested to Kindon that men are worried that this would mean the housework would not be finished. However, in his experience, "men rarely offer to share this

⁸⁷Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 96. Men's free time activities included cock-fighting, drinking and other social events.

⁸⁸Ibid, p. 77.

⁸⁹Ibid, p. 118, n. 142.

work."⁹⁰ When women suggested at one joint meeting that they needed men to help them with reproductive tasks, the men laughed and suggested that such work was beneath them.⁹¹

There were some signs that male participation in the PRA activities was having a positive effect on their attitudes towards gender equity. In one meeting, after having discussions with women for the first time and seeing their different priorities and needs, men expressed a desire to have more meetings together to discuss ideas about community development, where previously women and men operate in largely separate spheres, rarely conferring or making decisions together.⁹²

The use of single-sex meetings provided both space and time for women to discuss and define their own needs and priorities. However, women did not have an opportunity to plan for meeting their prioritised needs in a segregated environment. In mixed groups, there was evident tension between the goals of facilitating women's critical participation and also involving men, as suggested in Chapter Two. Men were often dismissive of women's needs and ideas, and tended to dominate the discussion on planning. If women had been previously exposed to planning exercises, they might have had the additional confidence needed to defend their positions in front

⁹⁰Ibid. p. 101, n. 111.

⁹¹Ibid, p. 108.

⁹²Ibid, p.120 and 103.

of men.⁹³

Kindon employed some useful strategies to try to increase the participation of women relative to men in the joint meetings, such as the "coffee-making" exercise. However, in addition to gender dynamics, she also had to contend with power dynamics relating to kinship groups, classes and castes, and differing levels of education. Ideally, more marginalised populations would be able to meet in separate groups to discuss their particular needs without interruption from those who are better off. However, in this case, the number of groups which could be consulted separately was primarily limited by the number of facilitators - only two. Kindon was not familiar with PRA tools oriented to managing conflict situations (discussed in Chapter Three).⁹⁴ By designing each discussion group to be "representative" of local diversity, some loss of participatory equity for disadvantaged group members ensued.

While recognizing the difficulty of assessing reflexivity in a research project with a concrete product such as the SDS, several observations can be made. To begin

⁹³This is speculative, however, as the overall influence of a culture which expects women to be deferential to men in decision-making may have as great a negative effect on women's equal participation as the positive effect of their greater exposure to and confidence in PRA planning. Kindon suggests that her own limited experience with PRA and the lack of time to work constructively with discussion groups was a limiting factor in the effectiveness of the resource mapping and planning exercises. Kindon, Letter to author, p. 3.

⁹⁴As noted in the previous chapter, conflict management is an area requiring more attention within PRA.

with, many women and men who participated in the mixed discussion groups recognized the value of increased communication between the sexes and joint planning efforts. A clear indication of reflexivity would be the continuation of discussion, joint-planning and decision-making meetings. Unfortunately, there has been no local follow-up that could verify such an outcome.

In fact, the issue of follow-up highlights a problem which Kindon encountered: the raised expectations of participants as a result of the exercises. "Women and men at all levels expected [her] to financially help them follow through in the plans and needs identified through [the] discussion groups and interviews."⁹⁵ The research orientation of the project provided local people with little concrete or immediate benefits, hence their desire for some more personal gain in return for their cooperation is reasonable. The problem of expectations was probably accentuated by the quite understandable association, in the minds of many rural people, of foreigners and project money. PRA proponents at Clark University suggest that "explicit and repeated mention is required to stress that PRA brings an approach to mobilize communities, not a package of money."⁹⁶ However, this position denies that institutions are responsible for the consequences of their actions, an attitude that is

⁹⁵Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 86.

⁹⁶Odour-Noah et al., *Implementing PRA*, p. 17.

anathema to good PRA.⁹⁷ The advantages of PRA could be compromised if institutions use it inappropriately without sufficient commitment to follow-up.

Government officials at the district and sub-district levels recognized the need to work on changing men's attitudes towards their wives' participation in decision-making, although they felt somewhat powerless since no national extension courses for men have been developed in this area. Hermawati and Kindon suggest that this recognition by officials

marks the beginning of a significant change in development thinking in Bali. It shows a notable move beyond concern for practical needs, to a greater focus on strategic needs concerning relationships, values and attitudes of women and men, and how they can be improved to enhance women's status and position towards the goal of greater gender equity in community development.⁹⁸

It is most difficult to determine the lasting impact of encouraging women's and men's greater self determination at the village and sub-village level, because of the overall political climate in Indonesia. The Government of Indonesia, Kindon suggests,

tightly controls spontaneous organisations and implements uniform development initiatives at the village level which do not always respond to village women's and men's needs or sustain their interest through continued support once they have ended.

Village women and men have complacently come to expect this

⁹⁷In fact, Clark's PRA approach shows a consistent over-emphasis on methods and under-emphasis on attitudes, behaviour and self-critical awareness and responsibility, with the exception of the ECOGEN program.

⁹⁸Hermawati et al., *Gender Roles*, p. 17.

periodic government intervention for development purposes. As a consequence, they have little incentive or support to establish independent development initiatives to meet their own local needs.⁹⁹

The overall effectiveness of PRA in Indonesia could therefore be affected by the degree of government intervention or control. Plans developed by villagers using participatory methods may not receive support for their implementation if they do not merge with national government objectives.

According to the criteria established in the second chapter, reflexivity also should be shown to be operating within the BSDP as a whole (beyond the GAD component), and in its implementing agency. On these fronts, very mixed results can be found. On the one hand Kindon found that "the BSDP's expectations (to produce results to satisfy their report requirements to CIDA) overlooked the time [she] needed for processes to occur, relationships and confidence to be built".¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, most of the recommendations made by Kindon for greater participation by and training for women, the expansion of gender training, and the disaggregation of statistics by sex, were integrated into the sectoral recommendations of the Sustainable Development Strategy developed by the BSDP Team.¹⁰¹ The Canadian Project Manager asserts that Kindon's GAD work had "considerable" impact on the shape of

⁹⁹Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 153.

¹⁰⁰Ibid, p. 86.

¹⁰¹BSDP, *Sustainable Development Strategy for Bali*.

the final Strategy.¹⁰² Since the submission of the SDS to the Balinese government, the BSDP has undertaken a limited number of "demonstration activities" with Indonesian counterparts (university and government officials), one of which has been gender analysis training incorporating field visits, as recommended by Kindon.¹⁰³

Conclusions

The projects reviewed above show that PRA is capable, in a broad sense, of providing the three essential components of a GAD technique. A more detailed assessment, however, reveals some limitations. In evaluating these studies in terms of the overall appropriateness of PRA as a GAD technique, three levels must be addressed: first, the degree to which each of the three components were achieved; second, the degree to which they were effective; and third, the degree to which any shortcomings reflect an inherent limitation in PRA, or are specific to these projects.

Beginning with the requirement for a critical technique, both projects illustrate that it is possible to use PRA to encourage women to analyze issues such as the

¹⁰²Drew Knight, Letter to author, 18 October 1994.

¹⁰³Two of the other "demonstration activities" have been in waste management techniques, and another is in remote sensing and geographic information systems (GIS) for environmental analysis and planning. Bali Sustainable Development Project, *Report on the Fourth Workshop: A Sustainable Development Strategy for Bali*, University Consortium on the Environment Research Report, #43, report of a workshop on 24-25 June 1992 (Yogyakarta and Waterloo: Gadjah Mada University and University of Waterloo, in association with Udayana University, Bali), 1992, p. 79; Knight, Letter to author; and Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 165-167.

relationship between their practical and strategic gender needs, and their place in the gender division of labour. In each case, women were directly involved in identifying their strategic gender interests, and in both cases they uncovered new linkages between their practical and strategic needs. In the AKRSP activities, women recognized how much their practical needs varied seasonally, whereas men's did not, which raised the issue of their strategic interest in changing the gender division of labour. Perhaps more importantly, the sensitization of men to women's workload can be seen as a significant first step towards changing the gender division of labour and thereby meeting this need. In the BSDP project, women recognized their strategic interest in greater involvement in community decision-making, and were able to begin to act upon this need through the joint discussion groups.

However, there are a number of qualifications regarding the success of PRA as a critical technique in the two projects. First, while both projects involved women identifying their strategic gender needs, in neither case was there a concerted effort to develop plans for meeting some of these needs. The sensitization of men was undertaken at the initiative of the facilitators, rather than of the women themselves.¹⁰⁴ In the AKRSP example, when Meena Bilgi told women about the results of her PRA with men and their surprise over the extent of women's workload, the women were non-committal. They did not appear to be aware of the significance

¹⁰⁴However, this may be an appropriate role for facilitators, and did contribute positively to the creation of a better environment for women's analysis, action and reflection.

of improving men's awareness as a first step in promoting change in gender relations and in the inequitable gender division of labour, perhaps because they felt that prospects for change were unlikely. There may be a time-lag between women becoming aware of themselves as subjects capable of acting to meet their prioritized practical needs, and the same recognition of their inherent potential to act in defence of their strategic interests. This difficulty is not generic to PRA, but may have been exacerbated in the BSDP case by the limited time of investigation. If dialogue is continuing within the women's groups established in the AKRSP project, there may be a greater focus on strategic issues over time. The issue of time is discussed further below in the context of reflexivity.

Secondly, the level of critical analysis which did occur in these case studies was limited. The second chapter suggested that a critical technique should both uncover the structures of gender relations and, in the process, reveal the role of ideology in maintaining these structures. The evidence from the cases is not conclusive. The role of ideology and culture in determining what women and men do was touched upon in Sara Kindon's discussion groups in the BSDP project. However, both women and men appeared to accept women's subordinate position as being dictated by tradition and biological determinism.¹⁰⁵ For Kindon to have persisted in examining the gender bias in Balinese culture when it is accepted by the group

¹⁰⁵Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision Makers," p. 97-98.

participants could have been perceived as fairly non-participatory. Hence Kindon let the groups move on without more detailed analysis. This difficulty of delving deeply into ideologies that are accepted by local people may be a natural part of GAD, but it is probably exacerbated by PRA. PRA's weakness in this regard is linked to its principles of "optimal ignorance" and "appropriate imprecision" that guide data collection and analysis.¹⁰⁶ There is a danger of these principles justifying a limited analysis of the structures of gender subordination. There is a certain subjectivity and interpretation involved in determining the "optimal" amount of information needed for later project action, for which women participants may be at the mercy of the PRA facilitators. If women do not have a full appreciation for the way in which culture and tradition serve particular interests and are continually recreated, despite their appearance of constancy and neutrality, their belief in themselves as capable of effecting change will be limited.¹⁰⁷

As expected following the analysis of PRA in Chapter Three, both projects showed considerable participation by both women and men in the PRA exercises. However, two problem areas surfaced. First, despite the participation of men in both examples, there was no proof of PRA's ability to diffuse gender conflict in joint

¹⁰⁶Optimal ignorance means knowing what is not worth knowing and gathering only as much information as is necessary for appropriate action at each stage. Appropriate imprecision means not measuring more precisely than is necessary, or not measuring anything which will not be used. See Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁷This issue is considered in greater depth in the concluding chapter.

meetings, which would be necessary to ensure a balance between women's and men's interests. AKRSP supports women's groups (MVMs) that are separate from "village institutions" (GVMs), which they admit are largely male-dominated. As a result, the GVMs are not being challenged to become more representative and women-friendly, although an original goal of the gender programme was to enable women to represent and defend their needs in community-wide groups.¹⁰⁸ In the BSDP example, Kindon tried to avoid male domination and gender conflict in mixed groups by tactics such as initiating a planning exercise on a domestic topic in which women are the recognized experts. While this strategy may encourage both women and men to learn about planning in a friction-free environment, it is not realistic from a GAD perspective where women's strategic interests are the focus. If plans were being made to make the division of reproductive labour or community decision-making more equitable, some confrontation between men and women would be inevitable. Continued segregation does not prepare either gender for situations when their needs, priorities, and opinions will be in conflict.

Second, some concerns over the "directed" nature of participation can be raised in both projects. AKRSP's WID strategy promotes the use of labour and time saving technologies as a means of improving women's lives.¹⁰⁹ "Appropriate"

¹⁰⁸Bilgi, "Need for promotion of separate women's groups."

¹⁰⁹It should also be noted that this strategy fit well with the overall AKRSP orientation to natural resource management, since in the case of bio-gas plants and pressure cookers, reducing women's time burden is also consistent with reducing the strain on fuelwood resources.

technologies were introduced into the PRA discussions by the facilitator, rather than by the women themselves. Women then requested these items as a regular outcome of the PRA process. As noted in the project analysis, AKRSP has certain priorities and sectoral objectives upon which its funding is based. In itself, having a particular focus does not preclude the possibility of strong participation being established in activities within that area of concentration. One should also not deny women's genuine agency to both make or revise their priorities towards labour-saving strategies on the basis of available information. Likewise, in the Balinese study, the use of prepared cards representing village life and needs may have influenced the range of needs which women and men first identified and then prioritized.

Both of these problems can be understood in the context of the dynamic between bottom-up participation and agency planning, with its associated time constraints and reporting requirements. AKRSP acknowledges this, noting that encouraging genuine participation is "a time consuming task. Often there is a tension between trying to achieve targets, and trying to involve communities. Often communities have different priorities to those we feel are important."¹¹⁰ The BSDP facilitator also acknowledges that the quality of participation in her discussion groups could have been enhanced by letting the women and men draw their own diagrams or depict village life in another manner of their choosing.¹¹¹ While this dilemma of

¹¹⁰AKRSP, *Annual Progress Report 1993*, p. ix.

¹¹¹Kindon, Letter to author.

participation is not exclusive to PRA as a technique, it does affect it. There is always a danger of PRA being implemented without due attention to the principles of facilitating (not leading) and maintaining self-critical awareness, and hence of the participation becoming instrumental.

It is likely that the tension between grassroots participation and agency direction is exacerbated by physical and ideological distance between the two parties. AKRSP is a local non-governmental organization employing local staff, supporting a network of village volunteers, and showing a clear commitment to participatory approaches through their extensive use of PRA. The Bali project, on the other hand, is managed by a collection of foreigners and elite locals (university and government officials), offers few tangible benefits to local people in return for their participation, and employs a wide range of non-participatory research methods in addition to limited PRA. Even with the best intentions, its structure makes BSDP less able to be accountable to local people than AKRSP. The implications of implementing participatory approaches for the management structures of development agencies (whether governmental or non-governmental) are reviewed in the concluding chapter.

Finally, in the analysis of both projects it was acknowledged that reflexivity was the most difficult element to assess, due in part to their brevity and the sparseness of much of the follow-up information. As was noted in the introduction, without formal project evaluations or several years of hindsight it is difficult to

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observe reflexivity operating in PRA projects. Positive signs were identified where possible for each of the two cases detailed here, but the overall conclusion must be that this remains a potential in PRA that has yet to be actualized (at least in these two cases). On the other hand, the above projects have helped to show the necessity of reflexivity in a GAD technique. Both facilitators discovered that delving into strategic gender interests with women required considerable time and sustained effort. Trust must be built between the facilitator and the women analysts, and the confidence of the participants themselves must be developed. Discussing and (in the case of AKRSP) planning to meet women's practical gender needs becomes the start of an iterative circle of analysis, planning and reflection. A favourable context for reflection or ongoing analysis was created in both projects by spacing meetings and PRA exercises. It is clear that women were able to build on the results from one meeting to the next, and there is also evidence that the larger projects began to incorporate and adjust to the conclusions of women's meetings over time.¹¹²

In conclusion, this review of PRA and GAD in practice has highlighted a number of potential conflicts between them, which could reduce the effectiveness of PRA as a GAD technique. As a result, it is now appropriate to review more

¹¹²In the BSDP, which had a more concrete time-frame (requiring the production of a Sustainable Development Strategy for Bali by 1992), though the project team did incorporate much of the PRA results in its final product, there was less time or motivation to emphasize reflexivity. The lack of incentive to establish an iterative and ongoing circle of analysis, action and reflection may be a limitation of the "project" approach to development, which could be ameliorated by encouraging funding agencies to take a longer-term, process approach, removing the artificial time-constraints to people's participation and empowerment.

comprehensively the interrelationship between GAD theory, participatory rural appraisal and their respective manifestations in the field.

CONCLUSION

The introduction to this thesis formulated two separate yet related claims. The first addressed the lack of implementation of gender and development theory (as distinct from a WID approach) by most development agencies. The initial assertion was that GAD theory is not easily grafted on to mainstream development approaches, and therefore requires a new kind of technique. The characteristics of a GAD technique were deduced from an analysis of the core tenets of the theory. The second claim was that these requirements could be met substantially by participatory rural appraisal, a technique developed to enable local people to collectively explore and analyze their own knowledge, to identify their needs, to plan collectively and act in support of their own development. PRA's capacity as a GAD technique was examined from both theoretical and practical perspectives.

This concluding chapter re-examines both of these claims in four sections. First, the importance of the three criteria for a GAD technique is reasserted, and the relationship between GAD theory and technique is briefly explored. Second, the strength of PRA is reassessed. While PRA looked promising from a theoretical perspective, its practical application suggests that further innovation will be necessary for PRA to satisfy the three requirements of a GAD technique. Third, the wider environment for the implementation of GAD theory is examined. As the first chapter

noted, the lack of an appropriate technique is only one of the constraints to implementing GAD theory: broader, more political and organizational barriers remain. This chapter briefly considers these other obstacles, some of which are particular to GAD's agenda for gender equity, and others of which pertain more broadly to participatory development. Finally, the overall significance and contribution of this thesis is evaluated.

GAD Technique

Three components of a GAD technique were identified in the second chapter. First, it must involve critical analysis in order to expose the hidden structures of gender subordination and enable women to recognize themselves as subjects of their own development, capable of acting in defense of their strategic gender interests. Second, it must involve the participation of both women and men. GAD criticized WID for its exclusive concentration on women, recognizing that women's lives are constrained to a large degree by their relations with husbands, fathers, sons and male power-holders and decision-makers. It is central to GAD theory that "both women and men need to change if future society is to be more harmonious than in the past."¹ Yet gender relations are characterized by both cooperation and conflict, hence a technique which encourages the participation of both women and men must have some

¹Young, *Planning Development with Women*, p. 159.

mechanisms for managing gender conflict when it arises, in order that a focus on women's strategic gender interests can be maintained. Third, since the hidden structures of gender relations and the range of women's strategic gender interests are unlikely to be immediately apparent in all their complexity, emerging and taking shape instead from ongoing contemplation and collective discussion, and since local structures do not remain constant but change as development actions effect them, a GAD technique must also be reflexive. Reflexivity entails continual self-monitoring, forming an iterative circle in which ongoing analysis informs action and causes realignment to ensure compatibility with GAD goals. Reflexivity applies equally to the structure and implementation of projects, and to the actions of participants and sponsoring development agencies.

These three requirements were identified from an analysis of the core tenets of GAD theory. GAD is centrally concerned with women's strategic gender interests, their self-empowerment and emancipation. Yet the precise definitions of these terms - strategic interests, empowerment and emancipation - must themselves be determined in a critical, participatory and reflexive manner. Because women's strategic gender interests are derived from an analysis of concrete situations, they cannot be assumed to be the same for all women at all times. As Chandra Mohanty suggests, "It is only on the basis of such context-specific differentiated analysis that effective political

strategies can be generated."² There is a tendency affecting both women and men in developing and developed countries to equate GAD with a particular, strident Western "feminism" (sometimes considered derogatory and other times positive), considered in a monolithic manner. But properly considered, GAD is about "feminisms," actively defined and redefined by women (in conjunction with men) with respect to their own particular situations.

The recognition of women's practical gender needs and strategic gender interests must be combined with a recognition of women's choices, and those areas where women already have or exercise power as they perceive it. From the perspective of project planners and fieldworkers, this means letting women say "no" as well as "yes" to assistance.

There is always a danger that identifying a number of core elements of technique will lead to rigid or formulaic implementation. This risk can be seen both in the routinization of WID analysis, and in the ease of the rhetorical shift from WID to GAD, described in the first chapter.³ Development practitioners need a technique

²Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under western eyes: feminist scholarship and colonial discourses," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1991, p. 67.

³By the routinization of WID, I am referring to the way that questions about the impact of development on women, which started out as thought-provoking and challenging, are now considered routine and their answers almost predetermined. See Chapter One, in particular footnote 37. An example of the kinds of questions asked by WID theorists is provided in Appendix A.

that can help them translate their concern for gender equity into genuinely empowering projects. But technique alone is not a panacea or an end in itself, it is only a means. Some of the factors that further affect the implementation of GAD are considered below.

Continuing Concerns about PRA

As the third chapter cautioned, PRA is not automatically gender-aware. Theoretically, there is considerable complementarity between the core principles of PRA and the essential demands of GAD: the principles of facilitating local analysis and maintaining self-critical awareness and responsibility resonate in the idea of a critical, participatory and reflexive technique. However, several dilemmas relating to the ability of PRA to meet these three GAD requirements in practice were raised in the fourth chapter. Three specific concerns about PRA as a GAD technique need to be reviewed: the tension between rapid and critical approaches, the need for mechanisms to diffuse or manage gender conflict, and the profile and role of facilitators.

Reconciling Rapid and Critical Investigation

The case studies identified a potential conflict between PRA's tradition as a rapid technique and GAD's requirement for critical analysis: that is, the time taken

for PRA exercises and the time needed for women to communicate their strategic gender interests. One of the appeals of PRA as a technique is its time- and cost-efficient way of generating information for project planning, particularly when compared to the traditional rural survey or the residential approach of social anthropology. The shift from rapid rural appraisal to participatory rural appraisal was intended to involve people more in the process of analysis, but not to slow the whole exercise down. Richard Ford and his associates suggest that the "traditional PRA takes five to seven days of field data gathering and an additional two days for analysis and ranking."⁴ This is not a heavy investment in planning, particularly if concrete decisions are made at the end of the time period. Yet it is one thing to ask people to consider the constraints and opportunities in their natural environment and to plan activities which could increase their agricultural yields or reduce soil loss from their lands. It is quite another to ask them to evaluate the strengths and limitations of the age-old forms of social organization and to plan to change them. More time will be required for discussion and analysis in a PRA on gender issues, both for the structures and ideology of gender oppression to be revealed, and for women to develop awareness of themselves as critical social actors capable of promoting change.

If uncovering and strategizing about gender needs and interests is a time

⁴Ford et al., *PRA for Monitoring and Evaluation*, p. 10.

consuming process, it is made more problematic by the fact that most poor women have heavy daily work burdens. A partial solution to reconcile a rapid approach with a critical and participatory one, which at the same time takes into account the constraints on women's time, is to spread the analysis of data, prioritization of needs and planning of activities over time, allowing participants space and time to reflect on one step or exercise before moving on to another. This strategy was attempted in both the case studies, although the BSDP's limited time frame did not allow for the continuation of discussion and analysis groups. In AKRSP's case, the space which was created for women's ongoing dialogue and action, the village MVMs, appear to have empowered women to identify and meet some of their practical gender needs while also building their confidence and status for their greater participation in village affairs.

PRA's principles of "appropriate imprecision" and "optimal ignorance" are at the root of the tension between the time-efficiency of the technique and its capacity for critical analysis. There is genuine danger that these principles will limit the depth of analysis undertaken, restricting attention to women's practical needs and ignoring their strategic interests. The critical potential of PRA methods such as wealth ranking, gender-disaggregated seasonal calendars and gender resource mapping (examined in Chapter Three) would be lost if the "optimal" level of understanding was assumed to be reached upon completion of the map or ranking, rather than considering these exercises as the beginning of a dialogue about the patterns which

they lay bare. In other words, in a critical technique, determining what the structures of social and gender relations in a community are must be followed by an examination of why they are that way, and how they can be changed. The referent for what is "appropriate" and "optimal" is too often assumed to be the PRA facilitators. If PRA is to become a GAD technique, the authority to determine the appropriate depth, direction and pace of analysis must be vested in the women participants themselves.

Sensitivity to Gender Conflict

In the third chapter, several of PRA's ranking and analysis tools were presented as having some potential for diffusing or managing conflict situations which are likely to arise when concerted efforts are being made to focus development efforts on underprivileged groups in a community. However, neither of the projects examined provided evidence of PRA being used to diffuse gender conflict.

Due to GAD's focus on power relations between women and men, it is almost inevitable that some conflict will arise while using participatory approaches to promote women's strategic interests. Two important points should, however, be noted. First, gender relations are characterized by both conflict and cooperation. Areas of common concern between women and men do exist, and need to be recognized and understood, as well as harnessed as a base upon which to construct more equitable gender relations. It is important that PRA facilitators appreciate the

dynamic nature of gender relations, particularly when they are cultural outsiders to the communities with whom they work. It is often easy for "external" analysts to see structures of oppression and divergent needs in communities. It is less easy to see structures of support and convergent needs, particularly if outsiders assume the existence of conflict between women and men.

Second, the consequences for women of drawing attention to the existence of gender conflict in communities must be carefully considered. This concern is expressed by Irene Guijt:

How best can PRA be an effective approach for discussing gender issues at the local level, and identifying (and possibly resolving) inherent or emergent conflicts in the process? This might entail a confrontation between local women and men about issues of power and autonomy. Before embarking on such a venture, it is essential to consider why such a confrontation is considered necessary and what the expected impact might be. Without careful consideration of this question, and the capacity and willingness to deal with the follow-up, the entire process might be counter-productive and disempower those who are supposed to benefit from the process.⁵

Molyneaux recognized that the relationship between the existence of women's strategic gender interests, women's recognition of them, and their desire to realize them cannot be assumed, since women may fear the loss of support structures or forms of protection which they do not believe will be compensated for in any way.⁶ Not only may women's practical support strategies be threatened by change, but there is additional potential for frustration from raised expectations in cases where women

⁵Guijt, "Making a difference," p. 54.

⁶Molyneux, "Mobilization without emancipation?" p. 234.

do become aware and determined to act but the desired changes are not forthcoming.

Sharing is one of the three pillars of PRA identified in the third chapter. It is intended to operate at the level of the community among participants and facilitators, as well as between different communities, PRA teams and development agencies. At the very local level, the existence of gender conflict may require constraints on the sharing of information. Women who are already vulnerable, whether from poverty or inequitable gender relations, do not need to have their vulnerability exposed or increased. It may not always be appropriate to share the information uncovered in women's analysis groups with men in the same community. Again, the judge of "appropriate" in this case needs to be the women participants themselves.

The Role of Facilitators

Both of the above issues point to the importance of both facilitators and participants themselves having detailed awareness about the specific realities of each local context, and therefore to the indispensability of a critical technique. Within PRA, the principle of maintaining self-critical awareness and responsibility, if practised rigorously, provides some form of protection against these two traps. Chambers suggests that the problem of paternalism is to some degree present in any relationship between outsider and local people, even in highly participatory endeavours. He suggests that the only partial solution is respect for the poor and

what they want, even when that is different from what outsiders may feel is best.⁷

The above concerns also highlight the importance of commitment, and highlight the role of the PRA facilitator. The description of the tools and methods of PRA as well as its basic principles, given in Chapter Three, provide a basic understanding of what facilitators do and how they should approach their task. But who should facilitate GAD PRA and how they should be trained are still unanswered questions.

Many participatory development approaches place considerable emphasis on the outsider as "change agent" for local communities. Development professionals have argued that the poor are too entrenched in relationships of dependency or a culture of silence to stimulate their own action: "Only rarely do participatory development activities arise from within poor groups without any form of outside stimulus. If this were not so, we would be seeing much more development than we do."⁸ Some approaches to outside facilitators, such as Paulo Freire's, have been criticized for being paternalistic and dogmatic.

The role of the facilitator in PRA is to stimulate local people's creativity and

⁷Chambers, *Rural Development*, p. 141.

⁸Burkey, *People First*, p. 75. Burkey's chapter on "Agents of Change" provides a good overview of thinking about the role and characteristics of change agents.

analysis. There is little explicit discussion in the PRA literature on the virtues of "outsider" or "insider" facilitators. Rather, a combination of both appears to be most frequently used, working together in teams. In this way, skills in the methods and processes are transferred local people who are incorporated in the PRA teams. This helps to ensure that the information and plans generated by the PRA process are owned by the local participants.

For a GAD facilitator, the degree of connection to and time of residence in a community may need to be longer than for traditional PRA (as noted above) in order to build trust and maximize critical reflexivity. This may make local women facilitators particularly appropriate. However, both local and external facilitators are likely to have their own particular strengths and weaknesses. Someone from within a village may experience more constraints in challenging existing patriarchal and economic elites, or may have difficulty remaining neutral or removed from her own class, caste, ethnic or other interests. Poor or disadvantaged women may not feel able to communicate openly with a facilitator from a higher caste, and the reverse is also likely to be true. Outsiders, while also not free from race and class interests, may have a more ambiguous position which enables all members of a community to approach them. At the same time, however, outsiders may have preconceived notions about gender roles and needs that are inappropriate in a given setting and affect their ability to respond sensitively to local women and men. A caution is provided by Andrea Cornwall:

'Our' ideas about gender - whether they are those of the sexist patriarch or those of the committed feminist - are biases. It is important that we suspend judgement and facilitate local people in offering us their versions, their experiences and their analyses of difference rather than wading in with our own agendas.⁹

This idea about suspending biases and assumptions is a core theme in the training of PRA facilitators. PRA training usually involves both theoretical and practical components, the former to review the attitudes, principles and methods of the technique, and the latter to gain field experience testing these out. Generally, training programmes seem to last for roughly two weeks.¹⁰ Given the complexity of gender relations, it is a valid question whether a two week training would be sufficient to equip a facilitator to implement a GAD approach to PRA. This is another area requiring considerably more research.

Assessing PRA

This review of the weaknesses of PRA from a GAD perspective has highlighted problems in all three pillars of PRA: methods, behaviours and attitudes, and sharing. Thus, although PRA and GAD were seen to be reasonably well-matched in their theoretical comparison in Chapter Three, conclusive judgements cannot yet be

⁹Andrea Cornwall, "Engendering ethnocentricity? PRA and the analysis of gender," London: Department of Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, photocopy, p. 2.

¹⁰See Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*; and Cornwall, ed. *'Look Who's Talking'*, for examples of training manuals.

made about their compatibility in practice. For PRA to become an appropriate GAD technique, the issue of the conflict between speed and depth of inquiry and analysis in PRA will have to be resolved, and the value of promoting "optimal ignorance" and "appropriate imprecision" reassessed. More methods for the sensitive management of gender conflict must be developed and tested. Training for GAD PRA facilitators will need to be carefully designed, and follow-up support provided.

Overall, there is a pressing need for longer-term assessments and evaluations on the strengths and weaknesses of PRA in various contexts, including gender and development. The PRA literature has been primarily concerned with sharing new techniques and expanding the breadth and scope of PRA practice. PRA is still very much a field-driven technique. Given its participatory base and practicality, this may be most appropriate, though the speed with which it is being spread has raised some questions about quality control.¹¹ PRA could, however, benefit from greater academic interest and more systematic reporting and evaluation. There is obviously some trade-off between maintaining the accessibility of the current informal and narrative reporting and a more academic approach, but greater sharing and cooperation between practitioners and academics may be useful in helping to maintain or improve the quality of PRA.¹²

¹¹Chambers, "Rural appraisal," and Chambers, "PRA: start, stumble, self-correct, share".

¹²The Institute for Development Studies (IDS) in the UK is attempting to fulfil this kind of role by supporting exchanges with developing country NGOs involved in PRA, encouraging further research and hosting conferences.

Non-Technique Related Constraints to Implementing GAD

As noted in the first chapter, implementation of GAD theory faces several kinds of obstacles, of which the most immediate (and perhaps the easiest to solve) is the lack of technique. The complex cluster of political constraints which may prove the more intractable barrier to the wider implementation of GAD is examined briefly below. As GAD is a participatory development approach focusing on empowerment and human capacity building, many of the problems reviewed below are generic to the implementation of genuinely participatory approaches wherever they are attempted. Some of the solutions proposed for the dilemmas of participation may be equally applicable to implementing a participatory GAD approach. However, there are also, as noted in the first chapter, particular political constraints to implementing GAD which flow from male resistance to change in the gender division of power. Two broad areas are considered: the organizational impediments to implementing participatory development approaches, including the issue of funding mechanisms; and the complex issue of motivation and commitment to gender change.

Organizational Constraints

Academics and activists have argued for greater grassroots participation in development for at least twenty-five years, and the benefits of such participation are continually praised in the rhetoric of most large-scale development agencies. Yet

clearly, much mainstream development is the antithesis of participatory - planned in Western capitals with no consultation, and implemented by Western businesses and development professionals. Thomas Dichter suggests that while fostering strong popular participation is a sensitive and serious manner, it is not "rocket science", the basics of what to do are well understood: "help people reflect on their own condition, speak their language, live with (or at least spend time with) them, take their interests and values into account, respect them as individuals, find ways to get them to have a stake, train them, create appropriate reward structures, pay attention to detail, take adequate time, and do your homework."¹³ He argues that, too often, these basics are either ignored or compromised in the move from theory to action.¹⁴ Three kinds of obstacles to agencies following through on participation will be briefly considered here: organizational constraints, funding structures, and the problem of letting go of the "reins" determining the direction of development.

Encouraging genuine participation in development is a complex and time-consuming process for development agencies. The operational demands of a participatory approach may be more easily met by some agencies (usually smaller and non-governmental ones) than by others. Chambers suggests that this will be a

¹³Thomas Dichter, "Demystifying popular participation: institutional mechanisms for popular participation," in *Participatory Development and the World Bank: Potential Directions for Change*, World Bank Discussion Papers, #183, ed. Bhuvan Bhatnagar and Aubrey C. Williams (Washington: World Bank), 1992, p. 89.

¹⁴Ibid, p.91.

continuing challenge for PRA:

Perhaps the biggest challenge is the establishment of PRA as a way of operating, even as a culture, in organisations. Normal bureaucratic tendencies to standardise, centralise, and impose top-down targets at best impede and at worst prevent the open-endedness, flexibility, creativity and diversity of much good PRA.¹⁵

Many institutions are constrained by their rules and procedures from operating in a participatory manner or from making use of advice and input which comes from consultation with local people. Rigid planning structures, value systems which reward fast results and large disbursements of funds, management practices which discourage experimentation and risk-taking, and short-term operational time-frames have all been highlighted as inhibitions to the institutionalization of a participatory ethos in organizations.¹⁶ This highlights the connection between participatory and reflexive:

To become less bureaucratic and more enabling, an agency must examine every aspect of its work and determine whether its programmes and procedures are capable of responding to the needs and priorities of local people.¹⁷

To implement GAD, an extra layer of analysis about the structures and culture of gender relations in organizations is required. An agency which has not created an enabling environment for its own female staff (both professional and support staff) will be unlikely to create an enabling environment for the empowerment of local

¹⁵Chambers, "Rural appraisal," p. 49.

¹⁶Dichter, "Demystifying popular participation."

¹⁷Thompson, "From participatory appraisal to participatory practice," p. 56.

women.

The development industry is big business. Accustomed to construction projects with clearly identifiable products and limited (three-to-five year) time-frames, most development agencies have established their project cycles and funding mechanisms to support mega-projects. Human development projects, or participatory initiatives requiring capacity-building for grassroots groups, are difficult to fit into this typical model either in length or monetary terms. It is hard to imagine the kind of money spent annually on large-scale infrastructure projects being disbursed to individual community or women's groups for local initiatives designed and implemented by them with little or no external involvement.

Different kinds of mechanisms and strategies for funding participatory initiatives have been well described in the participatory development literature.¹⁸ Briefly, donor financial mechanisms need to become more flexible, since it will not be possible to predict exactly what will be funded, when, or to what amount; adaptable to disburse small very amounts; easily accessible and with transparent decision-making; and established to provide capacity-building and support over the long-term, rather than just for five-year periods. Another proposal for financing

¹⁸See Alexandre Marc, "Funding mechanisms and participation: a brief review of World Bank experience and related issues," in *Participatory Development and the World Bank: Potential Directions for Change*, World Bank Discussion Papers, #183, ed. Bhuvan Bhatnagar and Aubrey C. Williams (Washington: World Bank), 1992, 122-34, for an overview.

participatory development is to move from project funding to a programme or organizational approach, where block funds are established on a thematic basis or provided to an intermediary NGO committed to assisting grassroots groups.¹⁹

Much has been written about how women are able to benefit dramatically from very small amounts of money, and how successful women's savings and credit schemes have been in terms of repayment percentages. However, it may be possible to over-estimate the successes of micro-level credit schemes. Women's groups may still have difficulties accessing more substantial amounts of money than have been available in many of these schemes. The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, often described as an unqualified success for women, provides a useful example of this problem. Women are the majority of recipients of the Bank's smallest loans, but have received proportionately much less of the larger amounts.²⁰ Funding mechanisms must allow women to "scale up" to higher level of assistance when they feel ready.

Women's ability to determine the appropriate level of, and timing for, funding received from development agencies (whether through governmental or NGO schemes) requires that the donors are prepared to transfer control to participants.

¹⁹Both kinds of alternative arrangements can be found operating on a small scale within many large development agencies, including CIDA, such as in bilateral "funds" which support local WID or human rights initiatives.

²⁰Ann Marie Goetz, "Gender and administration," *IDS Bulletin* 23, no. 4 (1992), p. 7.

This may be the most difficult aspect of implementing genuine participation. The successful implementation of the technique described in this thesis is premised on the participants, specifically women, having sufficient control over their own development to determine the goals, objectives and methods of projects which are intended to meet their prioritized needs.

The degree to which different development agencies (and their personnel) are able or prepared to establish participatory funding mechanisms and hand over the reins of project control to participants will obviously vary. Agencies with decentralized management and decision-making structures and sufficient field-based personnel (preferably local rather than ex-patriate) will be in a much better position to initiate GAD/PRA training and planning, to rapidly adapt programmes to the felt needs of participants, and to provide ongoing monitoring and assistance as requested.

Commitment to Gender Change

What motivates development agencies to take any participatory approach, or in particular a GAD approach? Dichter suggests that, by concentrating on the basics, "there is no reason in theory why any kind of institution cannot promote popular participation".²¹ In practice, however, there may be many reasons. The classic

²¹Dichter, "Demystifying popular participation," p. 93.

justification for increasing the participation of people generally, and women specifically, in the development process is that it will result in greater success and sustainability. Obviously, improving the efficiency and effectiveness of initiatives should be in every agency's best interest. Perhaps the more powerful arguments revolve around issues of social justice and equity, and concerns for improving the condition of the bulk of humanity in the developing world. However, the motivations of many agencies in this regard are ambiguous. Other influencing factors may include policies of tied aid or pressure from national businesses for aid contracts, and concerns about justifying programmes to politicians and the general public in times of recession and budget cuts.

Similarly, developing country governments have uncertain motivation as far as women's empowerment is concerned. The BSDP example highlighted some of the difficulties in trying to stimulate gender-balanced participation in a context in which the government promotes both bottom-up development and women's empowerment only as far as it coincides with its own top-down, ideological agenda. As Naila Kabeer suggests,

the state is a contradictory force in the process of women's empowerment. It has the power to override certain kinds of local constraints and to provide the enabling conditions for women to mobilize around their own self-defined priorities. But where such activity conflicts with other interests of the state, it is unlikely to prove a reliable ally.²²

²²Kabeer, *Reversed Realities*, p. 260-1.

Non-governmental development organizations are generally subject to less stringent political constraints, and often have more straightforward motivations behind their development assistance programmes. At the same time, to the degree that they rely on government funding, they are affected by government priorities. Even a commitment to social change, however, does not guarantee an equal commitment to gender equity and a change in the gender division of power. Gender analysis may make staff aware of the disadvantaged position of women and their particular strategic gender needs, but it cannot guarantee that staff will adopt new attitudes and behaviours as a result, which are so crucial to the implementation of GAD. Mona Mehta, analyzing the strategy undertaken in an Oxfam India office, reports that before much effort could be made to make projects more gender-focused, considerable time had to be spent facilitating gender change within the organization and its staff:

An issue faced by many staff is the contradiction between their new gender awareness and the continuing reality of their own social surroundings. Many staff members find their attempts to practice gender equality a frustrating experience, especially where there is resistance from within their own families. Informal staff partners' forums have been initiated to spread awareness of gender and other development issues among the families; to foster an increased sharing between partners; and to create support structures among the staff.²³

The need for considerable "upstream" investment in gender capacity-building for both staff and partners at the grassroots level will be daunting enough for organizations and individuals with strong motivations. Where mixed objectives are the norm, a commitment is less likely to be made.

²³Mona Mehta, "Analysis of a development programme," in *Changing Perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development*, ed. Tina Wallace and Candida March (Oxford: Oxfam), 1991, p. 145.

The problems of working in patriarchal cultures were noted as particular constraints on GAD's wider implementation. Developing country government officials have often suggested that efforts to promote women's interests through development projects are a Western imposition, neither relevant for nor appreciated by women in their countries. However, as GAD is a genuinely participatory approach, addressing local women's needs and priorities as they have identified them, it should not be a foreign imposition. In this way, if GAD projects live up to their critical, participatory and reflexive requirements, they show the broad applicability of the approach in different cultures.

By using practical gender needs as an entry point to strategic gender interests, it is possible to reach women even when their mobility is restricted through customs or work burdens. A GAD approach allows for working with separate groups of women and men, creating space for women to meet and discuss their condition and position while at the same time sensitizing men to women's practical and strategic needs.

Conclusion

This thesis has provided a detailed analysis of GAD theory, and has elaborated the essential characteristics which must be met by any technique devised to implement it. By identifying these core components, this work contributes to both the theoretical

and the practical understanding of gender and development.

Participatory rural appraisal, which was proposed as a potential GAD technique, has been found to be at once promising and problematic. It offers many useful tools and methods, as well as important principles such as the emphasis on self-critical awareness and responsibility. However, it also has several problems, of which the most important is the difficulty of reconciling rapid with critical analysis. At this time, it may be most useful for GAD practitioners to explore the range of PRA methods and continue the innovation that has characterized PRA over the past six years, integrating these tools into a more comprehensive and appropriate technique. A closer association with GAD theory and practice would also strengthen PRA.

The centrality of commitment to the implementation of GAD theory has been a theme running throughout this paper, arising in all four chapters. Commitment is both prior to and intertwined with the issue of technique: it is a necessary ingredient in the development of a GAD technique, as well as a prerequisite for such a technique's success and the long term empowerment of women.

Changing inequitable global and local gender relations and distributions of resources between women and men, at the heart of both empowerment and emancipation, is not amenable to simple solutions or even the rigorous implementation

of one technique. As suggested at the beginning of this conclusion, while it is possible to generalize about the existence of problems facing women, solutions must be based on concrete and particular circumstances. Rather than solutions, I hope to have provided a greater range of options to practitioners committed to supporting women's self-empowerment in both the developed and the developing world.

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APPENDIX A: Stages of the Harvard Gender Analysis Framework¹

Step One - Activity Profile

Socio-Economic Activity	Gender/Age ^a					TIMELOCUS ^c
	FA	MA	FC	FE	ME	
1. Production of Goods and Services						
a. Product/Services						
1. Functional Activity						
2. Functional Activity						
3. Functional Activity						
b. Product/Services						
1. Functional Activity						
2. Functional Activity						
3. Functional Activity						
2. Reproduction & Maintenance of Human Resources						
a. Product/Services						
1. Functional Activity						
2. Functional Activity						
3. Functional Activity						
b. Product/Services						
1. Functional Activity						
2. Functional Activity						
3. Functional Activity						

^a FA = Female Adult; MA = Male Adult; FC = Female Child; MC = Male Child;
FE = Female Elder; ME = Male Elder

^b Percentage of time allocated to each activity; seasonal; daily

^c Within home; family, field or shop; local community; beyond community

¹All material in this appendix is from Overholt et al., *Gender Roles in Development Projects: A Case Book*, pp. 8-15.

Step Two - Access and Control Profile

Control Resources	Access	
	(M/F)	(M/F)
Land		
Equipment		
Labour		
Production		
Reproduction		
Capital		
Education/Training		

Control Benefits	Access	
	(M/F)	(M/F)
Outside Income		
Assets Ownership		
In-kind goods		
(Food, clothing, shelter, etc.)		
Education		
Political Power/Prestige		
Other		

Step Three - Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities, Access and Control

The factors which determine who does what in any population subgroup and what access and control individuals will have to resources and benefits are broad and interrelated. They could be categorized in numerous ways. We suggest the following:

- (a) general economic conditions, such as poverty levels, inflation rates, income distribution, internal terms of trade, infrastructure;
- (b) institutional structures, including the nature of government bureaucracies and arrangement for the generation and dissemination of knowledge, technology, and skills;
- (c) demographic factors
- (d) socio-cultural factors
- (e) community norms, such as familial norms and religious beliefs
- (f) legal parameters
- (g) training and education
- (h) political events, both internal and external.

The reason for specifying these determining factors is to identify which can facilitate or constrain a project. Some factors, if not most, will not be amenable to change by a project. Therefore, the task for project design and implementation is to assess the above factors in terms of whether and how they will have an effect on or be affected by a project.

Step Four - Project Cycle Analysis

The following sets of questions are the key ones for each of the four main stages in the project cycle: identification, design, implementation, evaluation.

Women's Dimension in Project Identification

A. Assessing Women's Needs

1. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's productivity and/or production?
2. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's access to and control of resources?
3. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's access to and control of benefits?
4. How do these needs and opportunities relate to the country's other general and sectoral development needs and opportunities?
5. Have women been directly consulted in identifying such needs and opportunities?

B. Defining General Project Objectives

1. Are project objectives explicitly related to women's needs?
2. Do these objectives adequately reflect women's needs?
3. Have women participated in setting these objectives?
4. Have there been any earlier efforts?
5. How has present proposal built on earlier activity?

C. Identifying Possible Negative Effects

1. Might the project reduce women's access to or control of resources and benefits?
2. Might it adversely affect women's situation in some other way?
3. What will be the effects on women in the short and longer run?

Women's Dimension in Project Design

A. Project Impact on Women's Activity

1. Which of these activities (production, reproduction & maintenance, socio-political) does the project affect?
2. Is the planned component consistent with the current gender denomination for the activity?
3. If it plans to change the women's performance of that activity, (i.e., locus of activity, remunerative mode, technology, mode of activity) is this feasible, and what positive or negative affects would it have on women?
4. If it does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's roles in the development process?
5. How can the project design be adjusted to increase the above-mentioned positive effects, and reduce or eliminate the negative ones?

B. Project Impact on Women's Access and Control

1. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the production of goods and services?
2. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the reproduction and maintenance of human resources?
3. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the socio-political functions?
4. What forces have been set into motion to induce further exploration of constraints and possible improvements?
5. How can the project design be adjusted to increase women's access to and control of resources and benefits?

Women's Dimension in Project Implementation**A Personnel**

1. Are project personnel sufficiently aware of and sympathetic towards women's needs?
2. Are women used to deliver the goods and services to women beneficiaries?
3. Do personnel have the necessary skills to provide any special inputs required by women?
4. What training techniques will be used to develop delivery systems?
5. Are there appropriate opportunities for women to participate in project management positions?

B. Organizational Structures

1. Does the organizational form enhance women's access to resources?
2. Does the organization have adequate power to obtain resources needed by women from other organizations?
3. Does the organization have the institutional capacity to support and protect women during the change process?

C. Operations and Logistics

1. Are the organization's delivery channels accessible to women in terms of personnel, location and timing?
2. Do control procedures exist to ensure dependable delivery of the goods and services?
3. Are there mechanisms to ensure that the project resources or benefits are not usurped by males?

D. Finances

1. Do funding mechanisms exist to ensure program continuity?
2. Are funding levels adequate for proposed tasks?
3. Is preferential access to resources by males avoided?

4. Is it possible to trace funds for women from allocation to delivery with a fair degree of accuracy?

E. Flexibility

1. Does the project have a management information system which will allow it to detect the effects of the operation on women?
2. Does the organization have enough flexibility to adapt its structures and operations to meet the changing or new-found situations of women?

Women's Dimensions in Project Evaluation

A. Data Requirements

1. Does the project's monitoring and evaluation systems explicitly measure the project's effects on women?
2. Does it also collect data to update the Activity Analysis and the Women's Access and Control Analysis?
3. Are women involved in designating the data requirements?

B. Data Collection and Analysis

1. Are the data collected with sufficient frequency so that necessary project adjustments could be made during the project?
2. Are the data fed back to project personnel and beneficiaries in an understandable form and on a timely basis to allow project adjustments?
3. Are women involved in the collection and interpretation of data?
4. Are data analyzed so as to provide guidance to the design of other projects?
5. Are key areas for WID research identified?

APPENDIX B: Conventional Methodologies vs. Moser's Gender Planning

Planning Methodology 1: The Blueprint Plan¹

Survey —————> Analysis —————> Plan

Planning Methodology 2: Rational Comprehensive Planning, with particular reference to the project cycle²

¹Moser, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*, p. 84.

²Ibid, p. 85.

Planning Methodology 3: One Stage in an Iterative Gender Planning Framework³

³Ibid, p. 106.

APPENDIX C: Comparison Between RRA and PRA¹

RRA and PRA Compared		
	RRA	PRA
Period of major development	late 1970s, 1980s	late 1980s, 1990s
Major innovators based in	Universities	NGOs
Main users	Aid agencies Universities	NGOs Government field organizations
Key resource earlier overlooked	Local people's knowledge	Local people's capabilities
Main innovation	Methods	Behaviour
Dominant mode	Extractive	Participatory
Ideal objectives	Learning by outsiders	Empowerment of local people
Longer-term outcome	Plans, projects, publications	Sustainable local action and institutions

¹Taken from Chambers, "Rural appraisal", p. 11.

APPENDIX D: PRA Tools and Methods

A number of PRA tools and methods are briefly described below, grouped according to the categories provided in Chapter Three.¹

1. Observation

Direct Observation: Observation of daily village life (events, locations, processes, people and relationships) provides a wealth of information for PRA. The process of observation should stimulate questions to probe the reasons behind what is seen (and not seen), that can be explored through other PRA tools. It is important to observe in a wide variety of sites, to use all five senses, to seek variation, and to keep records, measurements, and samples. Direct observation can be a way of corroborating information.

Learning By Doing: Members of the PRA team should be taught by villagers how to perform everyday tasks of women and men at an early stage of the PRA exercise to build trust and rapport. This allows roles to be reversed and villagers to assume the "expert" position. Learning by doing (or do-it-yourself) promotes changes in attitudes and respect for local knowledge and skills.

Night Halts: It is traditional in PRA to stay overnight in villages for the duration of the exercise. Night halts facilitate all interactions between villagers and outsiders, allowing for early morning and late evening discussions when villagers may be less busy.

Transect Walks: These are systematic walks with key informants through areas of interest, identifying different zones, seeking problems and possible solutions, asking and listening. Transects often result in outsiders discovering surprising local innovations and responses to problems.

2. Interviews

Semi-Structured Interview: This is a kind of guided interview where only some of the questions are predetermined, allowing for the introduction of new topics or the deeper

¹Information from a variety of sources including Chambers, "Rural appraisal"; Kindon, "From Tea Makers to Decision-Makers"; Mascarenhas et al., "PRA in India"; NES et al., *PRA Handbook*; Theis and Grady, *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*; Thomas-Slayter et al., *Tools for Gender Analysis*; Welbourn, "Rapid rural appraisal, gender and health"; and Wickham, "Farmers Ain't No Fools".

exploration of particular themes as the interview progresses. Interview style should be informal and conversational, questions should be open-ended and not leading. Questions often arise from the interviewee's responses, and from the use of ranking, mapping, direct observation and other PRA methods. Interviews can be in a group or with particular individuals.

Key Probes: These are question which can lead directly to key issues, particularly about relationships between people or events. Sample questions include "what do you talk about when you are together?", or "if you and I have a dispute about something, what do we do?". Asking respondents to provide more detail about issues they raise is also a form of probing. Key probe questions should be repeated with different informants and the answers compared.

Key Informant Interviews: A key informant is anyone who has special knowledge about a particular topic (such as a midwife on birth control practices) Key informants will be able to answer questions about the knowledge and behaviour of others and the operations of broader systems. Information should be cross-checked as much as possible with other tools, in order to reduce the dangers of being misled from over-reliance on one source.

Focus Groups: Focus groups are convened to explore a particular issue in greater depth, with small groups of people (6-12) who are knowledgeable or interested in the topic being invited to participate. A facilitator should ensure that the discussion does not get far off track and that no one individual is allowed to dominate, but otherwise should not lead or direct proceedings.

Futures possible: These are questions about how people expect the future to look, and what they would like to see or have happen over a particular time period, such as in one year or in their children's lifetimes. Asking these questions reveals people's desires, wishes and expectations, and can help in the formulation of plans for action.

3. Maps/Diagrams

Resource Mapping and Modelling: This includes marking, drawing or modelling by local people using local materials (such as sticks, stones, grasses, leaves, seeds, etc.). Once a map is proposed, PRA facilitators should refrain from interfering and withhold questions until it is completed. Maps are commonly made of: villages, farms, catchment areas, and forests.

Gender resources mapping: Similar to the above, but focusing on showing the differential access to/control over resources by women and men, their different areas of responsibility for labour and their access to/control over benefits from the use of

resources. For example, a farm map showing rice fields would indicate whose labour was required (men for preparing ground, women for weeding, both for transplanting and harvesting), who made decisions about the field, and who owned the rice and profits from its sale.

Social Maps: These maps show residential areas of a village. Houses and paths are drawn by villagers, that can be supplemented by a wide range of information such as household size, the health and welfare status of household members (showing the number of children immunized, cases of illness or malnutrition, pregnancies), levels of education, numbers of farmyard animals or size of landholding.

Impact and Action Monitoring Maps: These maps can be used to record the implementation and effect of various project interventions, such as tracing pest incidence or weed distribution in a project involving a new crop variety, or amount of soil erosion in a watershed management project. They can be future oriented or historical, for example, comparing the patterns of land distribution and forest cover over the past fifty years.

Mobility Maps: These can be used to identify the patterns of spacial mobility for different segments of a community (women and men, wealthy and poor). Destinations and relative distance should be represented, covering where people go for work, shopping, health care, education and visiting. Spatial mobility is often an indicator of an individual's (or group's) contact with and level of knowledge of the world outside a village, and can be closely linked to status and levels of authority or decision-making power in a community.

Seasonal Calendars: These diagrams explore seasonal constraints and opportunities on a month by month basis, and can compare or show linkages between a number of variables. For example, a seasonal calendar can chart the changing level of rainfall over a year (or more), with additional rows showing the amount and type of labour in fields, the accessibility of food, levels of income and expenses, incidence of illness, and local festivities. Seasonal calendars can be done separately by women and men. These are useful for identifying time constraints, labour and income shortages and opportunities, and are important for planning activities.

Daily Activity Profiles: These provide information about the daily activities of individuals, charted over a twenty-four hour period, and can allow for comparison across groups (such as women and men, farmers and marketers, employed and unemployed). Like the seasonal diagrams, they can identify time constraints and opportunities which people face and are important for planning activities.

Time Trends: Trend diagrams show quantitative changes over time and can be applied to many variables such as rainfall, yields, prices of staples, migration, population

size, malnutrition rates, migration, and time and distance for water or fuelwood collection.

Institutional Relationships: These diagrams plot the number and kinds of local institutions and relationships between them. Different sized circles are placed separately or overlapping to indicate proportional importance and influence of organizations. Also called *Venn diagrams* and *Chapati diagrams* in different areas.

4. Ranking/Scoring

Preference Ranking: This procedure can be used to determine the preferences of different individuals and (in aggregate) a particular group. A set of problems or preferences are chosen for ranking, such as preferred tree varieties or most serious problems (3-6 issues), and a number of interviewees are asked to rank the varieties or problems in order of priority (e.g. 5 being most important and 1 least). The total score for each issue is then tabulated.

Pairwise Ranking: This ranking process also determines priorities or preferences, and can be useful for identifying people's ranking criteria. A set of problems to be compared is chosen, such as tree varieties, and items are written on cards (using symbols where appropriate). Each respondent is shown the cards two at a time and asked to choose which is preferred, and the reasons why in each case, until all possible combinations have been considered. The criteria for preference should be noted.

Matrix Ranking: This is another way of exploring both preference and the reasons behind it. A matrix is drawn which indicates the set of objects to be ranked (such as tree varieties) and the criteria by which they will be compared, or what characteristics are important about these objects (such as fuelwood, fodder, fruit, medicine, shade, building materials, charcoal). On each criteria, the different varieties or problems are ranked from best to worst, with total scores being compiled at the end. The important criteria for any particular set of objects is likely to change from group to group and women vs men.

Wealth Ranking: Wealth ranking investigates local perceptions of wealth differences and inequalities in a community, uncovers local criteria for wealth and well-being, and establishes the relative position of households in a community. Names of all households are written on slips of paper, and a number of informants are asked to group the cards into categories of wealth (of their choosing). Once broad groups have been established, the households in each group can be compared for their relative position. The resultant socio-economic profile can be used as a basis for choosing households for interviews, participation in schemes directed towards the

poorest, and for discussions about local problems, solutions, and coping strategies.

5. Analysis Groups

Ranking Problems and Opportunities: Analysis group discussions can be used to identify the serious problems being faced by particular groups or communities, which can be ranked using methods above to determine those most deserving of attention. Groups can then brainstorm about the different kinds of opportunities which exist or would be needed in order to address each of the problems.

Options/Innovations Assessment Charts: Once options or opportunities for action have been identified by analysis groups, they can be examined in several ways. An innovation can be described according to what is involved, why it is important, where it takes place, who is involved (who implements, who benefits), how and when it is to be undertaken, and how much it will cost. Different options can be compared according to criteria such as productivity, stability, sustainability, equitability, time between implementation and benefit accruing, cost, and technical feasibility. These assessments can help villagers determine their overall priorities.

Sustainability Matrix: This encourages a group to discuss their actual or proposed project, monitor activities, and develop action and follow-up plans. It can lead to decisions about the continuation or modification of different activities on the bases of goals and objectives. A sample is provided in Appendix G.

APPENDIX E: Mental Maps from a Sierra Leone Village¹

¹Welbourn, "RRA and the analysis of difference," figure 1, p. 17a.

APPENDIX F: Sample Impact Diagrams

Impact Diagram: Contribution of Improved Stoves to Raising Income in Burbur Village, Sudan¹

¹Quinney, "Applying PRA methods to participatory monitoring and evaluation," figure 1, p. 87a.

Impact Matrix for Types of Cooking Stoves, El Hujairat Village, Sudan²

Impression	Symbol used	STOVE CRITERIA	Improved Mud Stove	Metal Stove	Traditional Stove
Red cloth		Heat Intensity	SSS	II	I
Triangle		Smoke	II	III	I
Zigzag line		Cooking speed	III	II	I
Bone		Cooking quality	III	II	I
Stick		Fuel wood consumption	III		II
Stone		Durability	II	III	I
		SCORE	IIII IIII IIII IIII	IIII IIII IIII	IIII IIII
		RESULT	I	II	III

/, symbol of small stick

²Ibid, figure 2, p. 87b.

APPENDIX G: Sample Sustainability Matrix¹

Activity	Goals & Objectives	Output Indicators	Impact Indicators	Strengths	Weaknesses	What should we continue doing?	What should we start doing?	What should we stop doing?
Crop Diversification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reduce water consumption of crops increase income of farmers increase self-reliance substitute imports demonstrate new crop varieties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> number of seedlings distributed number of farmers benefitting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> seedling survival rate amount of fruit produced number of seedlings planted without outside assistance tree nursery established 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> responsive to market changes 13,000 seedlings distributed quality control farmers contribute financially 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> weak monitoring system some seedlings not suitable for environment low seedling survival rate beneficiaries are not poor work with individuals instead of groups low rate of replication small number of seedlings per beneficiary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> extension technical assistance follow-up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evaluation of project establish tree nursery with groups of farmers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> stop subsidizing seedlings stop working with individual farmers

¹Theis et al., *Participatory Rapid Appraisal for Community Development*, p. 124.

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