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**THE EVOLUTION OF CIDA'S WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE:
SHAPING KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTHERN WOMEN**

by

Christine M. Faveri B.A. (Hons.)

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

Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

Carleton University

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October 16, 1992

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The undersigned hereby recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of this thesis, submitted by CHRISTINE M. FAVERI, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

CIDA's WID discourse has been crucial in shaping knowledge of southern women, particularly within northern development agencies. The language of CIDA's WID policy and its underlying conceptualization of southern women has evolved progressively from 1984 to 1992. Theoretically, the evolution of the discourse has moved WID into a more central position within the Agency's dominant discourse, providing southern women with a greater space to articulate their own needs, realities, and strategies for change. However, in operationalizing WID, CIDA has been less successful in providing southern women with a space to be heard. Using a feminist-postmodern framework of analysis, this study demystifies WID by looking at who has been creating CIDA's WID discourse, and for whom. It argues that because the 'ownership' of CIDA's WID policy rests largely in the hands of northern WID consultants, WID has become marginalized in CIDA's mainstream development discourse. The implementation of WID has not encouraged an interactive and consultative dialogue between CIDA and southern women. Nor does WID contribute to a greater understanding of the complex lives of southern women. In reality, CIDA's WID discourse has disempowered southern women by constructing them as 'objects' of knowledge, and as passive-participants in a CIDA-defined development process.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the women of *Nasautoka* Village in *Wainibuka*, *Tailevu* province of *Viti Levu* in the Fiji Islands. In particular, this work has been sustained by my memories of *Adi Keleni Bau Bau Baledrokadroka* whose warm, spontaneous, and caring presence has brought me, four years later, much closer to understanding her world.

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Most importantly, I would like to thank my family and friends for enduring, supporting, and believing in me throughout this process and always.

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PREFACE

"Nana, I know. I understand! I am a yalewa ni Viti- I am a Fijian woman!" I proclaimed, wrapping my sulu tightly around my waist. I had been in the village five months by that time. I was convinced that I knew it all.

"Sa!" Nana pretended to be impressed. "Listen to her!" she called to her sister. She was so animated and her smile so infectious. I watched her intently as I always did.

We worked on, our smiles lingering in the heat with the muffled voices of the women in the back room. When I looked up again she was watching me. Cautiously her gaze fell to the mat where we were working. When she spoke again it was very softly.

"My child, you will never know...you are a yalewa ni Canada- you are a Canadian woman." In that small instant my heart burst. And her eyes told me she was right.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Defining knowledge: the case of women and development

Feminists have argued that traditional epistemologies, whether intentionally or unintentionally, systematically exclude the possibility that women could be 'knowers' or **agents of knowledge**; they claim that the voice of science is a masculine one; that history is written from only the point of view of men (of the dominant class and race); that the subject of a traditional sociological sentence is always assumed to be a man (Harding 1987:3).

Throughout ancient and modern times, in different countries, cultures, and societies, the keepers of knowledge have held a privileged place in society. Whether kings, priests, shamans, doctors, elders or scholarly statesmen, these people have commanded power and status for their insight and knowledge into worlds generally unopen to common folk. Thus, throughout western history power has been synonymous with the ability to acquire knowledge and award meaning, hence the power to control. In this process however, many competing voices and experiences have been subjugated and silenced. As recent studies reveal, often it has been the voices, experiences, and knowledge of women that have been silenced in the quest for knowledge, control and power.¹

For feminist scholars and activists, the connection between knowledge and power has been a powerful and political symbol. In the North American context,

¹ I refer here to the growing number of revisionist interpretations of western history written by feminist scholars. These have looked at various periods, such as, the burning of women and nudwives in the 15th century, the colonial experience, the post World War II return of women to the home, and the backlash against feminism in the 1990s, as methods of silencing women's knowledge from intruding into a traditionally male domain.

women have been struggling for decades against the patriarchal language and concepts that have been inscribed into our political, legal, and social structures. The battle has been waged at all levels, in households, communities, courts, legislatures and ultimately, academia. Feminist scholars in particular, have been working to demystify and challenge the traditional epistemological tenets that have shaped the structures that guide our daily lives.

Deconstructing the way in which knowledge has been constructed is one way of uncovering inherent biases within society and revealing the ethnocentric and/or androcentric way in which knowledge has been shaped. As Jane Flax stated, it is one way of revealing "how gender relations are constituted and experienced and how we think, or equally important, do not think about them" (1991a:40). It also can reveal how inequitable gender relations are "buttressed by economic and social structures which make such practices seem rational even to those who are disadvantaged by them" (Elson 1991a:8). The study of the social construction of knowledge therefore, is a vital starting point for revealing the history and evolution of gender relations in society and, consequently, how our knowledge of women has been constructed to support established patterns of behaviour between men and women.

Ultimately, a study of the social construction of knowledge is a study of power relations. Feminist scholars have revealed that male bias, either conscious or unconscious, is manifest everywhere in the thoughts, actions, structures and processes that shape our daily lives (Elson 1991b:8). Yet, rarely do we question who defines the concepts that underlie our knowledge of the world around us. Nor do we often

question what purpose these definitions serve or what kind of power relations are being created and institutionalized as a result. For feminist scholars, the study of the language and discourse around women is of crucial importance in elucidating how women have been silenced and/or objectified in historical and contemporary discourse, and how this process has perpetuated the subjugation of women's knowledge. The ability to control, access, and shape knowledge can create profound inequities in gender relations not only between men and women, but also amongst women themselves.

Demystifying our knowledge of southern women

The field of international development is one area where definitions of 'knowledge,' 'growth,' 'development,' and 'technology,' clearly have impacted on the definition of the development process, its participants, and results. For decades now, development theorists from the north and south have debated the ways in which 'development' has been conceptualized. These debates have intrinsically shaped our knowledge of what has come to be known as 'the Third World' and our knowledge or lack of knowledge of southern women.²

The construction of knowledge about southern women has become part of the

² The term 'third world' is being replaced by 'south' in contemporary development discourse at the request of Asian, African, Latin American and Caribbean academics, scholars, and local activists. Southern women prefer this term, but insist that we also recognize that women of the south are not a homogeneous group; their lives and experiences, like northern women, are shaped by their own unique culturally and historically-specific realities.

"development industry" (Plewes and Stuart 1991: 77). In 1975, the year designated by the United Nations as the start of the International Decade for Women, an International Women's Conference brought together women activists, advocates, policy-makers, and researchers from around the world. For northern women, this marked the beginning of a new and growing understanding of women from the south. It also started the process of women working collectively to advance common and separate goals. As a result of the conference, northern women redoubled their efforts to create spaces for southern women in the development discourse. Their efforts have come to be known as WID or "women in development" (Elson: 1991a: 10). The subsequent institutionalization of this concept worldwide within governments and donor agencies has shaped their ongoing understanding of southern women.

WID, therefore, is not only a functional, academic construct; it is also a social construct created by northern women working within development agencies to consider women of the south. Analyzing the construction of WID will enable us to discover how our knowledge of southern women has been created, who is defining the concepts for whom, and how these have been institutionalized through the WID structures and processes of aid organizations. It also will reveal how cultural biases can perpetuate unequal power relations, not only between sexes, but also between those defining the discourse and those marginalized in the process.

The overall objective of this study is to understand how knowledge of southern women has evolved in the Canadian context, looking specifically at the evolution of WID discourse within the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The

focus on WID is in two areas: first, on how southern women have been conceptualized through the Agency's WID policy and how this has evolved over time; and secondly, how the WID policy has been institutionalized in the bureaucratic operations of the Agency. CIDA is an important case study because it is continually lauded as one of the first national development agencies to implement and operationalize a WID strategy. Indeed, in many respects CIDA has become a vocal forerunner for WID in the international donor community and therefore, has been instrumental in creating and disseminating much of our knowledge of WID and southern women.³

The intent therefore, is to demystify WID: to look beyond its function as a CIDA policy imperative to the way in which the discourse has constructed our knowledge of southern women. How have WID and southern women been conceptualized within the Agency? How has this affected the position of WID as a discourse within the bureaucracy? Has WID allowed us to learn more about the lives and initiatives of southern women? Furthermore, who has been responsible for defining and creating WID discourse at CIDA and to what extent are southern women able to participate in this process? Does this help us to understand why the WID discourse been shaped and created in this way?

Michel Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge are introduced as being central to an understanding of how discourse shapes knowledge and defines power relations within society. By drawing on Foucault's concepts of discourse analysis

³ Throughout this study, 'our knowledge' denotes the knowledge of northern development practitioners working within bureaucratic aid agencies, such as CIDA.

and the strengths of a feminist-postmodern framework of analysis, this study analyzes the way in which CIDA's WID discourse has been socially constructed. A focus on access, ownership, and control of the discourse is crucial in understanding how power relations have been created around WID.

The research undertaken during this study has lead me to argue that while the creation of CIDA's WID policy has made the contribution of southern women to 'development' more visible within CIDA, WID, as a discourse, largely remains marginalized within the Agency. The way in which WID discourse has been structured and operationalized has relegated WID to being an 'add-on' issue within the dominant development discourse at CIDA. WID has assumed the characteristics of a 'reverse' discourse within the bureaucracy struggling against such constraints as entrenched gender ideologies and inadequate resources, to become part of the mainstream agenda. Furthermore, because WID has been marginalized within the Agency, this has limited our knowledge of southern women and how they are contributing to the development process within their local communities.

Yet, because WID is a discourse in itself, it too must be analyzed for the way in which it shapes our knowledge of southern women. This study reveals that CIDA's WID discourse largely has been created and controlled by northern women. Given the origins of WID, both historically and within CIDA, southern women have become defined as 'objects' of CIDA knowledge as opposed to 'subjects' and partners in the knowledge creation process. In turn, CIDA's WID discourse has focused more on making WID visible in bureaucratic processes, than on making the voices, needs, and

contribution of southern women viable in CIDA's development activities. Those in control of WID discourse at CIDA have not provided southern women with the space to define, shape, and alter the discourse according to their own needs and objectives. In effect, WID has created hierarchical power relations between its northern 'aid-experts' and the southern women that they seek to assist.

Thus, I argue that although WID is a reverse discourse within the CIDA bureaucracy, it also exhibits characteristics of the dominant discourse in its relations with southern women. In turn, these dominant traits limit our ability to know southern women by denying them the ability to articulate, for themselves, how they are working within their communities to improve their social, economic, and political condition and position. Paradoxically, while WID has been created to 'assist' southern women, its origins within the traditional development discourse have worked more consistently to disempower southern women by constructing them as objects of northern development knowledge. The conceptualization of southern women through WID has limited our knowledge of them, and of the diverse and complex socio-cultural, economic, and political realities that they face in their daily lives.

I believe that if CIDA is truly concerned with 'assisting' women of the south, it must give these women the power to define their own realities, and their own needs and strategies for change. CIDA's WID discourse must be transformed to empower southern women by providing them with the space, support, and resources to affect change in their local communities. This means that CIDA must transfer the 'ownership' of the WID discourse, from the hands of CIDA consultants and Agency

staff, directly to the women that they seek to assist. If "participation is about power" (CIDA 1990c:17), then southern women must be allowed to participate in and control the discourse that shapes their relationship with CIDA. Furthermore, a change in WID will require that CIDA fundamentally transform its development thinking, structures, and processes to allow southern women (and men) to contribute systematically to the shape and implementation of every CIDA project. It will require that WID become integrated as a central component of CIDA's dominant discourse as opposed to being merely an 'add-on' or reverse discourse within the Agency.

Chapter Six presents a study of the efforts of CIDA's Bangladesh desk to transform the Agency WID discourse and reduce the hierarchical knowledge/power relations that exist between CIDA and southern women. Although the desk's approach is experimental and new, it is also a first step towards re-positioning the WID discourse, both in its relationship to the dominant discourse and to Bangladeshi women. WID must be transformed into a more iterative and participatory discourse. It must be committed to giving southern women the power to speak for themselves. Otherwise, WID will continue to remain a function of the hierarchical power structures that traditionally have dictated, shaped, and ordered our knowledge of the 'Third World.'

Before beginning to look at WID within CIDA, it is important to understand how WID thinking has evolved internationally. Sandra Harding states that,

While studying women is not new, studying them from the perspective of their own experiences so that women can understand themselves and the world can claim virtually no history at all (1987:8).

The evolution of WID internationally has been, at times, a painful growing process. Northern feminist academics and activists have been forced to confront their own ethnocentric and racist biases, and even in feminist academic circles southern women have had to fight long and hard to be heard. The following section will look briefly at the evolution of WID internationally and conclude with a chapter outline of how this study will proceed.

The growth and development of WID thinking

If you throw your wine in the water you have no more wine, only water.⁴

Conscious and unconscious male bias frequently has been cited as a major factor for the failure of development efforts in the early 1960s and 1970s, and for the continued way in which contemporary development strategies have increased the burden on southern women (Overholt et al. 1985, Buvnic 1986, Sen and Grown 1987, Moser 1989, Stamp 1989, Elson 1991b). Through the work of WID advocates and scholars, the androcentric nature of the institutionalized aid process and the biases in public policy have been made clearer since the mid-1970s. The WID movement therefore, has been an integral force in creating a space in the development discourse for women that rarely existed before.

However, because WID has evolved in the north it also has been subject to

⁴ This statement was made by an Aboriginal woman in Australia and recounted by Wendy Poussard, Executive Director of the Australian International Women's Development Agency at a Roundtable Discussion on Gender and Development in Ottawa, March 8, 1991.

criticism for the way in which it has shaped the discourse and our knowledge of southern women from a largely northern perspective. The birth of what has come to be known as the WID movement grew out of the work of economist Ester Boserup. Her study of African women, entitled **Women's Role in Economic Development** (1970), was the catalyst which spurred the growth of development thinking and theorizing about southern women in the 1970s.

Boserup's study was instrumental in revealing how African women increasingly were being marginalized, economically, socially, and politically through international aid efforts. She revealed that African women virtually were invisible in development planning documents, despite the fact that they were the key actors in the economy. Boserup particularly highlighted the pivotal contribution that African women were making to agricultural production throughout the continent (Boserup 1970:80-1). Her study was ground-breaking in that it was the first of its kind to use gender as a variable in analyzing the **differential impact** of development strategies on women and men (Macguire 1984: 7-8, Rathgeber 1989a).

Boserup's work was the impetus for a group of women in Washington D.C. to form the *Society for International Development*. This group became a strong lobby in the United States Congress and was eventually successful in pushing the government to ratify the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act in 1973 (Moser 1989: 1810). This amendment required that the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) ensure that women were considered in all of its international aid activities. Explicitly the amendment encouraged USAID to give "particular

attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort" (Elson 1991a: 10).

The conceptual link between equality for women and increased economic development was an attractive and saleable concept to aid agencies in the 1970s, particularly when modernization was seen to be the impetus for economic growth and development (Rathgeber 1989a: 3). Thus, throughout the UN Decade for Women (1975-85), WID hastily was adopted by development agencies and southern governments who, under donor pressure, set up WID programmes, bureaux, and offices for the advancement of women (Elson 1991a:10). WID quickly became institutionalized as the voice for women around the world.

Critics of WID from both the north and south, have criticized early WID programs for their largely "non-confrontational" liberal-feminist approach and often inappropriate, ethnocentric, and racist conceptualizations of southern women's needs and objectives (Rathgeber 1989a:5). Early WID advocates were predominately white, middle-class, North American women caught up in the growing women's movement. As liberal-feminists, these women were concerned with influencing government policy to ensure that the status of women was elevated to the level of men, particularly in the areas of access to education, employment, and legal rights (Elson 1991a:10). While they were concerned with the disadvantaged position of women in the socio-political and economic system, there was very little criticism of the fundamental structures and ideologies that fuelled these systems themselves. Therefore, when northern WID

advocates began to focus on assisting southern women, their western political biases often became translated onto this agenda. WID became focused on achieving equality between southern women and men in northern development initiatives, as opposed to critically analyzing the complicated relations between genders, classes, kin, religions, and ethnic groups that exist within different societies. As a result, WID solutions for women did not entail structural transformation; the recipe for 'better' development was simply to 'add women and stir.'

The rationalization behind WID also was grounded in modernization theory.⁵ Early WID advocates argued that the reason for the failure of development efforts was because women were not fully integrated into the economies of southern countries. The analysis however, made no connections between the disadvantaged position of southern women and the manner in which economic, legislative, and social structures rationalized and perpetuated the privileged position of men over women. Furthermore, it ignored the way in which southern women were being integrated into a subordinate position in the international economy through the international division of labour. As Betty Plewes and Reiky Stuart suggest, WID analysis was cursory.

⁵ Caroline Moser discusses how the approach to WID has evolved in line with changes in development thinking. As it became more evident that the "trickle-down" effects of rapid economic growth were not forthcoming as modernization theorists asserted, the international donor community shifted its rationalization for aid towards assisting the poorest of the poor. The World Bank labelled this its "Basic Needs Strategy." Moser identifies the corresponding WID approach during this time as the "anti-poverty" approach. Again the focus was on education, employment and population control for women. The most recent approach to WID is also based in current development thinking that focuses on restructuring Third World countries to improve national efficiency and productivity. Structural adjustment programs that emphasise a trimming of government spending are indicative of the new "efficiency approach" towards women which relies heavily on the elasticity of women's labour in their reproductive and community management roles (1989:1812-14).

For the major development institutions (from the World Bank to CIDA), the adoption of WID strategies provided a convenient rationale for the apparent failure of the development process to advance the cause of the poor over the past three development decades. With glib and partial rationale, development planners reasoned that development projects had not succeeded because women were not being taken into account (Plewes and Stuart 1991:80-1).

Early WID theorists argued that androcentric government policies, inappropriate aid efforts, and the socio-cultural position of women in the south meant that women's full economic potential was not being tapped. Women were perceived as a neglected resource and therefore the way to assist them (and the national economy) was "to help create a more favourable climate for improving women's economic development" (World Bank quoted in MacGuire 1984: 13). This rationale appeared to make sense, however, as Patricia MacGuire suggests, it was also ultimately dangerous for women.

While advocating increased economic contribution, the emphasis fails to recognize that the present economic relations which exploit women's labour are profitable. The question not asked let alone resolved is who will benefit from this increased economic contribution (Macguire 1984:24-5).

The WID conceptualization of women's needs as economic needs, meant that development agencies began associating WID with projects that would assist southern women to contribute more 'productively' to their national economies. As a result, women's issues began to become translated into "the quantitative language of the development industry" (MacGuire 1984:15). This was fuelled further by a growing number of white, North-American WID 'experts,' hired by national and international development agencies to plan the 'integration' of southern women into the economies of southern countries (Plewes and Stuart 1991:80). Southern critics of WID argue that while this may have increased the status and respectability of research on women, the

use of northern women to lead and plan the integration of WID in development agencies has led to misguided, ethnocentric, neo-colonial recommendations (Amadiume 1987, Mohanty 1989, Meena 1984, Mbilinyi 1984).

One of the strongest criticisms of the WID approach is centred around the fact that predominately white, middle-class women have defined and developed WID strategies on the basis of their own conceptions of southern women. Southern women argue that, as a result, they have been defined as a static, homogenous group, uniformly oppressed across classes and cultures. Rarely are the diverse cultural and socio-economic pressures that southern women face considered in WID analysis (Mohanty, Russo and Torres 1991). In addition, southern women argue that WID rarely provides a space for them to voice their own concerns and needs in their culturally and historically specific contexts. The result of white WID 'experts' defining the needs of southern women, therefore, is a legacy of inappropriate and unsustainable programs and projects (Moser 1989:1802, Buvnic 1986).

Indeed, early WID advocates often based their recommendations on a conceptual framework that was highly ethnocentric. Caroline Moser (1989) has identified two problematic assumptions that fuelled early WID analysis. The first was that the concept of the 'household' in the southern context could be defined as a nuclear family with a husband, wife and two children, as it was defined (however inappropriately) in North America. Following this assumption, WID theorists assumed that within the household there was a clear sexual division of labour: where the man was the 'breadwinner' engaging in 'productive' work outside of the home, and the

woman was the 'homemaker' responsible for the reproductive and domestic work within the household. In early WID models, the man and woman also equally controlled and shared economic resources and decision-making power in the household (Moser 1989:1800).

As Moser states, the conceptual framework underlying this model is fundamentally flawed in its application to southern households. In many southern households where there is a husband and wife, the man often has control over the economic resources and decision-making. In addition, women are not only 'homemakers' in the private sphere. In both the north and south, women are being forced increasingly to assume a "triple role" in their communities (Moser 1989:1801). This means that they are responsible not only for the reproductive work (child-bearing, rearing and household responsibilities) and productive work (income-earning work, sub-contracting, informal sector work), but also for community management work (allocation of limited resources, health care, infrastructure maintenance and development).

Early WID 'experts' working from flawed theoretical assumptions therefore often wrongly assessed the needs and activities of southern women. Furthermore, WID researchers often employed quantitative data-gathering methods such as surveys and questionnaires in their research, that further mystified the subtle and multiple nature of women's roles in the south (Rathgeber 1989b: 27-8).⁶ As a result, WID

⁶ Surveys often ask respondents to list their activities according to a referent week, which does little to reveal the amount of work that Third World women do in an average 24 hour period or take issues of seasonality into account. In addition, they often define 'work' as remunerated activities in the private sector thereby excluding women's reproductive activities in the household, or income-generating activities

became defined and operationalized through "welfare-oriented" projects that focused on 'targeting' women in their reproductive roles as wives and mothers (Moser 1989:1807). This focus was tied into the economic productivity rationale for WID by asserting that an emphasis on health care, nutrition, and home economics would teach women more efficient ways of completing their traditional domestic tasks and thereby release more time for 'productive' work (MacGuire 1984:14, Buvnic 1986, Rathgeber 1989).

The other focus of early WID efforts was to bring women up to the productive level of men by promoting women-specific, small-scale, income-generating projects (Moser 1989: 1810). The rationale was that increasing the income of poor women would assist them in improving their status within their local communities (Elson 1991a: 11). However, it did not take into account the structural socio-cultural conditions of women that inhibit women's full participation in their communities (e.g. inability to access, own, or control land and credit, etc.). These projects therefore, were largely unsustainable, 'misbehaving' due to their small-scale, task-specific nature that focused on women in their reproductive roles (e.g. nutrition, cooking, craft-making) and ignored their participation in the formal and informal sector, and in the community (Buvnic 1986:653-56). In addition, these WID projects often relied heavily on women's volunteer labour time, of which poor women had little to spare.

Diane Elson believes that WID has failed to enhance the status and condition of southern women largely because its women-focused approach has marginalized

in the informal sector (Rathgeber 1989b: 28).

WID in overall development discourse as an "add-on" development issue. Because the early WID focus was on project-specific initiatives, this meant that WID was rarely considered as an integral programming and policy issue within international development agencies. Nor did WID advocates endeavour to make the connections between how national development policies (i.e. trade, foreign investment, asset ownership, price and credit policies) impact directly on the lives and livelihoods of southern women. As a result, WID has remained marginalized in the spending ministries of foreign governments that traditionally 'deal with' women, such as health, education, and rural development and rarely influence the strategic programming agenda of planning ministries such as, finance, trade, and industry (Elson 1991a:12).

The institutionalized WID approach therefore, has done little to challenge the fundamental structural biases that inhibit women from meeting their strategic needs.⁷ Some critics feel that WID remains this way because traditional WID-specific projects are safe and attractive to international aid agencies. Donor and recipient governments are more apt to support them because they are non-confrontational and non-threatening to existing gender relations within society. To advocate that funds be directed towards meeting women's strategic needs would imply a redistribution of power between men and women, and push WID into the political arena (Rathgeber 1989:7). As MacGuire states,

⁷ The conceptualization of practical and strategic gender needs was articulated by Maxine Molyneux (1985:232-33). She defines practical gender needs as those which arise out of the concrete conditions women experience in their gendered position within the sexual division of labour. Needs are practical in terms of survival in this state. Strategic gender needs are formulated through an analysis of women's subordination to men and thus are interested in reconstructing society along more equitable gender and class lines.

From the critical view the greatest flaw of WID is that it has ignored the dynamics of differential power and privilege between men and women. WID treats women as if they live in a uni sex vacuum. To raise women's status surely has implications for men. Affecting women's power and privilege has implications for men's. While exploitive economic relations go unaddressed, the patriarchal oppression of women goes unnamed (1984:25).

Therefore, while the 'traditional' WID approach has been beneficial in creating a space for southern women in the development discourse, its failure to confront the structural barriers to women's participation in the south has meant that WID has done little to empower southern women genuinely. Deconstructing the way in which WID knowledge has been created has assisted in revealing how and why southern women have been conceptualized in certain roles, and how this has affected the way in which WID has been operationalized in development agencies. This process has also revealed how inequitable power relations and biases have become part of WID discourse itself, even though WID has been created for women, by women practitioners and scholars. In reality, the women who have been chosen to 'benefit' from WID have been marginalized by the WID discourse and the WID process itself.

Putting women on the international agenda

Many discussions of development and development strategies contain no reference to gender issues at all (Elson 1991a:5).

After almost two decades of development planning around women United Nations' statistics reveal that the condition and position of women worldwide is continuing to deteriorate (Plewes and Stuart 1991:72). Even more disconcerting is the

fact that after almost twenty years of lessons learned, WID is still mired in inappropriate conceptualizations about southern women and remains unintegrated into the mainstream policy-making agenda.

Today, feminist theorists from the north and south have moved beyond a critique of aid implementation to begin making increasingly pointed connections between macro-economic and political issues, and the continued subordination of women around the world. These studies show that national and international policy-makers rarely consider the gender dimensions of global economic and political restructuring. Macro-economic issues such as marketization, privatization, deregulation, and democratization do have gender dimensions and all impact on women's access to power and resources, yet women are not being allowed to participate in/or contribute to the discourse (Yurka 1991).

WID advocates from the north and south are now arguing for a radical transformation at the policy-making level to ensure that northern and southern women have a voice in decisions that affect them in all spheres of public policy making. In terms of WID, this means uncovering the way in which development agencies are perpetuating hierarchical ethnocentric/androcentric biases and exposing the implications of these for southern women. The move is towards searching for ways of replacing the old discourse with viable strategies that will lead to empowerment, action, and change for southern women. The transformation must not only be iterative, but also more interactive, participatory, and responsive to the voices and priorities of women of the south.

This study of the evolution of WID discourse at CIDA is an attempt to contribute to this process of change, by beginning to uncover the way in which our knowledge of southern women has been constructed and institutionalized through CIDA's WID policy. It is hoped that through this and future research, development practitioners can develop a space for southern women to be heard at all levels of the development and policy making process. As Plewes and Stuart write,

Collectively, we permit our organizations to act irresponsibly because our strategies for change do not include adequate tools for organizational change. The feminist analysis of the WID experience is a rich field for improving our capacity in this area. It helps us to view organizations through new eyes, not as uncontrollable, inhuman entities, or objects of conspiracy theories, but as social constructions, shaped by the people who work in them and who use their products. If we conceive of them as social constructions, we can conceive of transforming them (1991:88).

Introduction to Chapters

This introduction has provided the background and context to begin the study of CIDA's WID discourse. Chapter Two will explore the theoretical connections between discourse, power, and knowledge, by looking specifically at Michel Foucault's contribution to postmodern thought. It studies the value of a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis and its usefulness for studying how discourse shapes and perpetuates hierarchical power relations within society. I will argue that a blend of feminist and postmodern theory provides a strong analytical framework for studying the social construction of knowledge, and particularly the way in which WID constructs our knowledge of southern women.

Chapter Three briefly looks at the failure of conventional social science methods to reclaim women's knowledge, and argues that research methods adapted by feminists are better suited to studying epistemological issues such as the creation of knowledge. The remainder of the chapter focuses on how I conducted research on WID at CIDA as both a graduate student researcher and a participant observer within the Agency.

Chapter Four begins the study of the evolution of WID discourse within CIDA by looking specifically at changes in the language and conceptualization of WID and southern women in Agency WID policy since 1984. Beyond the WID policy itself, this chapter also looks at the various influences on CIDA's WID discourse and what this reveals about the 'ownership' of the policy within the Agency. Specifically, it seeks to determine who has access and control of the discourse and what this means in terms of the position of WID as a discourse, both within the Agency and in its relations with southern women.

Chapter Five studies the operationalization of WID at CIDA looking particularly at the structures, tools, and processes put in place at the Agency-level to implement WID. It draws connections between how the 1984 WID policy was conceptualized and subsequently operationalized through the 1986 WID Plan of Action, specifically looking at the spaces provided for southern women to participate in the discourse. Have these structures and processes facilitated the integration of WID and southern women into CIDA's mainstream development activities? Have they genuinely assisted in genuinely enhancing our knowledge of southern women, and

what sort of power relations have been created between CIDA and southern women as a result?

Chapter Six looks at whether there is a way of ensuring that a greater space is provided for southern women to participate in and control the direction of CIDA funding. Using CIDA's Bangladesh desk as a case study, it looks at the way in which the desk has re-articulated CIDA's WID policy and re-shaped Agency WID processes to be more relevant and focused to the specific needs of Bangladeshi women. As a result, the Bangladesh desk has not only brought WID into a more central position in the mainstream discourse, but it has also provided a greater space for Bangladeshi women to be heard.

This study concludes by reflecting upon how my personal experiences with southern women in the Fiji Islands contrasted with the sterile language and structured knowledge of CIDA's WID discourse, and led me to pursue this topic. The silence of southern women in CIDA's WID discourse strongly illustrates the way in which discourse shapes knowledge and defines power relations. In closing, I look at why this type of study is important in illustrating how, if CIDA's WID discourse is to empower southern women effectively, it must allow them to fill the silences with their own voices, knowledge, and strategies for change.

CHAPTER TWO: DISCOURSE, POWER, AND KNOWLEDGE

The value of studying discourse

The study of discourse has moved beyond the analysis of the structure and semantics of language in use. Discourse analysis is no longer being applied strictly to analyzing the language in texts (van Dijk 1985:1).⁸ Scholars in the social sciences are using discourse analysis to uncover and demystify the socio-political and cultural belief systems that have ordered our knowledge and shaped our social reality. This shift in the field of discourse analysis not only has been enlightening, it has also been empowering for the many groups that have been struggling to be heard beneath the dominant discourse in society. By exploring the way in which discourse (as a social, political, and cultural construct) creates knowledge, subjugated voices have been able to reveal how it has been used as a powerful tool of domination. In this way, discourse analysis has emerged as a powerful tool of resistance.

For decades now, feminism has directed its energy toward building a social critique, focusing particularly on the way in which androcentric policies, structures, and processes have subjugated women's voices and experiences within society. In other disciplines, postmodern scholars such as, Michel Foucault, Richard Rorty, and Jean-Francis Lyotard, have used discourse analysis to consolidate a strong philosophical critique of Enlightenment thought and the way in which its underlying tenets have shaped and ordered modern society (Fraser and Nicholson 1990:19-20). In

⁸ For a general introduction to the various schools of discourse analysis, see Macdonell (1986).

many ways, feminists and postmodern scholars have been working from two different perspectives towards the same goal: to challenge the epistemological underpinnings of western society's dominant discourse.

Nancy Fraser and Linda Nicholson argue that, for feminism, the time has come to consolidate these complementary perspectives and thereby strengthen the feminist critique of the dominant discourse. Postmodernism can be a means of filling the theoretical and methodological gaps that feminists have grappled with in the past. As Fraser and Nicholson state,

Postmodernists offer sophisticated and persuasive criticisms of foundationalism and essentialism, but their conceptions of social criticism tend to be anaemic. Feminists offer robust conceptions of social criticism, but they tend at times to lapse into foundationalism and essentialism (1990:20).

Fraser and Nicholson believe that a blending of postmodernism and feminism will build on the strengths and weaknesses of each theory and ultimately form an enhanced and strengthened social critique (see also Flax 1990, Eisenstein 1988, Parpart 1991, Diamond and Quinby 1988 and Stamp 1989a,b, 1991).

In this chapter I will explore the theoretical ramifications of a marriage between feminism and postmodern thought and the value of discourse analysis as a methodological tool for feminist research and analysis. First, I will examine the literature concerning how discourse shapes our knowledge of things, looking specifically at how our knowledge of women has been shaped and defined in various discourses. I then will explore elements of Michel Foucault's thinking on discourse, power, and knowledge and the value of applying his genealogical approach to knowledge to study the way in which women have been excluded from the western

political agenda. Finally, I will look directly at the value of applying a feminist-postmodern approach to the study of WID discourse and how this can provide feminism with a theoretical framework that swings wide the door to social change.

Discourse and the social construction of knowledge

The Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West. He is never concerned with the Orient except as the first cause of what he says (Said 1979:20-21).

Edward Said's book, **Orientalism** (1979), is a pioneering work in the exploration of discourse. His meticulous study of "Orientalism" (scholarship on the Orient) is a crucial starting point for understanding the way in which discourse constructs knowledge and subsequently shapes power relations. The intent of his study is to reveal the Orient as a socially constructed "cultural enterprise," shaped and created, quite literally, in the minds of western men (1979:4). He states that,

Without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systemic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce -the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (1979:3).

As a discourse manufactured and **managed** by the west, Orientalism is seen by Said as a considerable "material investment" in the maintenance of western hegemonic power (1979:6). He argues that the west has constructed our knowledge of the Orient specifically to subjugate, authorize and control various peoples throughout history. Said reveals how Orientalism has become a "style of thought based upon an

ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'"(1979:2) and how western scholarship has institutionalized an image of the Orient that is diametrically opposite and subordinate to the west: "a sort of surrogate and even underground self" or rather, the eastern 'Other' (1979:3). In this way, the west has appropriated the voice of the east, speaking for it about its culture and history in a manner which enhances and elevates the superiority of western knowledge over and above the empire that it seeks to control. Indeed, Said states "to know the Orient as a whole, then is to know it because it is entrusted to one's keeping, if one is a Westerner" (1979:256).

As an Arab-Palestinian 'Oriental' schooled in the west, Said is concerned about the power that intellectuals have when writing about other cultures, particularly how their ideas acquire authority and normality in the dominant discourse (1979:325). Although his study only superficially addresses the manner in which Oriental women have been constructed as deferent, silent mistresses in the discourse, it is a valuable starting point for questioning the authority of scholarship. It also reveals the importance of investigating the political, social, cultural, and economic forces that shape discourse and construct our knowledge of different peoples and cultures.

Southern scholars increasingly are challenging the hegemonic nature of scholarship that traditionally has emanated from the west.⁹ V.Y. Mudimbe (1988), Chandra Mohanty (1988) and Ifi Amadiume (1987) also have criticized the way in

⁹ For a general analysis of the power that discourse has had over the 'Third World' see Escobar (1984).

which the men and women of their communities have been portrayed, subjugated and silenced in western discourse.

In his book entitled, **The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge** (1988), V.Y. Mudimbe uses the term "epistemological ethnocentrism" to describe how western anthropologists, missionaries, historians, and scientists, literally have invented Africa from the constructs and confines of their own 'superior' knowledge base. In a dense review of colonial/ post-colonial literature, art, and scientific writing, Mudimbe reveals how the discourse on Africa, from the late eighteenth century, has developed "into a clearly visible power-knowledge political system" completely marginalizing complex systems of African knowledge and philosophy that have existed for centuries (1988:16).

Mudimbe's work raises key questions about who controls and shapes the discourse around a given subject. He is specifically concerned with asking: "Who is speaking about it? Who has the right and the credentials to produce it, describe it, comment upon it, or at least, present opinions about it?" (1988:x). What are the power relations created when western scientific knowledge is upheld as more relevant and valid than the knowledge of an African 'native?' What are the implications of creating a dichotomized world-view that perceives modern as superior to traditional, or places written above oral, urban above agrarian, industrial productivity above subsistence production? Furthermore, Mudimbe asks how these conceptualizations have become entrenched in our knowledge systems and perpetuated through our institutions today. These questions are not only crucial to any rigorous methodological

analysis, but also reveal the power of discourse analysis in isolating and revealing the complex socio-cultural and political issues involved in the social construction of knowledge.

Feminist scholars have used the study of discourse to reveal the way in which women have either been ignored or constructed as 'objects' of male knowledge in western thought. However, black women, women of colour, and southern women also have criticized the way in which predominately white, northern feminists have conflated, subjugated, and silenced southern women's experiences under their own western political agenda (Amos and Parmar 1984, Hooks 1984, Amadiume 1987, Mohanty 1988, 1991).¹⁰

Ifi Amadiume's book, **Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society** (1987), is a rigorous analysis of male/female gender relations amongst the Igbo people of Nigeria. It was undertaken to rectify the androcentric and racist misrepresentations of her people (especially women) in past anthropological literature (1987:14). Amadiume is particularly critical of the "exploitative" way in which northern feminists have appropriated southern women's voices and experiences to serve their own political needs. In her experience, this has meant distorting the flexible gender system of the Igbo people (where a woman to woman marriage is a culturally legal way for Igbo women to retain their political and social status), to verify black lesbian politics in the United States (1987:7-8). Not only does this

¹⁰ For a critique of racism in the U.S. women's movement, any of the works by Bell Hooks are compelling and illuminating. An excellent study of the diversity of southern women's experiences and the essentializing nature of Western feminism can be found in Moraga and Anzaldúa (1983).

misrepresent the way in which gender is construed amongst the Igbo, but it also works to perpetuate racist and ethnocentric scholarship about African women.

Chandra Mohanty looks more generally at how southern women 'traditionally' have been silenced by the pens of northern feminists. She criticises the way in which northern feminists have "appropriated and codified" the knowledge of southern women, thereby controlling how southern women are presented in the discourse (1988:61). With explicit reference to WID, she isolates three ways in which northern feminists have exercised power through the control of the discourse.

First, Mohanty argues that the WID approach tends to conceptualize southern women as a homogenous body of impoverished and overworked souls, universally oppressed by men and their 'traditional' gender roles within society (1988: 63). To Mohanty, this works to "discursively colonize the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world, thereby producing/representing a composite, singular 'third world woman'" (1988:62-3). Elsewhere she states that, "besides being normed on a white (read progressive/modern)/non-Western (read backward/traditional) hierarchy, these analyses freeze third world women in time, space and history" (1991:6). Secondly, Mohanty argues that the descriptive generalizations concerning women's oppression found in traditional WID literature (e.g. all veiled women are oppressed) lead to inappropriate conceptualizations of southern women that become manifest in the operationalization of WID (1988:74-5). Lastly, because northern women are defining and controlling the discourse about women in the south, hierarchical power relations are being created between northern

feminists and the women that they seek to assist. As northern feminists define southern women in a homogeneous and static space, they are implicitly downgrading these women in opposition to themselves who are upheld as the "implicit referent" or yardstick with which to measure others (Mohanty 1988:64-5). 'Third World' women therefore, are constructed as objects of 'First World' women's concerns, which is not only paternalistic, but also **disempowering** to southern women because it "robs them of their historical and political agency" (Mohanty 1988:78-9). The valuable and specific knowledge that southern women have of the subtle, complex, culturally-specific changes needed to improve their socio-economic position in society, becomes marginalized by or subsumed under the paternalistic efforts of northern development workers.

Therefore, as Mudimbe, Amadiume, and Mohanty illustrate, if people lack the space to speak and contribute to the discourse, they also lack the power to shape and control their own reality.

The Foucauldian interpretation of discourse

French philosopher Michel Foucault has made a significant contribution to strengthening the epistemological link between discourse, power, and knowledge. His investigation of the creation of institutionalized discourses in areas such as, madness, sexuality, and prisons, has been regarded as the starting point for a broader application

of discourse analysis.¹¹ Foucault used discourse analysis expressly to uncover who is behind the control and production of knowledge, and how this knowledge subsequently becomes legitimized as the dominant discourse. To Foucault knowledge was an ordered social construct and a key determinant of power relations within society.

Foucault was interested in looking beyond the static semantics of language to the unconscious rules of formation that order and structure discourse and thus shape our knowledge of things. His methodology for investigating the social construction of knowledge was termed his "archaeology" of knowledge. The focus was not on the chronological and ordered history of ideas, but on the non-discursive conditions which led a subject to be constituted as an 'object' of knowledge (Smart 1985:27). Foucault states,

I do not question the discourses on what silently they mean, but on the fact and the conditions of their manifest appearance; not on the contents which they may conceal, but on the transformations which they have effectuated; not on the meaning which is maintained in them like a perpetual origin, but on the field where they coexist, remain and disappear (1972a:235).

Foucault, therefore, was not interested in the continuity of what has become history, but in the discontinuous processes that were enacted in the struggle to define history in this way (Foucault 1972b:203). He was concerned with rethinking the contours of power by moving from a binary analysis of power relations to the recognition that power exists everywhere (Foucault 1978:93). Power was not an

¹¹ In the past, the definition of discourse analysis was confined to the study of language "in use" (van Dijk 1985:1). Disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, history and sociology focused on the analysis of formal semantics, such as syntax and the structure of texts/conversations, to gain insight into the cognitive processes behind language. Since the 1970s, however, throughout the social sciences, there has been a renewed interest in the study of discourse from a socio-cultural perspective

object to be controlled or manipulated, but a **product** of the interpretation of reality: of discourse. Discourse, therefore, is "the politics of language as a politics of the interpretation of the real, of the multiplicity of truth(s)" (Eisenstein 1988:8). In short, discourse is the struggle or contest over meaning and because of this, the silences in the discourse become as significant as the language used to define reality (Mackenzie 1991:3, Parpart 1991).

Foucault's archaeology was built upon a rigorous questioning of the constituted field of discourse. He was specifically interested in analyzing the terms used to describe the discourse: to uncover why the terms had been chosen, for whom, and to what ends. He also sought to uncover what had been repressed and censored in the discourse and what sort of relationship was created between the terms chosen for the discourse and those abandoned as questionable or negligible. Explicitly he asked,

Amongst the discourses of previous epochs or of foreign cultures, which are the ones that are retained, which are valued, which are imported, which one tries to reconstitute? ... What individuals, what groups, what classes have access to such a kind of discourse? In what way is the relationship between the discourse and he who gives it, and he who receives it institutionalized? (1972a:234).

Foucault focused, therefore, on deconstructing the discourse to reveal the power relations intertwined in the articulation of discourse and the definition of knowledge in society.

In his later work, Foucault placed greater emphasis on what he termed the "genealogy" of knowledge. Here he focused more closely on the **politics** behind the ownership of knowledge or what he termed the "will to knowledge" (Foucault 1978:73). This embodied a study of the strategies, processes, and methods used to

institutionalize knowledge in different domains (Smart 1985:57). Thus, where his archaeology was a methodological tool used to analyze the structure of knowledge, his genealogy was the "tactic" used to uncover the way in which the dominant discourse became institutionalized, and how it subjugated and marginalized other knowledges in the process (Foucault 1980: 85). Through his genealogical approach to discourse, Foucault's work progressively evolved into a challenge of positivist social science methodology that constructed knowledge around a linear and ordered concept of history,¹² a 'political economy' of truth, and binary perceptions of power relations.

Foucault was explicitly concerned with analyzing and dismantling the power relations created by the "regime of truth" that has ordered western knowledge in a hierarchical and ethically bifurcated fashion (Foucault 1980:131). Foucault argued that this "political economy of truth" has been centred around a belief in the hegemony of scientific discourse and the institutions that produce it (Foucault 1980:131). As a result, his polemics have become the centrepiece for the critique of the systematizing and universalizing power of the academic/scientific discourse born from Enlightenment thought.

Foucault's critique can be linked closely to that of other postmodernist scholars such as Jean-Francois Lyotard and Jacques Derrida. All three philosophers focused their attacks on the 'hegemonic metanarratives' of Enlightenment and Marxist thought, specifically on the unconditional belief in 'universal' concepts such as, truth,

¹² It is not the purpose of this study to discuss all of Foucault's concepts and arguments here. For a concise overview of his critique of 'history,' see Cousins and Hussain (1984 79-83).

knowledge, reason, and justice. They criticized these narratives as "privileged discourses" within society, that were capable of retaining their hegemonic status only by silencing alternate and competing discourses (Parpart 1991:1-2). Derrida's work focused on the way in which hegemonic discourses have defined others in binary opposition to what they uphold as the primordial state of being (i.e. true/false, public/private, man/woman, self/other) (Parpart 1991:2). Foucault, however, concentrated his critique on the structures, processes, and social relations used by those in control to subjugate and silence competing discourses.

Foucault sought to "detach the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the present time" (Foucault 1980:133). He did this by removing power from its elevated status as an object to be won, defining it instead as the everyday struggle between competing discourses at all levels of society. In this way he reveals, not only how discourse and power construct knowledge, but also how discourse and power subjugate knowledge as well.

Foucault's interpretation of power is the key to understanding the connection between discourse, power, and knowledge. To Foucault, power is not perceived in the traditional "juridico-discursive" sense - as the object or mechanism possessed by a group of institutions to control, rule, or dominate (Foucault 1978:82). Nor is power manifest in a binary sense, as the opposition between rulers and ruled. Instead, power is the "multiplicity of force relations" within society that act and interact on each other to produce both order and resistance at their points of intersection (Foucault 1978:92). In short, "power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it

comes from everywhere" (Foucault 1978:93). It is a continual struggle and series of confrontations manifest through the production of "discourses of truth." Foucault states,

There are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association (1980:93).

In creating a genealogy of knowledge, Foucault is concerned with locating power at its extremities, to explore the way in which "subjugated knowledges" have been repressed, marginalized, disguised or disqualified under the systematization of the discourse (Foucault 1980:81-82). He thus is concerned with locating the places where power becomes "capillary" (Foucault 1980:96): where it is grounded in its regional and local forms and institutions such as, the point of interaction between penitents and priest, or doctors and patients (Stamp 1989a:148-9). He identifies these as "local-centres" of power-knowledge and the point at which power relations are exercised (Foucault 1978:98).

In defining local-centres as the site where the struggle between dominant and "reverse discourses" is manifest, Foucault implicitly creates a space for resistance (Foucault 1978:101). He states,

Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation, and not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation (1980:98).

Elsewhere he cautions,

We must make allowance for the complex and unstable processes whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy (1978:101).

Thus, through his definition of power Foucault creates the space for a "radical pluralist epistemology of power relations" and a potential point from which subjugated knowledges can fight to be heard (Eisenstein 1988:10).

Reflections on Foucault

Foucault's work has been criticized on many levels from his carelessness with historical dates and chronology, to his lengthy, convoluted and often contradictory arguments (Foucault 1972b:17, 199-211, Palmer 1990). The most strident debate however, revolves around his concept of power.

Critics argue that Foucault has created a nebulous concept of power, that permeates society without being grounded in social reality. Bryan Palmer accuses Foucault of "obliterat[ing] human history" (1990:27) by ignoring the material conditions of systematic power relations that shape and order society (i.e. class structures and state institutions)(see also Eisenstein 1988:16). In addition, critics have argued that his analysis almost completely ignores "the gender configuration of power" (Diamond and Quinby 1988:xiv). Many critics believe that Foucault's concept of power as existing everywhere ends up "essentializing power" (Henriques 1984:116) and negating agency by allowing the subjugated little room to speak or change the

discourse (Hartsock 1990:167, see also Flax 1990b, Bordo 1990).¹³

Nancy Hartsock feels that although Foucault is critical of the dominant discourse in society, he is also a product of it and a participant in it, which paralyses his epistemology. She argues that although he supports the 'colonized,' he does so from his position as 'colonizer' with little acknowledgement of the systemic, unequal power relations that perpetuate oppression within society (1990:165).¹⁴ In effect, he talks about how power is institutionalized and how individuals experience/exercise power through these structures; however there is no discussion of why or how the power is structurally based (Hartsock 1990: 168-170, Eisenstein 1988:16-19). As a result he advocates resistance but offers no program or strategy to reclaim the subjugated knowledges that he works so diligently to uncover (Hartsock 1990:158). As Hartsock states,

Foucault's is a world in which things move, rather than people, a world in which subjects become obliterated or, rather, recreated as passive objects, a world in which passivity or refusal represent the only possible choices (1990:167).

It appears much easier to bewail the inconsistencies and problems inherent in Foucault's analysis than it is to refute the critics' arguments, however, it appears that

¹³ Foucault argues that he has not negated agency in his work. At one point he states, "I have not denied...the possibility of changing discourse: I have deprived the sovereignty of the subject of the exclusive and instantaneous right to it" (Foucault 1972:209).

¹⁴ Hartsock (1990) and Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen (1989) present an interesting argument concerning the way in which postmodernism (as the rejection of totalizing theories) is being used by western, white males as a tool to continue their efforts to shape and control the dominant discourse. Hartsock states, "Somehow it seems highly suspicious that at the precise moment when so many groups have been engaged in 'nationalisms' which involve redefinitions of the marginalized Others that suspicions emerge about the nature of the 'subject' Why is it that just at the moment when so many of us who have been silenced begin to demand the right to name ourselves, to act as subjects rather than objects of history, that just then the concept of subjecthood becomes problematic?" (1990:163).

some of his critics have lost sight of the significance of Foucault's contribution to postmodern thought. Foucault's analysis focuses on the danger of embracing totalizing theories. In many ways therefore, he implicitly warns against reading his own work as the definitive, authoritative postmodern voice (Diamond and Quinby 1990:ix).

The strength of Foucault's work is his questioning of discourse from the point of authorization and control. He also elucidates methodological tools to reveal the way in which reverse discourses have been subjugated by the dominant discourse within society. In turn, his genealogy of knowledge assists in opening up the possibility (and the power) for subjugated knowledges to reclaim their place in history. Thus, Foucault's ideas are important in that they "check closure" (Diamond and Quinby 1990:ix). As Biddy Martin states,

[Foucault's] methodological deconstructions explode the self-evidence of constituted meanings, defy the acceptance of received categories as exhaustive, and expose the cost at which such coherence and solidity are effected. The point from which Foucault deconstructs is off-center, out of line, apparently unaligned. It is not the point of an imagined absolute otherness, but an 'alterity' that understands itself as an internal exclusion (1988:10).

Very simply, Foucault encourages a creative dialectic, not only in developing ways in which we think and understand discourse, but also in the ways in which we resist the dominant, hegemonic interpretation of the world imposed upon us.

Scholars who have taken Foucault's work as a starting point and synthesized his ideas with their own, have found his concepts of discourse, power, and knowledge to be valuable analytical and methodological tools with which to enhance their analysis and social critique. The idea that reverse discourses may seize power and break free from the dominant discourse at the local-centre has been a particularly

important catalyst for postmodern and feminist scholars in their critiques of positivism.

Foucault's work, therefore, encourages a dialectical re-writing of history. It provides the space whereby voices from the margins can be brought into the centre. Although he has been criticized for not acknowledging women as agents of knowledge, Foucault's methodology and his revelations concerning the power of discourse as a social, economic, and political construct have been instrumental in providing a theoretical framework from which women's subjugated knowledges can emerge (Martin 1990:7, Diamond and Quinby 1988, Flax 1990b). His contribution to postmodern thought has become a powerful take-off point for southern women who, traditionally, have had to fight to be heard.

Feminism - postmodernism

Diamond and Quinby argue that in the last decade of the twentieth century feminism has been put on the defensive politically (1988:ix). Not only is the attack coming from centres of masculine authority within society, but also from within the folds of feminism itself. Southern women are revealing the racism and ethnocentrism buried within the western feminist agenda, forcing a re-evaluation of the underpinnings of what historically has been defined as feminism. A merger of postmodernism and feminism, therefore, can be an important theoretical and political tool. This not only would assist in combating male dominance within society, but also ensure that feminists do not fall into the same essentializing trap as the dominant discourse within

society.

Feminists struggling to enfold the experiences of southern, black, and women of colour into a broader political agenda have found that the theoretical tenets of postmodernism provide the space from which subjugated knowledges and reverse discourses can emerge and be heard. As Diamond and Quinby argue,

By delineating the different cultural and political realms where masculinist power is eviscerating feminist gains, such contributions also uncover a multiplicity of points of resistance without appealing to a monolithic 'politically correct' position (1988:ix).

For decades, feminists have been challenging the relationship between masculine authority and discourse, revealing how reason, knowledge, and language have been constructed by men as a male domain (Diamond and Quinby 1988:xvi). Therefore, the points at which feminism and postmodernism converge in their socio-cultural critique can provide women with "some of the most powerful forms of resistance available to us as we approach the last decade of the twentieth century" (Diamond and Quinby 1988:x, Martin 1988).

Diamond and Quinby argue that there are striking convergences between feminism and Foucauldian discourse analysis. Both identify the body as a local-centre of power/knowledge where women have been constituted as both an object and a subject of power. In turn, power is recognized in both feminist and Foucauldian analyses as operating in an intimate and personal space, as opposed to being located solely in the state and other hegemonic institutions. Both approaches emphasize the role of discourse in producing and sustaining hegemonic power and the need for subjugated discourses to emerge and challenge the dominant authority, and lastly, both

feminism and Foucault criticize western humanism for privileging the knowledge and experiences of the western (male) elite as the 'universal' truth (Diamond and Quinby 1988:x).

The work of Foucault and other postmodern theorists, therefore, has spurred a new wave of feminist scholarship that is producing stronger, more critical analyses of how the social organization of institutionalized knowledges reconstruct inequitable, social/gender relations amongst and between sexes in various societies (Weedon 1987, Flax 1990a,b, Staudt 1991, Stamp 1989b, 1991, Ferguson 1984, Mohanty 1988, Mueller 1987, Eisenstein 1988, Parpart 1991, Thanh 1990, Fraser and Nicholson 1990, Mackenzie 1991). Patricia Stamp argues that discourse analysis can be used in the study of feminist political economy to reveal the way in which northern feminist scholarship has contributed to and perpetuated the hegemonic discourses created by the north about southern women (1989a:19-22).¹⁵ For Stamp,

The utility of a theoretical framework is precisely the space it provides for identifying and rectifying culturally relative, ethnocentric and sexist explanations of non-Western societies (1989b:2).

Ultimately then, Foucault's work is important for southern women who have been marginalized not only in the dominant development discourse, but in northern feminist discourse as well.

¹⁵ Feminist political economy is defined as the study of gender relations and the recognition of their centrality to relations of production.

Towards a feminist - postmodern praxis in development

Development is part of the problem of international inequalities, and Women in Development discourse is part of the problem of Development (Mueller 1987:7).

Asoka Bandarage summed up the inherent reason why WID discourse has failed to empower southern women. Very simply she states, "WID is **about** poor women in the Third World; it is not a force **of** those women themselves" (1984:500). In the past decade, WID theorists and advocates have begun to recognize the weaknesses in their approach and to make concerted efforts to rework and revise their methodologies.

The first step for northern and southern feminists is to expose and challenge the sexist, racist, and ethnocentric biases in the development process. Stamp argues that feminists concerned with the way that women have been conceptualized in the development process must begin by undertaking critical analyses of the policy, structures, and processes of development institutions: "first, to uncover the ways in which western knowledge has silenced local knowledges of gender relations; and second, to rectify those silences" (1989a:22). In response, a number of feminist scholars have used postmodern discourse analysis to enhance their critique of 'development' and assist in liberating southern women's voices from under the weight of the dominant discourse (Parpart 1991:13-14).

Stamp is one scholar who has consistently and insightfully used discourse analysis in her recent work to expose the ways in which southern women have been

excluded and/or silenced by the aid process (1989a,b, 1991). Her study, **Technology, Gender and Power in Africa** (1989a), looks at technology and technology transfer as a social construct, grounded in specific societies with varying historical experiences. Therefore, the way in which technology is defined as 'new' and/or 'old' knowledge, has a significant bearing on who is in control of the discourse. The exclusion of southern women's knowledge in the aid process indicates who is controlling the discourse, for whom, and for what purposes.

One of Stamp's most revealing hypotheses concerns the nature of the aid-expert/aid-recipient relationship. Drawing on the work of Foucault, she defines this relationship as a local-centre of power-knowledge: a "transfer point" where both power and knowledge are exchanged between the aid-giver and the aid-recipient (1989a:149). In addition, because aid is premised on an imbalance of resources (often considered to be knowledge) between the giver and the receiver, hierarchical power relations are created directly through the aid process itself (1989a:149). Stamp states,

Given our own immersion in the Western system of knowledge, it is hard for us to stand back and recognize the degree to which what is known about Third World peoples, how it is known, and how much, is not what they have known about themselves: the very categories we employ, the systematization and generalization of knowledge about them, are all a product of our own will to knowledge, rather than theirs (1989b:1)(my emphasis).

Furthermore, the transfer of knowledge historically has been from northern aid-expert to southern (male) aid-recipient. The aid-expert/aid-recipient relationship, therefore, has become the "nexus" where southern women have been defined as **objects** of the discourse and subordinated by the economic and ideological requirements of power (Stamp 1989a:148).

Because knowledge is not only a **product** of power relations but also a **shaping force** in those relations, international aid efforts (because of their "overt," "intentional," and "massive" nature), have become a powerful medium for the transfer and/or control of power (Stamp 1989a:149). Stamp begins to show how our knowledge of the south, constructed through the aid process, is re-fed into the system to "inform, organize, and expand aid both as a discourse of development and as a set of practices" (1989a:149). However, Adele Mueller (1987) takes this concept further through her detailed study of the way in which the bureaucratic aid process in the United States constructs, shapes and **manages** our knowledge of southern women.

Mueller draws on discourse analysis and Dorothy Smith's concept of the "relations of ruling"¹⁶ to analyze how the institutionalization of WID discourse in USAID has subjugated the voices, experiences, and realities of southern women. Her study specifically looks at how the social organization of this knowledge perpetuates unequal power relations between northern development workers and women of the south. She argues that through WID discourse, southern women have become mere objects to be categorized, managed and 'developed' according to western needs. In her rigorous analysis of development policy, practice, and processes Mueller concludes that,

Development [is a] set of organizational and discursive practices for planning, managing, administering, controlling and **ruling** exercised by advanced capitalist countries over what is called the Third World (1987:2, emphasis in original).

¹⁶ Smith is interested in the textual organization of social relations and ruling practices - "how texts, in their reading, are 'active' in the actual organization of such relations" (Smith 1990a:224). See Smith (1990a,b) for further exploration of these issues.

Mueller focuses on how the institutional processes of USAID shape and structure our knowledge of southern women. She is particularly interested in analyzing the ideological base that informs the framework from which these organizations 'study' southern women. She then looks at how this WID framework becomes the window through which all data around southern women are collected, assessed, and organized (Mueller 1987:15-16). Mueller's analysis reveals that USAID has constructed a "standardized Development knowledge" that is applied uncritically to southern women with little regard for variations in country, age, class, race, religion, and culture (Mueller 1987:19, see also Ferguson 1984:136-140). Mueller states,

The field of knowledge [WID] is not descriptive of the phenomenon, but rather **constructive**. The literature creates a category -Third World women - and a set of concepts - for example, 'women-headed household'- which are made to stand in for the complexity of people's lives and their living situations in the further operations of Development organizations. The categories do not of themselves constitute a clientele. Rather they establish the documentary medium through which women can be entered as clients in relation to Development agencies (1987:108, emphasis in original).

Mueller concludes by arguing that the reductionist methods of classification used by development agencies do little to enhance our knowledge of southern women. In fact, they often work more efficiently towards serving the needs of the bureaucratic planning and management process.

Some of the more astute observers of the project process note that project procedures are not accurate descriptions of how things work, but tools for ordering the irregular conditions and activities of the local setting...rational planning and management procedures reconceptualize the complex, disorderly real world conditions in Underdeveloped countries into technical problems for action (Mueller 1986:119).

Indeed, as she reveals, many of USAID's final project assessments have completely

mystified the actual conditions and social reality of the women in the area that they seek to assist (Mueller 1987:27-41).

Therefore, by understanding development discourse as a social construct linked to certain historical, ideological, and political agendas, we can better understand the way in which our institutions re-create and perpetuate hierarchical power (and gender) relations between the north and south. Mueller feels that we can do this by exposing the knowledge-building structures within aid agencies that create inequities in the development process. The first step is to recognize that knowledge is not always a liberating force, and that we must locate this knowledge in the social, cultural, economic, and political milieu in which it originates (Mueller 1987:153).

Kathy Ferguson (1984) and Kathleen Staudt (1982, 1985, 1990, 1991) have contributed to this revisionist process by analyzing bureaucracies from a feminist perspective and looking specifically at the way in which they are ordered and structured according to a male idiom. Their work complements Mueller's study, illustrating the difficulties of implementing the necessary changes that would make bureaucracies and bureaucratic processes more equitable from a gender perspective.

Ferguson feels that bureaucratic discourse is used as a means of discipline and control: to order, regulate, and rule through the production of highly structured institutionalized knowledges (Ferguson 1984:30-33). Thus, in the study of bureaucratic discourse, power relations are indicated both by what is said and what is not said (Ferguson 1984:68). Ferguson looks at the way in which bureaucracies order knowledge and how "certain social acts are established and maintained, certain social

objects are valued, certain languages are spoken, certain types of behaviour are required and certain motivators are encouraged" (1984:9). In turn, she reveals how alternate or competing discourses (such as feminism) become reverse discourses within the bureaucracy, and subsequently divided, submerged, and suppressed within the structures of the organization (Ferguson 1984:93-94).¹⁷

Kathleen Staudt's studies of bureaucratic hostility towards gender redistributive policies, further support the findings of Mueller and Ferguson (see Staudt 1982, 1985, 1990, 1991). Looking specifically at how WID has been operationalized within USAID, her findings mirror those of Mueller's. However, Staudt focuses more broadly on the disparity between WID policy and practice from a psycho-social perspective (i.e. the internalized 'reactions' to WID) as opposed to the micro-level processes which perpetuate the dominant discourse (1985:3-4). Staudt concludes that because of the normative foundations of gender and the interpersonal nature of gender relations, any attempt at gender redistributive policy (whether inside or outside the organization) is bound to become complicated and individuated. In short, policy causes politics (1985:7-8).

Staudt's efforts to educate advocacy administrators about the pitfalls of bureaucratic politics have led her to look closely at the "institutionalized male privilege" embedded in both the development process and northern aid agencies (1990:3). She alerts us to the political threads woven throughout development

¹⁷ Smith calls this process of women's resignation in hierarchical situations, "bifurcated consciousness," whereby we internalize the dominant conceptual practices of society thus severing our consciousness from our actual experiences (1990b:28)

management, from the social organization of development bureaucracies to the "language, its labels and the power of its speakers to shape the way in which development is treated" (1991:11). This emphasis on who is defining bureaucratic discourse is highlighted further by Gerald Turkel. He believes that uncovering the "procedures of exclusion" used by those in control of the discourse is an important tool in understanding how the formulation of knowledge can become a means of exercising power (1990:176).

Turkel discusses how 'procedures of exclusion' marginalize certain topics and objects of knowledge to "the peripheries of discourses" (1990:177). One of the ways he suggests this occurs is by controlling and restricting the formation of knowledge to those "who are deemed 'qualified' in terms of formal education and professional certification" (Turkel 1990:177). This point is particularly salient to WID operations in development agencies. Because women's knowledge rarely has been regarded as central to the development process, women often have been excluded in mainstream development discourse. As discussed in Chapter One, androcentric development practices have been perpetuated often because men have been considered to be those 'most qualified' to define and shape the direction of aid initiatives. As a result, WID remains a reverse discourse in most aid agencies.

Turkel's concept of 'procedures of exclusion' can also be applied to the study of WID discourse itself. As a discourse created and perpetuated largely by northern feminists within bureaucratic aid agencies, it often has excluded the voices and knowledge of the southern women that it seeks to assist. In this way, WID has fallen

into the pattern of the dominant discourse by upholding the knowledge of northern aid-experts, and subjugating the knowledges and experiences of women of the south.

As the above studies reveal, an analysis of WID must look closely at who is controlling the discourse. Where is the ownership of WID? Who has created the terms, and for whom? Who are the privileged voices that are qualified to define WID, and how has this shaped the institutionalization of this knowledge within bureaucratic aid organizations? As Martin states,

We are forced, when we ask the question of woman, to question the extent to which we make ourselves the riddle, establishing among us a new set of experts who will speak the truth of ourselves and our sex in categorical terms; we must question the extent to which our projects and our meanings subsume difference and possibility....Is it possible to ask and not answer, or to avoid the certainties and limitations with which the question has been answered by those who would consolidate their power around their privileged position with respect to knowledge? (1988:14).

The value of postmodernism to feminism, therefore, is the space that it provides for alternate discourses to challenge, critique, and contribute to the discourse that northern feminists have created. Jane Parpart argues that it is important to listen to alternative approaches and assessments of life in the south, particularly with respect to WID. Indeed, it is only by uncovering previously silenced women's voices that we will begin to understand "their interpretation of the world they inhabit, their successes and failures and their desire for change" (1991:13).

The movement towards a feminist-postmodern praxis reveals that there is much to be done within our development organizations before we can truly work, equitably, with southern women. Northern development practitioners must begin to focus on the development discourse: to challenge it and demystify it. There must be a concerted

effort to "rescue history:" the history of southern women, and provide them with a space to speak, act, and alter the development discourse so that it better reflects their actual (and diverse) material conditions and needs (Stamp 1989:23). If development practitioners and policy-makers can shift the locus of power towards southern women, then they will have begun to assist southern women to empower themselves. As Plewes and Stuart argue,

Canadian feminist development workers have learned that individual, or even collective action, is not enough; we must work to change the organizations and structures we live and work in. We know that the personal is political, and now, as development workers concerned about women, we are also learning that the organizational is political (1991:88).

The following chapter will look at the methodology used in researching and demystifying the way in which knowledge of southern women has been created at CIDA.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCHING CIDA'S WID DISCOURSE

When one ponders the questions - what methods will I use in my study? or, why was a certain method used for a given study? -these are not simply technical issues but profound socio-historical-disciplinary concerns (Reinharz 1983:163).

The objective of this study is to demystify WID: to discover the way in which WID discourse has been socially created within the walls of the CIDA bureaucracy. As Chapter Two reveals, deconstructing our knowledge of southern women means challenging the basic epistemological and methodological tenets of WID. This requires looking beyond the static semantics of the discourse to the **social processes** that have structured and ordered our knowledge of southern women. As a result, answers to the questions raised in this study would not be found 'at face value' within CIDA. They would only be exposed through a critical interpretation and conceptualization of WID within the broader social context of the Agency. Therefore, the objective of this study had direct implications on the way in which the research was conducted.

This chapter begins by looking at 'conventional' social science methods, and how these have been instrumental in sustaining a positivist world-view that often has excluded and ignored the experiences of women. I then look at how feminist scholars have adapted conventional methods and articulated a more holistic approach to research. Feminist scholars not only have assisted in uncovering the androcentric biases of conventional social science methodology, but also have worked to adapt

research methods to be more inclusive and aware of the inherent biases of both the researcher and the research participants. This chapter will reveal why feminist methods of research have been more aptly suited to the objectives of this study and the feminist-postmodern framework that informed the conceptualization of the research problem. The remainder of this chapter focuses on how I conducted research on WID at CIDA, both as a graduate student and a participant-observer within the Agency.

Researching issues that concern the social construction of knowledge is an important process, particularly when it comes to investigating the way in which our knowledge has been shaped to exclude women. Feminist scholars have worked diligently to uncover how our knowledge of the world has been shaped and defined according to a male idiom. In their efforts to reclaim the history of women's experiences and record the knowledge of women, feminist scholars have incisively challenged the fundamental epistemological tenets that underlie much of western Enlightenment thinking and 'conventional' social science methodology.

As Chapter Two has revealed, feminists and postmodern scholars have focused their theoretical critiques on the way in which western positivist thought has constructed knowledge around an unconditional belief in the 'universal' truths of western science (Parpart 1991:1). Indeed, positivist methodology has emerged as a discourse in itself, ordering the world according to linear and hierarchical conceptions of reality, dualistic models of human nature, and objective and rational patterns of thought and behaviour (duBois 1983:110). As such, feminist scholars who have attempted to use conventional research methods to reclaim their experiences as

women, often have found them exclusionary, rigid, and limiting.

Feminist scholars quickly began to realize the need for alternate methods when they found themselves in a contradictory position as women researching women. In their scholarly lives they were taught to be objective and dispassionate in their approach to the research problem, and to distance themselves from the 'subjects' of their research. However, these researchers often had much in common with their female 'subjects' in the lives that they led both inside and outside the university environment. Feminist scholars began to recognize that they could not suppress their "double consciousness" (Mies 1983:120), whereby their own experiences as women living under patriarchal systems gave them a certain "experiential knowledge" that was crucial to understanding the position of their female research participants (Mies 1983:121). Researchers committed to working **for** women (as opposed to 'on' women) recognized that this 'double consciousness' could be a methodological and political advantage, and not a hindrance to 'valid' research as positivist social scientists claimed (Mies 1983:121). Maria Mies believes,

The postulate of **value free research**, of neutrality and indifference towards the research objects, has to be replaced by **conscious partiality**, which is achieved through partial identification with the research objects....Conscious partiality is different from mere subjectivism or simple empathy. On the basis of a limited identification it creates a critical and dialectical distance between the researcher and his 'objects.' It enables the correction of distortions of perception on both sides and widens the consciousness of both, the researcher and the 'researched' (1983:123, emphasis in original).

A level of "intersubjectivity" (Klein 1983:94) allows the researcher to constantly compare her/his findings with one's own experiences and to share this knowledge with the research participants. This not only assists in reducing the

knowledge/power hierarchy between researchers and participants, but also helps to "conscientize" the participants into viewing their own unique and individual struggles as part of a larger whole (Mies 1983:126-7).

Feminist scholars, therefore, have begun to move away from conventional research methods that homogenize the complex contextual realities of women's daily lives. This does not mean that feminist scholars have abandoned the 'traditional' methods of conventional research (i.e. interviews, observation, analysis of records, etc.); they have had to alter, adapt, and reconceptualize them to capture the problem in its holistic, contextual, and often complex setting (Harding 1987:2, duBois 1983). As Barbara duBois states,

Our work needs to generate words, concepts, that refer to, that spring from, that are firmly and richly grounded in the actual experiencing of women. And this demands **methods** of inquiry that open up our seeing and our thinking, our conceptual frameworks, to new perceptions that actually derive from women's experiences....Dichotomy, duality, linearity, fixity: these are not the properties of nature nor of human life and experiencing. They are the properties of a learned mode of thought, a way of seeing and knowing that casts reality into rigid, oppositional and hierarchical categories. This model of reality has shaped our conceptions of the world and of science (1983:110-11).

Shulamit Reinharz highlights several ways in which feminists have adapted conventional social science methods and models. She looks at the differences in how scholars define their topics of study and notes that conventional methods often focus on 'manageable' issues derived from scholarly literature, while feminist studies more often highlight socially significant problems (1983:171). Reinharz also discusses the fact that the method of research in feminist studies often is determined by (and evolves with) the unique characteristics of the field setting, as opposed to being

designed **a priori** as is often the case with conventional studies. Furthermore, feminist methods incorporate analysis as an ongoing feature of the study and base it on inductive logic, as opposed to conducting analysis when all the data is 'in' using deductive reasoning. Often the objectives of feminist research are not to 'test hypotheses' but to develop a better understanding of a problem through grounded concepts and descriptions. Finally, the role of the reader in conventional studies generally is limited to the scholarly community which evaluates the study on the basis of its research design, management, and findings. This contrasts with feminist studies which often engage both the scholarly and participant community and are evaluated for their usefulness and responsiveness to perceived community needs (1983:171-72).

As Sandra Harding states, it would be wrong to argue that there is a definitive feminist method or approach to research (1987:1). In many cases, as Reinharz has highlighted, the method evolves dynamically in relation to the field setting and the objectives and needs of the study (1983:171). The intent of this study - to deconstruct the way in which our knowledge of southern women is created within CIDA - caused the research for this thesis to evolve into a multi-faceted and feminist process. From a broader perspective, it also entailed what Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna call "research from the margins" (1989:97).

The process of 'research from the margins' primarily involves four stages. First, it requires an "unmasking" or questioning of the epistemological underpinnings of the knowledge that currently exists in the area of study. Second, it encompasses the need for "creating" an understanding that knowledge is built from certain social

realities, and that different groups experience reality differently. Third, there is a need to "affirm" the way in which certain groups are being silenced by the dominant discourse and how research can support these groups by participating in naming their reality. Finally, 'research from the margins' requires a "sharing and reconstructing" process whereby the research is shared with the 'voices from the margins' and combined with action for social change (Kirby and McKenna 1987:97).

This study essentially is the first step in conducting 'research from the margins' within CIDA. While I have not been able to liberate the voices and experiences of southern women that have been silenced under CIDA's dominant development discourse, the methods and approach used in this study have been useful in 'unmasking' who is creating our knowledge of southern women within the Agency. They also have helped to reveal the power relations that have been created between CIDA and the women that it seeks to assist.

Defining a method

Harding believes that the strength of feminist analysis is the insistence "that the inquirer her/himself be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter" (1987:9). In doing so, any significant details regarding the biases of the researcher can be brought to light and incorporated into the analysis. She states,

The beliefs and behaviours of the researcher are part of the empirical evidence for (or against) the claims advanced in the results of research. **This** evidence too must be open to critical scrutiny no less than what is traditionally defined as relevant evidence. Introducing this 'subjective' element into the analysis in

fact increases the objectivity of the research and decreases the 'objectivism' which hides this kind of evidence from the public (1987:9).

My own beliefs and biases about WID and CIDA emerged through my experiences within the Agency, both as a graduate student researcher and participant observer.

When I began the research for this study I was limited in my knowledge and understanding of CIDA, both in terms of how WID was conceptualized and operationalized, and how CIDA, as a government agency, conducted its work. By virtue of the fact that I was an outsider to CIDA my knowledge of its discourse, policy, and practice was limited to what was revealed in primary and secondary sources and what was told to me during interviews with CIDA staff and consultants. I could not observe WID 'in practice,' nor could I situate the discourse in the larger context of Agency operations as a whole.

In addition, my position as a graduate student researcher restricted my ability to interact with Agency staff. This was important because it is CIDA staff who are primarily responsible for operationalizing the WID policy. I also had very limited access to Agency documentation, particularly project files, which contained confidential and classified information. These documents were important, however, for indicating how WID was being operationalized in the field. Thus, in my attempts to gather information, I quickly discovered that there is a rigid hierarchy within CIDA concerning access to knowledge, and that understandably, graduate student researchers are placed at the bottom of the list.

In January 1992, I was hired by CIDA's Canadian Partnership Branch to work as a junior consultant. I held this position for a period of four months. This

experience gave me much needed insight into the daily operations of the Agency and allowed me to engage in observation and participant-observation as part of my study. My position **within** the Agency offered me a new perspective from which to interpret the information that I was collecting. This was important to my research given the ownership, access, and control of knowledge within the CIDA bureaucracy. In the context of WID it also was important because as Adele Mueller says, "[WID] is never a 'thing' but always the product of many professionals' work at dispersed times and places within an organizational and discursive context" (1987:62).

Once I was working within the CIDA environment it became clearer as to how I should proceed with my research. My experience at CIDA exposed me to new information and resulted in my meeting individuals with valuable WID knowledge whom I may not have encountered otherwise. While this often sent me thinking and researching in several different directions, these meetings and discussions were invaluable in formulating the questions and ideas which have shaped the focus of this study.

My 'subjective' experience at CIDA also enabled me to use 'conscious partiality' in my interpretation of the data. It allowed my research and analysis to evolve with my own experiences with WID and from the experiences of the many CIDA staff and consultants who were interviewed for this study. In all respects, participant observation strengthened my analysis. In the end, however, while I chose my research methods to let the voices and experiences of CIDA staff and consultants come through in the study, the interpretation of WID presented in this thesis remains

my own, and should not be taken as representative of the opinions of CIDA officers or consultants.

Gathering information

The research for this study was conducted through an analysis of primary and secondary literature and documentation, formal and informal interviews with former and present CIDA staff and consultants, observation, and participant-observation.

The primary documentation obtained through CIDA was mainly in the form of policy papers, formal reports and studies, briefing documents, WID literature and guidelines, and minutes from meetings and speeches. It was my objective to look at these documents, not only in terms of content, but also in what they implicitly revealed about the way in which southern women were constructed in CIDA discourse. I wanted to see how southern women and WID were being conceptualized in Agency documents. Was the language used empowering or marginalizing these women? Were southern women given access to the discourse? Were their voices coming through? I wanted to reflect on how these documents (and WID/southern women) would be interpreted and internalized by those who read them.

Project files and desk documentation also were reviewed where possible. Because many project files contain classified information, I was restricted in what was available to me. I assured CIDA staff that in meeting the requirements of the *Ethics Committee at Carleton University*, the confidentiality of those participating in the study

would be guaranteed. This meant that any identifying names or features of the CIDA projects reviewed would not be revealed in my analysis. As a result, some officers allowed me to study project files freely. Where this was not possible, I was only able to access select WID documentation. After I became a consultant with CIDA access to CIDA staff, information, and project files became considerably easier.

Over a period of nine months in 1991-92, I also conducted twenty interviews with CIDA staff persons, former staff, and consultants.¹⁸ These people were selected on the basis of their experiences with WID and therefore all had WID responsibilities assigned to them in their work at one point in time.¹⁹ In most of the discussions I asked open-ended questions that centred around how the person was exposed to WID within the Agency. I also asked them to discuss what they perceived to be the main issues, successes, and challenges for WID both at an Agency and branch/desk level. The objective was not necessarily to focus on obtaining answers to specific questions, but to understand how the participant perceived WID in the context of his/her position within the Agency. Most of the interviews occurred at CIDA and were 'formal' in nature. However spontaneous informal discussions were also valuable sources of information and often revealed much about how WID was perceived within the Agency.

The majority of the interviews occurred when I was working as a consultant at CIDA. Because I was a potential colleague, I found it difficult to maintain a distance

¹⁸ Four more interviews were conducted as follow-up discussions to confirm information or continue discussion on a given topic.

¹⁹ Given this fact, the majority of the people interviewed (17 of 20) were women.

or formality during the interview process. As Reinharz says,

Since the trustworthiness of the researcher must be established in the eyes of the subject (as every participant observer learns in the field since s/he does not control the environment), the experiential researcher can facilitate this process by providing clear opportunities to be interviewed, scrutinized and questioned by the subjects even after they have agreed to collaborate (1983:177).

Therefore, prior to each interview, I clearly explained the nature of my research and openly discussed my own work and position within the Agency. On several occasions, when the interview was completed, I was asked for my own perceptions of WID based on my evolving research. I found that when I began to contribute my ideas, the discussion would become more candid and interactive. This not only revealed much about the value of 'intersubjectivity,' but also confirmed the fact that WID, as an issue, often is not the topic of inter-Agency comparison or communication. In all respects, I found that an interactive and open approach enhanced the quality of the discussions and contributed to a better understanding of the issues on my part.

Most of the interviews were tape-recorded and in all cases confidentiality was ensured. I explained that any comments from interviews that were used in the study would be coded to ensure anonymity. If names were mentioned it would only be with the explicit consent of the person interviewed or as a result of information taken from published CIDA documents. In one or two instances, I chose not to use a tape-recorder or was asked not to by the person that I was consulting. The issue of sensitivity was particularly salient given the fact that I was talking to CIDA professionals. Indeed, many of the participants did not want their names associated with a critical opinion of the Agency, no matter how constructive. Conveying a sense

of responsibility to them became an important part of the research process. As Mueller found,

Interviewing professionals, I was reminded of the myth that 'primitive' people were afraid that the camera would capture their souls and contain it in the photograph. Many times it seemed that the professionals were well aware from their own use of the methodology that the interview is a procedure for capturing knowledge about the research subject to be used by the researcher for her own purposes, and some of them were reluctant to have it done to them (1987:70).²⁰

Follow-up interviews were conducted to confirm facts and statements, and chapters containing information on specific aspects of CIDA operations were passed to knowledgeable CIDA staff/consultants for confirmation of accuracy. Where a trust was established, the relationship between myself and CIDA staff became more open and collaborative. There was an interest and a shared ownership of knowledge on both parts. To underline the importance of this shared ownership of knowledge, I have arranged to submit a copy of this study to CIDA's WID Directorate. It will become part of their collection and available for consultation by Agency staff and outside researchers.

Interpreting the information

Observation and participant observation assisted greatly in interpreting the information that was collected from document reviews and interviews. Kirby and McKenna define the differences between a researcher as 'observer' and 'participant-

²⁰ During my research, only one person refused an interview.

observer' in the following manner (Kirby and McKenna 1989:77-80). As an observer there is interaction between the researcher and the research participants, however the involvement is often "non-invasive and non-colonial" (1989:79). The objective of the researcher is merely to make observations without participating or contributing to the activities being studied. Conversely, as a participant-observer the researcher becomes involved in the activities of the participants with the aim of experiencing what the actual research participants do. This assists the researcher to reflect on the experience of the participants in context and to blend this insight with the information gathered from other research methods.

After I began work as a consultant at CIDA, I was able to engage in participant-observation which added breadth and depth to my interpretation of the Agency's WID discourse and activities. My research interest in WID also became incorporated directly into my work, and I was fortunate to be able to become involved directly in WID activities at the branch level. I was invited to participate in branch meetings and discussions around the formulation of a program-specific WID strategy and, as a result, was given a crucial perspective from which to compare and contrast the level of WID integration, both in the area in which I was working and the areas that I was researching.

Direct participation in Agency WID activities also was beneficial in allowing me to develop and feedback my interpretation of WID to other experts in the field. This 'intersubjectivity' allowed me to share my thoughts and findings with others, with the conscious recognition that their opinions might have changed or altered my focus.

As a graduate student researcher this was not only an important means of verifying my work but also an important way of sharing my research findings with other WID practitioners at CIDA.

Most importantly, participant-observation enabled me to gain an overall understanding of the workings of the Agency. I was able to see the shape that constraints and successes take within a bureaucratic system. My work at CIDA made me far less naive about Agency operations and far more informed about the nature of the structural constraints that government bureaucracies face.

Overall, the research experience was an enlightening and sometimes frustrating undertaking. The difficult times often were a result of the way in which knowledge is ordered and structured at CIDA in such a way that excludes outsiders from having access. In addition, the recurring difficulty that I had in locating WID documents (both of a general and policy nature) indicated that within the CIDA bureaucracy WID knowledge often is not shared, recorded, accessible, or frequently sought and consulted. This was an important observation which gave me great insight into the 'usefulness' of the plethora of WID documentation that is generated annually within the Agency. It appeared that given the nature of the bureaucracy, WID policy documents and programming strategies (however well written) simply may not be read. This observation later became valuable in 'making sense' of the gap that exists between CIDA's WID policy and practice.

Limitations to the research

In formulating my analysis of CIDA's WID discourse, I focused on the evolution of the corporate WID policy and the way in which it has been operationalized to include or exclude southern women. My study, however, looks only at WID in the Canadian context, and more specifically within CIDA headquarters. It does not address the way in which the operationalization of CIDA's WID policy has occurred with and amongst Agency partner organizations and executing agencies, and/or how CIDA subsequently has influenced the evolution of WID knowledge in these areas.

My study also is limited in that it does not include a rigorous analysis of WID at the field level. Ultimately, the extent to which WID genuinely has been operationalized can only be studied from the field, to determine the way in which projects respond to and incorporate southern women's voices, needs, and priorities. It would be interesting to complement this study with one that focuses directly on the voices, opinions, and experiences that southern women have had with CIDA. This would allow for a comparative study of how southern women's definition of their needs and priorities compares and contrasts with those of CIDA, in a particular country-specific context.

This study is important, however, in providing a starting point for understanding how CIDA's WID policy has been operationalized, and for exploring the parameters and limitations of the Agency's WID discourse. This is particularly

true given the fact that WID, as a policy, still largely remains centralized within CIDA headquarters. Indeed, subsequent chapters will reveal that regardless of the quality of interaction with southern women occurring at the field level, few spaces have been made within the bureaucratic process to allow southern women to participate in shaping and altering CIDA's WID discourse.

Finally, this thesis is not intended to be definitive or all inclusive. As Reinhartz states,

Since throughout the project meaning is assumed to be a constructive, ongoing process, there is no final interpretation valid 'for all times' but simply an adequate interpretation which is endorsed by participants, confirmed by readers and cognitively satisfying the researcher. An adequate interpretation, ironically does not give definitive answers but keeps the dialogue going (1983:183).

The objective of this paper is to look critically at how CIDA has constructed its WID discourse in an effort to keep that discourse, and the dialogue with southern women, moving forward in a progressive and dialectical fashion.

The following chapter will look specifically at the way in which WID discourse and our knowledge of southern women has been constructed through the evolving language of CIDA's WID policy. It will also attempt to discern who is creating and defining CIDA's WID discourse, and for whom.

CHAPTER 4: CIDA'S WID POLICY AND THE EVOLVING LANGUAGE OF WID

CIDA is renowned internationally for undertaking a commitment that few other aid organizations have successfully confronted: the monumental task of sensitizing the Agency to integrating women into policy and programming as a distinct and unique constituent group. In 1984, CIDA unveiled its "Women in Development" (WID) policy framework in an effort to rectify androcentric biases in the Agency's activities. Since then, CIDA has emerged as one of the most consistent and persistent voices on WID in the international donor community, and a "leader and innovator" in the evolution of WID policy and strategy (Stuart 1992:2). CIDA has become, *ipso facto*, the centre for the creation and dissemination of knowledge about southern women within the Canadian and international aid community.

In studying the way in which WID has constructed our knowledge of southern women, we must begin by looking at how CIDA's WID discourse has evolved. This chapter looks specifically at the evolution of WID through the language of CIDA's WID policy. The policy itself sets the framework from which much of our knowledge of southern women is constructed and disseminated. It also defines the system through which outsiders, Agency officers, and southern women can access and control the discourse. Therefore, the language of the policy is important in defining both the position of WID as a discourse within the Agency (i.e. in relation to the dominant discourse), and the position that WID defines for itself in relation to southern women.

A study of the evolution of CIDA's WID policy also allows us to determine

who is controlling and defining the discourse, and for whom. This will reveal the extent to which WID is a shared agenda at CIDA which is an important factor to consider when looking at the way in which the policy has been operationalized. It also will help to reveal whether or not southern women have participated in shaping CIDA's WID discourse according to their own needs and objectives. The way in which southern women have contributed to WID (i.e. access, ownership, or control of the discourse) indicates the kind of power relations that have been created between CIDA and southern women as a result of the discourse. If the ownership of WID is not in the hands of southern women, then the discourse is merely perpetuating the hierarchical power relations that have defined CIDA's relations with southern women in the past.

This chapter will begin by briefly looking at the origins of WID within CIDA to determine the factors that led to the creation of CIDA's 1984 WID policy. It then will look at how both WID and southern women have been conceptualized in CIDA's 1984 and 1992 WID policies, and how this has affected WID's position as a discourse, both within the Agency and in its relations with southern women. The second portion of the chapter will focus on the factors that have influenced the evolution of CIDA's WID policy, looking specifically at what these influences reveal about the 'ownership' of the policy within CIDA. The section will begin by analyzing the changes that have occurred in the Agency's thinking around 'development,' and how CIDA's move towards a 'sustainable development' mandate appears to have created a greater space for WID in the Agency's dominant development discourse. This is followed by a

brief study of the evolution of WID thinking internationally, focusing on how the shift from WID to 'gender and development' (GAD) theorizing has influenced the evolution of CIDA's WID policy. This is important in revealing who has 'ownership' of the WID policy within CIDA, and what this subsequently indicates about CIDA's ability to operationalize policy changes at the Agency and branch-level. Ultimately, an understanding of the evolution of CIDA's WID policy is the first step towards understanding the way in which our knowledge about southern women has been constructed.

The origins of WID within CIDA

In the mid-1970s there was an awakening in the international arena to the realization that 'modernization' did not promote consistent and rapid economic growth. Development agencies were beginning to discover that large-scale, capital-intensive development initiatives did not assist in building equitable and sustainable human development. As a result, there was a distinctive shift in the development philosophy espoused by the United Nations (UN) from a 'modernization' approach to development towards 'redistribution with growth.' In 1976, the UN adopted a 'basic needs approach' to development, which shifted the focus of aid initiatives from the infusions of infrastructure and capital, towards assisting and improving the capacity of local populations to work towards their own development (Moffat 1992:10).

The year 1975 also marked the beginning of the UN Decade for Women (1975-

85). During this time, it increasingly became clear that women were amongst the poorest of poor. By the close of the decade, in 1985, women had been propelled into the international spotlight with the signing of a series of UN Conventions for the advancement of women (by 157 countries) at the Decade's closing conference in Mexico City. These 'Forward Looking Strategies,' have become the blueprint for advancing the status of women, nationally and internationally, in the economic, social, political, and legal spheres of their countries (CIDA 1990a:8-9).

Governments around the world responded to these events by creating advisory councils and women's bureaux within their government structures. In Canada, in 1976, Pierre Trudeau's Liberal Cabinet tabled a federal strategy that required that each government department create a "responsibility centre" for ensuring the integration of women into all federal and provincial programs (CIDA 1990a:10). CIDA responded in the same year, by creating a responsibility centre to co-ordinate the integration of women into Canada's Official Development Assistance (ODA) strategy. In addition, a co-ordinator was hired to advise CIDA's President on WID specific policy and programming (CIDA 1990a:11).

CIDA also defined its first WID policy in 1976. This policy, however, was no more than a list of five guidelines to assist in implementing a 'consideration' of women into Agency programming. In accordance with the climate of the times, the document was based largely on affirmative action legislation. The policy did not focus on changing or improving the position of women, it merely advocated "equal access" for both men and women, to the benefits of social and economic development.

CIDA's main concern was that,

In the recipient countries men and women, even marginally implicated and affected, suffer no reduction of the quality of life as they understand this (CIDA 1990a:Annex 2).

The 1976 policy did discuss CIDA's need to assist women by "ensur[ing] that women participate **in fact** as agents and as beneficiaries of economic, social and political development," however, it made no mention of the structural socio-political and cultural factors that inhibited this from occurring in many countries of the world (i.e. women's lack of legal rights, lack of access to credit, discrimination under 'customary law,' etc.). Furthermore, the document provided few tangible strategies for implementing the WID guidelines into Agency operations, stating only that,

At each stage of planning and preparation of programme activities the equitable integration of men and women into the mainstream of the Agency's work in all sectors must be a conscious concern (CIDA 1990a:Annex 2).

A WID Steering Committee (WSC), composed of CIDA's senior branch management, was created in 1977 to act as an advisory group for the policy.

However, aside from the WSC and the Agency's WID co-ordinator, who sat on the President's Advisory Committee, no other structures or processes were put in place at this time to operationalize WID (CIDA 1990a:11).

In the early 1980s, CIDA underwent an internal restructuring process which resulted in the disbanding of the President's Advisory Committee. As a result, the WID co-ordinator was moved into CIDA's Policy branch and given the broad mandate to "sensitize and provide [WID] expertise" to the entire Agency (McAllister 1984:12). This shift placed further strains on the operationalization of WID. As the WID co-

ordinator at the time stated,

My role shifted from being an advisor to being a person who would create palatable policy that others could apply. But I had no power to implement their application: I could only persuade. The people that wanted to run large programs because that would establish their experience as managers were not very interested in one aspect that would not bring much in the way of a dividend: either career dividends or programmatic dividends....WID had no power to enforce. It was advisory (Interview 1992).

Therefore, throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, WID remained isolated and detached from mainstream Agency operations.

It was not until 1983 that a formal WID Directorate was established in CIDA's Policy branch to manage and assist in the implementation of the policy (CIDA 1990a:11). At this time, the Agency also took a new approach to WID by appointing as WID director, Elizabeth McAllister, who had a strong background in implementing affirmative action programs within the Canadian government bureaucracy (CIDA 1990a:11).

In a document entitled, **Managing the Process of Change: Women in Development**, McAllister recommended a change in CIDA's approach to WID (McAllister 1984). Discussing the institutional/systemic nature of discrimination within the government, McAllister proposed a model that called for a re-orientation of CIDA's "attitude change/advocacy/missionary approach" to WID (McAllister 1984:9). Her argument was that effective implementation of WID could only occur by institutionalizing a "systemic/accountability response" within the Agency (McAllister 1984:2).

McAllister's document stands out as a timely and trenchant analysis of the

resources and organizational changes needed to operationalize the WID policy effectively within the CIDA bureaucracy. As an institutional specialist, McAllister was attuned to the importance that 'ownership,' 'access' and 'control' of WID played in the survival of the discourse within the Agency. She also was aware of the constraints that WID would face in the form of entrenched gender ideologies. McAllister therefore focused her recommendations on ensuring that WID was presented as a 'development issue' as opposed to a 'women's issue' in the Agency discourse, arguing that the integration of WID within CIDA should be undertaken, not out of advocacy for women's rights, but as an "economic imperative, and an issue of development effectiveness" (McAllister 1984:3). As one senior staff person at CIDA stated,

The approach from the beginning that Elizabeth used was not to change attitudes but to change behaviours....We assumed probably that attitudes wouldn't change. [Therefore WID] was set up as a program issue that people were to deal with if they were to be good development project officers; they couldn't do that without taking gender issues into consideration (Interview 1992G).

In developing an operative management plan for WID, McAllister continually stressed that WID would only be operationalized effectively if there was a sense of 'ownership' for the policy amongst the Agency staff responsible for its implementation. She stated, "a [WID strategy] cannot be implemented by a WID unit or a group of specialists" citing that "'participation leads to commitment, not merely compliance'" (McAllister 1984:14). Furthermore, while all Agency staff must have a commitment to the WID policy, the accountability, incentive-system, and responsibility for WID, must be clearly designated and supported by CIDA's top senior management

(McAllister 1984:3-4). McAllister stated that, "the management of WID is a complex issue that should not be left to chance or to the well-intended" (1984:15). WID would only become a serious priority if it was made a "line management responsibility" and bolstered with the continued and visible involvement of the President and senior branch managers (McAllister 1984:18). This would require not only a stronger, more comprehensive WID policy, but also a commitment to providing the staff and the dollars needed to ensure that WID was fully integrated into Agency operations.

McAllister's document was a key influence in changing the shape of CIDA's WID discourse at both the policy and implementation level. The shortcoming of her analysis, however, was her lack of focus on southern women as 'participants' in the process of re-defining WID. Indeed, nowhere in her document did she make the connection between how changes in the structure and management of the discourse would affect or improve CIDA's operations with southern women at the donor/recipient level. Nor did she make recommendations that would alter Agency structures to allow for a more equitable development dialogue with southern women to better determine their genuine needs and priorities.

Therefore, while there is an emphasis on the 'ownership' of WID policy within the Agency, there is little space provided for southern women to own, access, or direct the discourse that will guide CIDA's relations with them. McAllister's recommendations were important in re-shaping WID as a fundamental 'development issue' within the Agency, however, the fact that southern women were not defined specifically as actors and partners in the shaping of WID discourse was an important

exclusion that subsequently has affected both the conceptualization and the operationalization of WID within the Agency.

CIDA's 1984 WID policy

On the basis of McAllister's recommendations, the President's Committee released a comprehensive WID goal statement and policy framework in November 1984.²¹ This 1984 WID policy has been the guiding force for CIDA's WID operations over the past eight years. It is important, therefore, to closely look at the way in which southern women, and WID itself, are being defined through the language of the policy.

The introduction to the 1984 WID policy states,

CIDA undertakes to ensure that the full range of its development assistance will contribute substantively to the realization of the full potential of women as agents and beneficiaries of the development process. In applying this goal CIDA recognizes that development assistance must be responsive to the priorities of individual development partners many of which have accepted commitments to the rights of women to participate in the process of development and to benefit from its fruits (CIDA 1986a:1).

The policy also states that CIDA will use both integrated and special measures to ensure that women are included in all development initiatives. Finally, seven specific objectives are highlighted as the pillars of CIDA's WID operations (CIDA 1986a:1-2).

They are:

²¹ It was not until 1986, however, that the **WID Plan of Action** was created to guide Agency staff in implementing the WID policy into CIDA's daily operations.

- to increasingly respond to the development objectives of Third World women by supporting their effort to participate in development and their initiatives to improve their situation;
- to achieve a greater understanding of the existing multiple roles and the potential roles of women;
- to increase the participation of LDC [least developed country] women in the design, implementation, and evaluation of development interventions;
- to include women in CIDA programs and projects, in proportion to their share of the target group, in order to ensure that their existing level of participation is not reduced;
- to collaborate with recipient governments in taking positive measures to close economic gaps between LDC women and men;
- to place particular emphasis on strategies to assist LDC women in generating and keeping income, including those measures that alleviate women's time and energy constraints stemming from work demands in the household, and food production; and
- to support special women's programs linked to overall development where special efforts are required to reach women because of cultural conditions or where separate programs are deemed necessary.

The language and objectives of the 1984 WID policy reveal much about how southern women have been conceptualized within the Agency. The objectives and approach articulated in the 1984 policy document closely parallel what Caroline Moser has called the "efficiency approach" to WID (1989:1813). This assumes that equality for women is automatically linked with increased economic participation. Indeed, in several of the 1984 policy objectives, southern women appear to be conceptualized as wasted or under-utilized resources that have not been fully tapped in the economic development of their countries. The role for WID and CIDA thus becomes one of assisting southern women in "their effort to participate in development" by closing the

"economic gaps" that exist between women and men within their societies (CIDA 1986a:1).

Beyond the fact that the language of the policy appears to make the unfounded assumption that southern women have **not** been 'participating' in the development of their households, communities, and countries; the policy objectives automatically assume that 'economic development' will enhance the status of southern women. There is no mention of the **roots** of women's oppression in different cultures, or the strategic measures needed to remove **structural** barriers that would allow women more full and active participation within their communities (i.e. ownership, access, and control of land and/or credit, decision-making power etc.). The concern merely is to ameliorate the material **condition** of southern women, as opposed to focusing on supporting and creating a more equitable **position** for women within their societies (Young 1990:1-2). Indeed, the recipe for 'better' development appears to be merely to 'add women and stir.'

In addition, the objectives of the 1984 policy do not appear to create a space for dialogue and exchange between southern women and CIDA, particularly concerning the roles and needs of southern women in their own communities. Two of the WID policy objectives advocate that CIDA 'respond' to the development objectives of southern women and increase their participation in the design, implementation, and evaluation of CIDA development interventions. However, the remaining five WID policy objectives are couched in language that **defines** the 'participation' of southern women as assuming the roles created for them by CIDA

project planners. The language of the policy constructs southern women as passive participants in a CIDA-directed development process. Because there is little discussion of empowering southern women with the resources and skills needed to alter their reality according to their own vision of 'development,' the policy places the impetus, ownership, and management of WID largely in the hands of CIDA staff. The language of the 1984 policy, therefore, perpetuates a hierarchical power relationship that defines CIDA as the 'aid-experts' and southern women as the 'aid-recipients' that the Agency seeks to assist.

The language of CIDA's WID policy: implications

The manner in which WID is articulated through CIDA's WID policy reveals much about the way in which our knowledge of southern women has been constructed and institutionalized. As well, the definition of southern women and WID in CIDA policy has ripple effects on the way in which WID is perceived within the Agency. It affects not only the choice of structures and processes that CIDA puts in place to incorporate WID into policy and programming, but it also affects the way in which CIDA officers perceive southern women, and subsequently how they choose to work for and with them.

If, as the 1984 WID policy advocates, the focus of WID is on 'developing' southern women through integrated and WID-specific initiatives focused on improving their economic condition (i.e. technological improvements, labour saving devices, and small-scale income generating projects), then project-planners and policy-makers at

CIDA will rarely consider integrating southern women as participants in **mainstream** Agency activities. Southern women will remain relegated or 'added-on' to the periphery of CIDA projects, and WID will remain a marginalized or 'reverse' discourse within CIDA struggling to be integrated into a more centrally position within the Agency's dominant development discourse.

In addition, if the 'participation' of southern women merely means encouraging these women to work **on** CIDA developed initiatives, then WID discourse also is marginalizing southern women from assisting or developing themselves. The language and objectives of the 1984 WID policy define southern women in a way that excludes them from actively participating in the discourse created to assist them. WID, therefore, is not only as a marginalized discourse within larger Agency operations, but also appears to be exhibiting characteristics of the dominant development discourse in the way in which it silences the voices of southern women.

In contrast, a policy that talks about empowering women with the resources to improve both their condition and **position** within their local community is a means of 'assisting' women, not only to meet their basic needs (i.e. income, food, health care), but to move above and beyond the structural barriers that have held them in dependent and subordinate positions to men. If WID were articulated in this sense, it would assist women in addressing both their "practical" **and** "strategic" needs (Molyneux 1985:232-3). Furthermore, it would allow southern women to reflect, discuss and articulate their own needs and strategies for change. The hierarchical aid-expert/aid-recipient relationship would dissolve, and southern women would be encouraged not

merely to 'participate,' but to control and take 'ownership' of the projects and strategies designed to assist them.

Re-defining WID: CIDA's 1992 WID policy

I think the biggest constraint [to WID] is a complete misunderstanding of the size of the job: a complete naivete. We are dealing with 10,000 years of history and outside the doors of this Agency is an entirely male-dominated world where there is no value on gender issues. The values in the Agency have changed; even if they haven't changed in people's hearts, they've changed in what they are saying (Interview 1992G).

The 1984 WID policy was created to guide the Agency in integrating WID until 1991. At this time, CIDA commissioned a private consulting agency to begin an Agency-wide WID evaluation to assess the manner and extent to which WID has been operationalized, both at CIDA headquarters and in the field. CIDA intends to use the results of this 'Corporate Evaluation' to develop a new Agency WID policy in 1993-4. Until then, an interim WID policy, approved in February 1992, has been created to guide the Agency in integrating WID into CIDA policy and programming.

Even a cursory glance at the 1992 WID policy reveals the extent to which the language and conceptualization of WID have evolved in the past eight years. Whereas the introduction to the 1984 policy discussed the need for CIDA to ensure that its development assistance "contribute substantively to the realization of the full potential of women" (CIDA 1986a:1), the introduction to the 1992 WID policy frames WID as the vehicle for providing southern women with the space and resources needed to allow them to fully develop themselves. It states that,

The fundamental premise of CIDA's [WID] policy is that developmental effectiveness and efficiency can only be achieved through the direct participation of women in decisions and resource allocations that affect them. Sustainable Development requires the active participation of women at all aspects of development. Our dialogue with all our development partners on gender equity begins with enunciation of this principle (CIDA 1992a: 1).

The primary objective of WID at CIDA is no longer to 'assist' southern women by creating projects that would enhance their economic status within society. The new focus of WID is to **involve** southern women more directly as **partners** in CIDA-funded and local community initiatives. Indeed, whereas the 1984 policy defined southern women as 'agents and beneficiaries,' the 1992 policy discusses southern women as 'an integral part of society and therefore as full partners in CIDA's development work' (CIDA 1992a:8). In addition, the 1992 WID policy differs from the 1984 policy in that it contains a clear statement of the underlying premises that shape its fundamental objectives. These clearly reveal how WID has evolved conceptually since 1984.

The first underlying premise of the 1992 WID policy is that CIDA strongly considers WID to be a fundamental 'development' issue as opposed to merely a women's issue. This clearly is an attempt to rectify WID's status as a marginalized Agency discourse and move it, more centrally, into all CIDA's operations. Secondly, the policy discusses the need to move beyond merely ameliorating the condition of southern women. It explicitly states that,

Structural changes (social, economic or political) in institutions are a prerequisite for sustainable improvement in the well-being of women and society as a whole (CIDA 1992a: 1).

Unlike the 1984 WID policy, CIDA is acknowledging a commitment to reducing the

socio-cultural and political barriers that hinder the full participation of women in their local communities. Thirdly, CIDA acknowledges that it can no longer merely 'encourage' the participation of women in CIDA-funded initiatives. It explicitly states that,

Effective development **requires** the position of women from developing countries as **decision-makers** in the development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of CIDA-supported programs and activities (CIDA 1992a:8, my emphasis).

The articulation of the above fundamental principles has resulted in more clearly defined WID objectives in the 1992 policy. Like the 1984 policy, these objectives include support for initiatives that will increase women's economic, social and political condition such as access to income, basic health needs, and education. However, the 1992 objectives also make a more pointed reference to eliminating the structural and political barriers that inhibit women's full participation in society. Two new objectives include the pledge to,

- encourage, respond to, support initiatives in and among developing countries to protect and promote the human rights of women; and
- to promote the elimination of discriminatory barriers against women (CIDA 1992a:9).

For WID and CIDA, the inclusion of the above objectives is a major step forward: first, because they clearly define WID as a gender-redistributive policy as opposed to an ameliorative 'add-on' solution to a temporary problem; and secondly, because this consequently propels WID into the political arena which is an area where CIDA is often reluctant to tread. The redistribution of benefits between men and women, necessarily implies a redistribution of power, which ultimately means that

WID is a highly political issue. Furthermore, the bold statements that discuss women's rights as human rights imply an element of conditionality around WID that CIDA and other aid agencies have not instituted before.

The remaining objectives of the 1992 policy reflect the shortcomings of the past policy in operationalizing WID. They discuss (but do not define) the need for a stronger WID delivery and monitoring framework with clear indicators by which to evaluate CIDA's WID effectiveness (CIDA 1992a:10). In the words of President Marcel Masse,

Less emphasis should be placed on describing and counting the number of [WID] activities and much more on analyzing what we are doing differently, what works and why, and what doesn't work and why (CIDA 1992:2).

CIDA also makes a stronger commitment to taking a more pro-active stance with WID, both within the international donor aid community and with its partner organizations. Whereas the 1984 policy merely discussed the need to 'respond' to the initiatives of its partners, the focus of the 1992 WID policy is to,

Promote and support policies and activities among CIDA's partners, in Canada and overseas, that enable them to effectively integrate gender considerations into their development work (CIDA 1992a:9).

Overall, the language of the 1992 WID policy appears to reflect a shift in CIDA's WID discourse, both in its position in the dominant discourse and in its relations with southern women. WID is being presented as a fundamental priority in the Agency's mainstream discourse and southern women are being empowered with the space to define, shape, own, and control the Agency's WID discourse. Thus, the 'dominant discourse' characteristics that WID exhibited in its relations with southern

women in the past appear to be diminishing, with CIDA assuming more of a 'facilitating' role in southern women's own development process. From the language of the 1992 policy it would appear as though WID is no longer 'constructing' our knowledge of southern women, but finally, providing a space for the subjugated voices and knowledge of southern women to be heard.

However, it is also true that within the CIDA bureaucracy, the gaps between policy and practice are large. Indeed, while the focus of CIDA's WID policy has changed, the structures and processes put in place in 1986 to operationalize WID have not been altered correspondingly to reflect the shift in language. This appears to indicate that the shift in the language of WID has occurred as a result of external influences, as opposed to CIDA gradually 'outgrowing' the past conceptualization of southern women that was defined in the 1984 policy. The following section, therefore, will explore the factors that have influenced this evolution in WID thinking. This will be important, not only in revealing how the discourse has evolved, but also in determining **who** is in control of CIDA's WID discourse and the extent to which WID is a shared agenda at CIDA. Ultimately, this will be important in analyzing how WID has been operationalized, in practice.

Influences on CIDA's WID policy: the shift in Agency thinking

The evolution of language and thinking that is reflected in CIDA's 1992 WID policy has been influenced by CIDA's own evolution in thinking around

'development.' In 1987, CIDA publicly revised its development mandate and objectives in a strategy document entitled **Sharing Our Future** (1987). This document underlined the Agency's move from a focus on large-scale, capital intensive development initiatives, to support for more human-centred, skill-building partnership initiatives. Ultimately, this has led CIDA, in 1991, to a wholesale embrace of 'sustainable development' as the guiding mandate for Canada's ODA. These Agency shifts in thinking have been important in creating a more receptive climate within CIDA for the changes that have been introduced in the 1992 WID policy.

Sharing Our Future is regarded as an important strategy document for WID because it was one of the first Agency documents that visibly located WID as one of CIDA's fundamental development priorities, giving WID a significant entry point into the Agency's dominant discourse (CIDA 1988:2). However, **Sharing Our Future** also has been criticized for adversely promoting the compartmentalization of WID within the Agency. Indeed, while the language of the strategy indicates a significant shift in Agency thinking around 'development,' southern women still are presented within the document as a separate and marginalized target group in larger Agency operations.

Based on the recommendations put forth by the Winegard Commission in 1986, **Sharing Our Future** was created by CIDA to define more clearly the fundamental priorities of Canada's ODA. The strategy thus includes an ODA Charter for CIDA that pledges, as CIDA's primary priority, to "help the poorest people and countries of the world" (CIDA 1987:23). Following poverty alleviation, CIDA is committed to

helping people to help themselves, placing development priorities before other foreign policy objectives (strategic, political or economic), and strengthening partnership and linkages between the people and institutions of Canada and countries of the 'Third World' (CIDA 1987:23).

Interestingly, while CIDA's focus on the 'poorest of the poor' should have placed women at the top of the development agenda, in reality (aside from several glossy photos), women are virtually invisible in the strategy document. Although WID is mentioned as one of CIDA's six development 'priorities' along with: poverty alleviation, structural adjustment, environmentally sound development, food security, and energy availability (CIDA 1987:25), it is not systematically integrated into the rest of the strategy document.

Furthermore, the way in which these priorities are presented compartmentalizes them from one another, almost as being mutually-exclusive. For example, while the participation of women is an important part of environmentally sound development, food security, and energy in most southern countries, women are not mentioned at all in the pages that outline CIDA's approach to these issues. Nor does the document disaggregate the condition or position of women from men in its discussion on poverty alleviation or structural adjustment. Furthermore, when discussing the poor, the environment, energy, human rights, human resource development, health care, and management training, the document refers to a seemingly gender-neutral population. CIDA's segregated approach to these 'priority' issues has meant that WID has been isolated from CIDA's policies on the environment and structural adjustment (CIDA

1990b:5) and often overlooked in project/program planning in key CIDA sectors such as agriculture, energy, and infrastructure.

Therefore, although **Sharing Our Future** states that CIDA underlines the importance of WID to the point where a proposal will be "reconsidered" if a WID analysis is lacking (CIDA 1987:43), CIDA's development strategy itself contains virtually no integrated WID/gender analysis in its 95 pages. This fact alone, conveys to the reader that WID is not a central Agency priority as the **Sharing Our Future** strategy claims. In addition, while the document has been important in highlighting WID within CIDA's dominant discourse, it has done so in a way that presents WID as an 'add-on' or side 'theme' to the Agency's mainstream development activities.

Sharing Our Future remains in place as CIDA's ODA strategy, however, recently the Agency has been forced to adapt CIDA's aid delivery framework to new and changing realities. The following section will look at how CIDA's recent move to 'sustainable development' has assisted in creating a more accepting climate for the 1992 WID policy.

The Secor Report and the Agency's move to sustainable development

Pressures from the federal government for more prudent fiscal management led CIDA, in 1991, to contract the *Secor Group* (a private consulting agency) to review its aid delivery strategy, management practices, and development philosophy. The results of this 'strategic management review' have led to an Agency-wide re-structuring, with CIDA moving away from a focus on the design and delivery of aid, towards becoming

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more of an "aid skills-based" delivery organization for the 1990s (CIDA 1991a:4). This requires that the Agency assume more of a policy research and development role with "strategic management capabilities, knowledge and expertise" as its core skills (Secor 1991a:4).

The Secor Report and the subsequent move towards Agency restructuring has forced CIDA to re-evaluate its goals and priorities. The *Secor Group* found that within the Agency there was a significant amount of confusion over CIDA's priority objectives. They stated that this was due to CIDA's frequently changing approach to aid delivery and planning (i.e. shifting from a focus on human resource development skills to economic and fiscal management). As a result, the report describes CIDA staff as 'frustrated' by continually being forced to respond to the changing "fads" and "whims" of particular leaders (Secor 1991b:10/2-3).²²

The positive aspect of re-aligning CIDA as a policy-oriented, 'knowledge-based' institute, is that it has forced CIDA management to revisit past policies and priorities, especially around issues such as WID, the environment, and human rights. The focus of CIDA's 'transformation' is to regain control of the "substance and content" of development issues by focusing on retraining CIDA staff in the skills, knowledge, and know-how that presently are being tapped from external sources

²² It is interesting that within the Agency, WID often is perceived as one of these fads. One WID consultant recounted her experience with a CIDA officer. Meeting her in the hallway he said, "I haven't seen you around very much lately." The woman responded by saying she had been busy on a mission overseas and busy with other projects. "Good idea," the man said, "You know this WID stuff, it's a fashion and its over. I think you're right. You should go off and find other ways to stay in business" (Interview 1992J).

(Secor 1991a:26).²³ Therefore, the re-orientation of CIDA's priorities and re-training of Agency staff could be beneficial in changing the way in which WID is perceived within CIDA. Indeed, the way in which WID is re-introduced into Agency processes will have an important bearing on the success or failure of the 1992 WID policy to provide a greater space for southern women in CIDA's development activities. The introduction of 'sustainable development' as the new cornerstone of CIDA's ODA, therefore, has been perceived by WID advocates as a positive move for WID.

In June 1991, the President's Committee launched the sustainable development framework as **Sharing Our Future's** new programming focus (CIDA 1992a:6). The sustainable development framework represents a significant reorientation in Agency thinking around 'development,' and provides a greater space for systematically integrating issues such as, WID, social/gender analysis, the environment, and human rights into CIDA's dominant development discourse.²⁴

The sustainable development strategy emphasizes five pillars of sustainability: environmental, economic, cultural, political and social. Although gender equity is not articulated as a pillar of the strategy, the Agency's policy paper on sustainable development highlights gender equity as an integrated feature in all aspects of the new approach. In addition, the underlying principles of the sustainable development

²³ In this instance the report makes specific mention of the Agency's heavy reliance on consultants (Secor 1991a:22-30).

²⁴ This was also the result of the need to cut back on spending. CIDA has had to abandon 'decentralization' as its aid delivery strategy and focus on 'sustainable development' (helping others to help themselves) as its focus for the 1990s.

strategy create a more receptive and responsive environment for the integration of gender issues than CIDA's past conceptualization of 'development' as being synonymous with economic growth.

The principles of sustainable development include the need for a long term perspective in economic decision-making that takes into account the social repercussions of policies such as structural adjustment, as well as an expressed and explicit focus on respecting environmental, political, economic, and cultural 'diversity.' Sustainable development also advocates a more integrated approach to decision-making that works in favour of women by advocating the use of local interest groups, academic specialists, scientists, and local and national leaders to "interpret and apply" the linkages between natural, political, social and economic systems. In addition, it focuses on a participatory approach to development that draws on local community knowledge, thereby opening a space for local women and men to become more involved as decision-makers in CIDA initiatives. Indeed, by adopting the sustainable development mandate, the entire development process is re-shaped to be a more holistic and non-hierarchical process (CIDA 1991c:6). Finally, CIDA's sustainable development framework specifically emphasizes gender equity and justice in its discussion on human rights. The policy paper argues for "a more equitable distribution of productive assets between men and women" within countries (class and gender relations), among countries (the distribution of wealth globally), and between generations (looking ahead to tomorrow)(CIDA 1991a:5).

The Agency move to sustainable development, therefore, has been important in

creating a space for WID/gender issues in CIDA's mainstream policy and programming activities. Like the 1992 WID policy, it appears to move WID from the position of a marginalized discourse within the Agency, towards being a more central feature of CIDA's dominant discourse. CIDA's ability to implement this re-orientation in development priorities, is investigated further in Chapter Five. Regardless, this change in the Agency's thinking around 'development' has been important in creating a more acceptable climate within CIDA for the emergence and integration of CIDA's 1992 WID policy. As one WID advocate said, irrespective of the quality of the documents themselves, **Sharing Our Future** and the Sustainable Development framework have been important milestones for WID, because if nothing else, "it is important to have the stick to beat over people's heads" (Interview 1991A).

The shift from WID to GAD: influences from the outside

The other major influence that has led to the reformulation of CIDA's WID policy has been the shift in thinking and theorizing around WID that is occurring internationally. The move to the 'gender and development' or GAD approach to development planning, has been influenced largely by the work of southern women eager to redress the past problems that WID has faced with racism and ethnocentrism. Advocates of the GAD approach argue that if development organizations are truly concerned with rectifying the problems that southern women face, they must begin by looking beyond projects that focus on improving the material condition of women as

an 'end' goal and focus on WID as the 'means' towards changing the fundamental **position** of these women within society (Young 1990:1).

The GAD approach is unique in that it does not purport to be development strategy *per se*, but a window or framework through which to analyze and assess gender relations. The framework allows development workers to move beyond a focus on women, to a more thorough analysis of the impacts of proposed development activities on the social-gender relations between men and women in a given project area (Young 1992:1).²⁵ As a result, GAD does not focus on merely adding or integrating a women's component into mainstream projects. It takes a more holistic perspective by examining the economic, political, social, and cultural factors that affect southern women's ability to participate in, and benefit from, the development process.

GAD looks at both women and men's 'productive' work (e.g. the production of goods and services) and 'reproductive' work (e.g. household/family management) to examine how this determines the sexual division of labour in the household and society, and subsequently, the ability of women to access and control needed developmental resources (e.g. economic and political resources, and time). The focus of social-gender analysis is to apply this framework to the study of power relations between men and women at the household, community, regional, national, and

²⁵ GAD recognizes that gender relations are shaped by "ascribed" relations which are based on position in a kinship or marriage within a given community, and "achieved" relations, based on economic, social or political relations within society. In addition, both ascribed and achieved relations interlock with a number of other factors, such as race, class, ethnicity, and religion to define a woman's position in a given context (Young 1992:1).

international levels (Moffat 1992:12-13).

In addition, GAD emphasizes the role of southern women as **actors** in the development process. It empowers women by reassuring them that their knowledge and expertise are valuable and vital to community and national development, and by specifically giving women a platform from which to be heard (Young 1988:8). In the GAD approach, northern development workers are removed from their position as 'aid-experts' and encouraged to act more as 'facilitators' in the people's own process. Ultimately, GAD advocates perceive 'development' to be a dynamic, participatory, and challenging process as opposed to a static and linear model.

Changing CIDA's WID discourse: revelations about WID 'ownership'

The shift in thinking from WID to GAD has been a major influence on the evolution of CIDA's WID policy. Although the 1992 policy still uses the term WID, the language and conceptualization of WID/southern women is rooted in the GAD approach. One senior program officer explained CIDA's reasoning for retaining the WID label in the following way,

We struggled a long time to get people in the Agency comfortable talking about women in development and they are now. They now think that they know what it is even if they don't, and to change the words, all it does is set up anxiety because they think they're going to have to learn something different. So to me, you talk about what gender and development is but you call it WID. You don't call it GAD. You may slip the term in from time to time, but I don't think you do a big name change. I mean it's like Coca Cola,

if it ain't broke, don't fix it (Interview 1992G).²⁶

The debate and decision within CIDA concerning the shift from WID to GAD, begins to reveal 'who' is in control of CIDA's WID discourse. Indeed, the centrality of GAD thinking in the 1992 WID policy reveals much about who is writing, altering, articulating, and controlling CIDA's WID discourse.

The bulk of the writing and drafting of the 1992 WID policy was conducted by a group called the WID Plan of Action Sub-Committee (WPASC). The WPASC was comprised of CIDA's WID Steering Committee, staff representatives from each Agency branch, the WID Directorate, and a Montreal-based management consulting group (CIDA 1991b:2). During the policy revision process the document was circulated throughout the various branches of CIDA (both at headquarters and the posts) to ensure that CIDA staff contribute comments based on their personal experiences with WID (CIDA 1991b:2). With the exception of the consulting group and members of the WID Directorate, therefore, the writing of the 1992 WID policy was largely in the hands of CIDA staff.

Undeniably, there are many CIDA staff within the Agency who are extremely knowledgeable and committed to WID. In addition, these officers often are the people who work closely with the executing agencies delivering aid in the field. Thus, while CIDA staff have a great deal of control over the shape and articulation of the WID discourse, it is also a well-known fact that the 'ownership' of CIDA's WID knowledge

²⁶ The WID Steering Committee did debate changing the name of WID during the formulation of the 1992 policy however, it was decided that WID is more "palatable" to CIDA partners and outside donors (Interview 1992B) and "less offensive" to donor countries (Interview 1992I).

often does not lie within the Agency. The 'corporate memory' for WID at CIDA rests predominately in the hands of private consultants who have been hired to advise the Agency on the integration of WID. In a President's Committee meeting concerning the 1992 WID policy, the above observations were confirmed and discussed.

The trend to sectoralize WID has resulted in a parallel network, almost a closed shop focusing on women's issues and **managed** largely by consultants outside the mainstream of CIDA's activities and decision making process (CIDA 1992b:2, my emphasis).

These WID consultants (predominately northern women), working from the margins of the Agency, have been a major catalyst for the evolution and development of WID within CIDA. Indeed, the evolution in the language of CIDA's WID policy reveals the extent to which these women have infused GAD thinking into the pens of CIDA policy-makers. It is important to note, however, that while these consultants have influenced greatly CIDA's discourse on WID, access to and control of the implementation of CIDA's WID policy is not in their hands. WID consultants have contributed their knowledge and skills to the development and operationalization of CIDA's WID policies, yet, these consultants have no control over how effectively the new WID policy is implemented.

Therefore, although the language of the 1992 WID policy is progressive and optimistic, the prospects for implementing a shift in thinking of this magnitude within the Agency may not be that easy. Many CIDA staff believe that there is almost a pervasive sense of apathy or "WID fatigue" within the Agency (CIDA 1991c:3). They believe that re-orientation of CIDA priorities around WID is excessive and redundant. In many ways, this is a result of the way in which the 1984 WID policy

conceptualized southern women as a special consideration or an 'add-on' to mainstream CIDA activities. As one senior project officer stated,

My frustration with WID conceptually and in the context of the Agency is that WID as a label, tends to me to segregate it from a mainstream concern. It needs to be seen as a mainstream theme that is integral to all of the development activities going on here. I think that labels play a fundamental importance in how issues get perceived, so WID meant that women's issues were being dealt with separate and apart from others. When the Policy came out in 1984, it was an imposed policy that people then felt obligated to address as an annex item (Interview 1992H).

Thus, while the 1992 WID policy conveys the appearance that WID is being strongly integrated into Agency operations, it will remain ineffective unless there is a renewed commitment and 'ownership' around the WID policy on the part of CIDA staff. If the new WID policy does not become a 'reflex response' in the minds and work patterns of CIDA staff, then the space that the policy provides for southern women to voice their own needs, will not be realized. WID will remain a reverse discourse within the Agency and continue to subjugate and exclude southern women from contributing genuinely to the discourse.

Overall, an analysis of the influences on CIDA's WID policy has done little to reveal the extent to which southern women have participated in the formation of WID discourse. One can assume that indirectly, southern women have contributed to the move towards GAD theorizing and that they have influenced CIDA staff through their contacts and experiences with WID over the past eight years. However, because the 1984 WID policy excluded southern women from contributing to the discourse, it is doubtful whether they have been able to gain significant access and control over CIDA's WID policy and processes. The major shortcoming of the 1992 policy is that

it does not contain a detailed implementation strategy that outlines how CIDA will ensure that southern women now are being consulted as partners and decision-makers in all CIDA initiatives.

As a result, much of our knowledge of southern women will continue to be created by CIDA officers through the structures and processes that were put in place to operationalize WID in 1984. In understanding the social construction of WID at CIDA therefore, we must also go back and study the way in which the original WID policy has been operationalized. This will not only assist in understanding how WID has been positioned as a discourse within the Agency, but also enable us to gain a more realistic picture of the extent to which southern women are able to participate in the definition and operationalization of CIDA's WID policy.

Chapter 5 will continue the analysis by looking at how WID, as a discourse, has been defined through its operationalization at CIDA. It also will look at how the institutionalization of WID has shaped our knowledge of southern women and defined power relations between CIDA and southern women in the process.

CHAPTER 5: OPERATIONALIZING CIDA'S WID POLICY: SHAPING KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTHERN WOMEN

The language of CIDA's WID policy has been the map that has guided the Agency in institutionalizing its commitment to southern women. The policy outlines the WID principles and objectives, however, it is the way in which WID is operationalized that defines CIDA's relationship with southern women. An analysis of the operationalization of WID is crucial in understanding how southern women have been invited to 'participate' in CIDA initiatives. It will indicate whether WID has been rationalized merely to define projects 'for' southern women, or whether it has been used as a vehicle to genuinely meet, listen to, and learn from southern women in their individual cultures and communities. The operationalization of WID can be considered the focal point (or local-centre) in the definition of power relations between CIDA and southern women, and the key source from which much of our knowledge of southern women originates.

The analysis of the evolution of CIDA's WID policy in Chapter Four revealed that while WID appears to have moved into a more central position in the Agency's dominant discourse providing southern women with a greater space to shape and define WID, the 'ownership' of this new and progressive WID policy rests largely in the hands of private consultants who have little access or control over the way in which it is operationalized. While these consultants have 'authority' or 'ownership' of the new WID discourse, the actual operationalization of the policy rests with CIDA staff. Therefore, if the 1992 WID policy is to be implemented successfully, CIDA

must focus on creating a shift in the 'ownership' of the policy from WID consultants to CIDA staff. Until this occurs, WID will continue to be operationalized through the structures and processes put in place as a result of the 1986 WID Plan of Action.

This chapter will begin by looking briefly at how the 1986 WID Plan of Action, as the 'implementation strategy' for the 1984 WID policy, defined the institutionalization of WID within CIDA, looking particularly at the spaces that it provided for southern women to 'participate' in Agency policy and programming. It then looks at how WID has been operationalized in practice, focusing on the structural position that WID has assumed within the bureaucracy and the extent to which Agency structures have facilitated the integration of WID and southern women into CIDA's larger development discourse. I also will look at the WID training tools and processes that have been put in place within the Agency to support the operationalization of the WID policy objectives to determine if they have assisted in integrating WID into mainstream operations. Furthermore, have they provided southern women with a means of shaping and defining the impact of CIDA's development initiatives? Lastly, I will look at how these processes subsequently have shaped our knowledge of southern women, and what sort of power relations have been created between CIDA and southern women as a result.

The 1986 WID Plan of Action

The 1986 WID Plan of Action was created as the implementation strategy for

the Agency's 1984 WID policy. As such, it outlined the principle operational objectives and the steps that CIDA planned to undertake "to achieve the goal of involving Third World women fully in the development process" (CIDA 1986:3). Thus, while the 1984 policy objectives provided the **content** of CIDA's WID strategy, the Plan of Action was created to define the **process** of incorporating WID and southern women into Agency operations (CIDA 1986a:3). It also was important in defining the way in which southern women have been invited to 'participate' in CIDA's WID discourse.

The crux of the WID Plan of Action was the definition of nine operational objectives. These were created to guide the Agency in developing the organizational structures and processes needed to integrate WID at the operational level (CIDA 1986a:2). The objectives of the 1986 WID Plan of Action are as follows:

- Develop mechanisms to integrate WID into corporate planning and management systems, and to operationalize WID policy in a manner that is measurable and reviewable, and that includes both accountability systems and support mechanisms;
- Develop explicit plans to include and to benefit LDC women and girls in operational plans, Country Program Reviews, program and project design, and in sectoral policies and guidelines;
- Develop specific strategies for increasing the representation of women in training and scholarship programs;
- Develop specific training programs to support Agency staff in meeting the Agency goal;
- Develop methods to collect sex-disaggregated data in order to identify and to eliminate unintentional discrimination in development programs and projects, and to develop a data base to plan country programs and projects;

- Develop WID requirements for CIDA consultants, to be included in the proposal calls and terms of reference of contractors where appropriate;
- Promote and support an integrated and operational approach to WID by multilateral organizations;
- Develop plans and mechanisms, in cooperation with partner organizations, to ensure that women in developing countries participate in and benefit from programs implemented by the non-governmental sector; and
- Develop communication strategies to inform the Canadian public of CIDA WID Strategies, and for use by programming units to inform main beneficiaries.

The above operational objectives clearly indicate how the conceptualization of WID, as an 'add-on' issue in the 1984 WID policy, has been translated into CIDA practice. They also neglect to include a space from which southern women can contribute to the definition of CIDA's WID discourse.

First, the strategy makes no explicit connection between how the principles of CIDA's policy will be satisfied by the objectives of the WID Plan of Action. In particular, the implementation strategy contains no long term goal statement to indicate how the operationalization of WID within CIDA will affect and improve CIDA's aid delivery and relations with southern women. CIDA officers, therefore, are presented with little rationale for implementing the strategy, no models to illustrate its importance, and little incentive to change their entrenched work habits to include a consideration of WID. As the **WID Evaluation Assessment Report** (1990a) states,

It is therefore difficult to assume that attainment of operational objectives will have any bearing on attainment of policy objectives or result in progress towards CIDA's overall goal (CIDA 1990a:v).

Secondly, while the policy assigns accountability and responsibility for WID to

all branches and officers within the Agency (CIDA 1988:4), this is not reinforced consistently in the WID Plan of Action. For example, the document discusses the importance of making WID part of the personal evaluation process for Agency staff, "to reinforce the principle that responsibility for WID is an integral part of the performance of duties by staff throughout the Agency" (CIDA 1986a:4). Yet, in the same sentence it states that this should only be undertaken 'where applicable.' Therefore, there appears to be a contradiction between the policy and practice, particularly because the WID Plan of Action does not define why, if WID is an Agency priority, certain staff should be exempt from integrating WID into their daily work. While there are some CIDA staff who will not apply WID in their work (i.e. Agency administration), the open-ended disclaimer provides staff with an easy rationale for passing the responsibility for WID on to someone else.

This also occurs when describing the integration of WID at the policy level. The Plan of Action states that, "WID will also be included as an identifiable feature of the Agency's Strategic and Operational Planning Framework, and **where relevant**, WID analysis will be incorporated in policy analysis of key development issues" (CIDA 1986a:4, my emphasis). Again, it does not state why, if WID is a 'cross-cutting' issue, certain policy issues are relevant to WID and others within the Agency are not.

Furthermore, while the successful implementation of the WID Plan of Action is dependent upon a strong sense of 'ownership' for the policy amongst Agency staff, the document refers to the necessity of relying on external 'WID expertise' for the

formation of WID policy, projects, and programming strategies (CIDA 1986a:5). By encouraging the use of consultants to operationalize WID from the outset, this dissuades Agency staff from acquiring the skills that are needed to integrate WID into their daily work. The reference to external 'WID expertise' also conveys the notion that WID is a 'profession' - a separate component of development planning - and better left to more 'qualified' WID experts than ordinary CIDA staff.²⁷

In addition, the WID Plan of Action proposes no time frames to put the WID operational objectives in place and no follow-up or monitoring mechanisms to ensure that they are faithfully and consistently met. Indeed, beyond the submission of branch annual reports to the President's Committee, the Plan of Action articulates no way of monitoring the progress of WID within the Agency's activities (CIDA 1986a:4). Thus, despite the emphasis that the Plan of Action places on WID as an Agency-wide 'priority,' in reality, WID appears to be no more than a voluntary adjunct item on the CIDA development agenda.

Finally, far from providing a strategy that would create the means for southern women to articulate their needs and objectives to CIDA, the objectives of the WID Plan of Action are inherently "CIDA-centric" (CIDA 1990a:47) and appear to make WID more of a **visible** issue in Agency activities, as opposed to a genuinely **viable** feature of CIDA operations. While, the primary WID policy objective was to

²⁷ This isolated perception of WID also has affected the way in which the WID Directorate has been perceived within the Agency. Because the WID Directorate largely has been staffed by women 'WID experts,' this has led some CIDA staff to confuse WID objectives with a feminist agenda. This perception of WID has led to "an occasional tendency to deprecate the authority of the WID Specialists" on the part of some CIDA staff (CIDA 1990a:49-50).

"respond to the development objectives of Third World women by supporting their efforts to participate in development and their initiatives to improve their situation" (CIDA 1986a:1), the operational objectives of the WID Plan of Action do not detail specific ways in which CIDA will ensure that southern women are being consulted in project and program planning. The WID Plan of Action merely discusses the **need** to develop 'mechanisms,' 'plans,' 'strategies,' and 'guidelines' that would ensure a consideration of southern women in CIDA activities. Because no **formal** spaces are provided for southern women to shape, alter, and contribute to the discourse, the implication is that CIDA will continue to define how southern women will 'participate' in CIDA-developed initiatives.

Overall, the way in which WID is presented in the 1986 WID Plan of Action appears to reinforce the conceptualization of WID in the 1984 WID policy. There is no solid commitment to operationalize WID as a central feature of CIDA's mainstream policy and programming, nor is there a space provided to allow southern women to participate genuinely in defining the discourse. As a result, the responsibility for operationalizing the WID policy objectives remains in the hands of Agency staff. The following section, therefore, will look at the structures, tools, and processes created by CIDA to assist Agency staff in integrating WID into their work and providing southern women with a platform to be heard.

Agency-level WID structures: positioning the discourse

As we have seen, each branch, division, and officer within CIDA is responsible

for integrating WID into the daily operations of the Agency. To facilitate this process, CIDA has created a number of corporate and branch-level structures to support the integration of WID into Agency policy and programming. The Agency-level structures, however, have become the primary means by which WID, as a discourse, has been supported and positioned within the Agency.²⁸ The WID Steering Committee (WSC) and the WID Directorate have become the primary focal points for WID within the Agency.

The WID Steering Committee is composed of approximately 30 senior managers representing each branch of the Agency, and the staff of the WID Directorate. Its mandate is to meet with the President's Committee²⁹ tri-monthly to discuss issues concerning the implementation of WID. The function of the WSC, therefore, is to monitor the progress and status of WID at the branch-level, submit annual reports to the President, and update the WID Plan of Action in response to changes in Agency policy and priorities (CIDA 1990a:16). Ultimately, the WSC has the broad role of overseeing the integration of WID into the overall activities of the Agency.

²⁸ As part of the WID Plan of Action, CIDA requested that each branch create a WID Working Group (WWG) chaired by the branch WSC representative and comprised of WID representatives from each of the desks or programs in the branch. Its function is to address branch level WID concerns and issues as they arise. Unfortunately however, WWGs are not functioning consistently throughout CIDA and in some branches they do not exist at all (CIDA 1990a:50). Therefore the ability to translate branch WID issues from the 'bottom-up' to branch WSC members is questionable and inconsistent. Some branches, desks, and sectors within CIDA also have WID co-ordinators who have the explicit responsibility for to monitoring and co-ordinating WID policy, training, and programming for the desk (CIDA 1989c:C1-C10). Again, the number of functioning WID co-ordinators within the Agency is not known and there are no consistent monitoring or accountability mechanisms in place within CIDA to co-ordinate their functions and responsibilities.

²⁹ The President's Committee is made up of the Vice-Presidents of the thirteen branches within CIDA. It represents the highest policy approval body within the Agency.

The WID Directorate is a complementary body to the WSC and is often referred to as CIDA's WID resource centre. During its move to the Professional Services branch, in 1986, the Directorate was endowed with the broad mandate to provide "policy analysis, corporate management reporting, and programme and project-level expert advice with respect to the implementation of the CIDA Women in Development Policy" Agency-wide (CIDA 1989e:19). Thus, while the WSC focuses more on WID policy issues, the WID Directorate was specifically created to provide operational advice and assist in the implementation of WID.

Because these two structures represent the focal point for WID within the Agency, their structural position should also reflect the position of WID as a discourse within CIDA. However, an analysis of how these WID structures function reveals that far from being integrated into the dominant discourse, they are largely detached from mainstream Agency activities and policy-making bodies.

The WSC was created to facilitate a top-down/bottom-up policy dialogue on WID within the Agency. One would assume that it would be a key voice for WID in Agency policy-making. However, the way in which the WSC approaches its dialogue on WID tends to further compartmentalize it from mainstream policy issues. A review of annual reports to the President's Committee reveals that while the WSC is providing CIDA's upper management with salient analyses of the integration of WID at both the branch and Agency-level, it does so in a highly WID-specific manner.

The annual reports generally provide an assessment of the implementation of the WID Plan of Action highlighting the overall successes and concerns. They

analyze the effectiveness of sector-specific guidelines, decentralized support systems, WID workplans, and Agency training and provide recommendations for the upcoming year (CIDA 1988, 1989d, 1990b, 1991b). However, the analysis of WID contained in these documents is highly WID-specific, and rarely discusses the operationalization of WID in relation to the Agency's mainstream activities (i.e. they rarely make connections between WID and Agency policy issues such as structural adjustment and/or poverty alleviation). Furthermore, while individual members of the WSC may sit on other Agency policy committees, the WSC as a whole does not have a voice in other decision-making bodies within CIDA (e.g. the committee on the environment) (Interview 1992R). The WSC, therefore, is limited in its ability to put WID on CIDA's mainstream development agenda.

The WID Directorate's isolated position within Professional Services branch also has hindered its effectiveness in acting as an Agency-wide advisory, co-ordinating, and monitoring body for WID (see Fig.1). This has been undermined further by a chronic shortage of staff and funding support.³⁰ Indeed, as early as 1988, the WID Directorate was described as "detached and non-consultative" in the WSC's Annual Report to the President's Committee (CIDA 1988:10).

The problems that the WID Directorate has had in meeting its mandate are

³⁰ Financial allocations to WID (both bilateral branch project expenses and non-project expenses) from 1986-1991 were estimated at \$226 million by the consulting firm conducting the WID Evaluation Assessment in 1990. Of this total WID expenditure, administration expenses represented only \$6.9 million (3% of the total cost)(CIDA 1990a: 39). WID project expenses for the non-bilateral branches were not known. These figures compare to the \$1.3 billion that has been dispersed from 1986-1991, towards CIDA's other cross-cutting issue, environmental sustainability (CIDA 1992g:3). Although some would argue that it is more difficult to calculate WID disbursements, the difference is significant.

illustrated by the fact that in 1989 there were only five staff persons in the Directorate (CIDA 1989e:19). This meant that in providing project and program-level assistance, each staff person had to act as the WID 'expert' for two or three Agency branches.³¹ In effect, each person had approximately 80 CIDA projects to monitor which greatly limited their ability to advise on WID in an effective and consistent manner (Interview 1992c).³² Furthermore, this chronic shortage of staff has meant that much of the work of the WID Directorate has been done by private consultants, which has hindered the Directorate from effectively assisting in the operationalization of WID within the Agency.

Although WID consultants are valuable for the knowledge and expertise that they bring to the Agency, they have limited and select access to CIDA information which often hinders their ability to monitor the integration of WID in CIDA projects (CIDA 1986a:3). They also often lack the authority and power to enforce changes in the work of Agency staff. Indeed, as one WID consultant said,

³¹ Within CIDA, each bilateral project team must engage a PRO (i.e. sectoral expert). This means that for an agricultural project the PRO will be an agricultural specialist, who will advise the team on the issues that must be considered in project design, implementation, and evaluation. For WID-specific projects a staff person from the WID Directorate would assume the role of the PRO. In addition, if the project is predominantly an agricultural project with a WID component, then a WID specialist is required as a SRO or secondary resource officer. Likewise, if there is a women's agricultural project, the WID Directorate person is assigned as the PRO and the agriculturalist becomes the SRO (Interview 1992C).

³² In 1986 when the WID Plan of Action was being created, WID specialists felt that it was very important to create structural entry points for WID in CIDA operations (Interviews 1992D, 1992G). The PRO/SRO function was considered a very important means of monitoring WID at the project level. Today, it is expected that WID is a more integrated feature of policy, program, and project planning, and thus the WID Directorate is encouraging staff in bilateral branches to become their 'own' WID experts (This is also due to a lack of staff in the WID Directorate to assume this position). Presently, it is felt that the PRO/SRO function is ultimately becoming redundant and will be disbanded in the near future (Interviews 1992).

The problem is, that they have done all of this with consultants...you don't have any mechanism for a staff person to be sitting on committees supporting certain issues...I can't do it. I'm not even **allowed** on certain committees and in general, the word of a consultant: I mean you need two consultants for every staff person (Interview 1992J).

A dependency on consultants to integrate WID into CIDA operations also is potentially threatening to the sustainability of WID both in the short and long-term. Because the Agency is relying on consultants to act as "pressure points" (Interview 1992I) for WID within CIDA, the skills that Agency staff need to operationalize WID in their work, such as gender analysis, are not being developed. Therefore, although it was originally intended that WID consultants would provide support to the Agency in the operationalization of WID, it appears as though private consultants have become the mainstay of WID, both within the WID Directorate and the Agency as a whole. This has only worked to marginalize WID further in mainstream Agency operations.

The isolated position of the WSC and the WID Directorate, both structurally and vocally in the larger Agency discourse, has meant that these support structures have done little to ensure that WID is integrated into CIDA's mainstream operations. Indeed, while the WSC is comprised of Agency staff, its isolation from mainstream policy-making bodies has hindered its ability to lobby effectively for changes in Agency policy and structures that would support the integration of WID. In addition, the WID Directorate's chronic shortage of resources and staff has hindered its ability to act as an effective corporate monitoring body and resource centre for WID. Finally, the heavy reliance on consultants to facilitate the integration of WID has pushed CIDA's WID knowledge-base into the private sector, further reinforcing the fact that

ownership of the discourse is not in the hands of CIDA staff. As we will see, this reliance on outside WID 'professionals' also has undermined the value of CIDA's WID training as a necessary Agency tool. The dependence on WID consultants to 'do the WID work,' has perpetuated WID apathy within the Agency and reduced the ability of WID and southern women to become an integral part of CIDA's mainstream development discourse.

CIDA's WID training as a tool to operationalize WID

One of the priority objectives of the 1986 WID Plan of Action was to highlight WID training as a mandatory requirement for all Agency staff (CIDA 1986a:6). The expectation was that by developing a specific WID training program and various bureaucratic tools to facilitate the integration of WID, CIDA staff would internalize a "WID analytic framework" (CIDA 1986a:5) and WID would become a 'reflex response' for all Agency staff.

In 1986, CIDA adopted the Women in Development course developed by Harvard University as its Agency WID training tool (DWCS 1991:4). Based on the Harvard Business School case study method, the course is designed to provide CIDA officers with the conceptual tools and analytic skills needed to incorporate a consideration of women into policy, program, and project planning. Given over a two and a half day period, the course begins by outlining the WID 'analytical framework' created by Catherine Overholt, Mary Anderson, Kathleen Cloud, and James Austin for USAID. The framework focuses on the need for increased baseline data collection on

women, and on analyzing these data to ensure that the differential impacts of projects on men and women are being considered (CIDA 1986d:2/2).

The framework proposes four inter-related procedures for analyzing women's roles in the community: 1) an activity profile that looks at the gender-based division of labour; 2) the access and control profile that determines what resources women and men are capable of commanding to carry out their activities; 3) factor analysis to determine the differential opportunities and constraints for women and men in their ability to participate and benefit from projects; and 4) project cycle analysis, which examines the project in light of the foregoing data and the positive and negative impacts that the project will have on women (CIDA 1986d:2/2-2/15). In the second portion of the training session, participants apply the analytical framework to three project case studies (CIDA 1986d:1/1).

The Harvard framework is useful in illustrating the importance of sex-disaggregated data and analysis. It also highlights connections between the productive and reproductive activities of women and how these combine with other factors to affect women's access and control over resources in the production of goods and services. However, there are several shortcomings in the Harvard WID training approach.

One of the main problems lies with the conceptual underpinnings of the Harvard course which centre around an implicit acceptance of 'development from above.' The analysis presents externally-led development initiatives as the sole means of interacting with southern women, and therefore focuses only on the way in which

development practitioners can reduce the negative impacts of projects on women in the 'target' area. As in CIDA's 1984 WID policy, southern women are conceptualized as passive recipients of an externally-driven aid process. There is little emphasis on building the analytical skills or tools needed to assist CIDA staff in allowing southern women to define their own needs and develop their own strategies for changing their condition and position within society. As one training report stated,

The analytical framework emphasizes the importance of working with partners....however, it does not provide instructions for identifying partners nor for engaging in a dialogue (DWCS 1991:6).

The Harvard WID training course clearly does little to facilitate a space for southern women's participation in CIDA initiatives.

In addition, while the WID analytic framework is an important tool for project planners, it is not directly relevant to the administrative nature of the work conducted by CIDA staff. The skills taught in the Harvard WID course are geared specifically towards project planners and, therefore, are not well suited to the specific needs of CIDA officers who generally 'manage' projects at an administrative level. As one senior officer stated,

In theory you [are] supposed to be able to apply the framework, but it is not a bureaucrat's tool. It is an anthropological field tool and nobody in this agency does anthropological field work. So as a tool that I could use sitting behind my desk - it [isn't] (Interview 1992G).

In response to requests from Agency staff for more concrete, CIDA-specific WID tools, CIDA commissioned the *Coady International Institute*, in 1990, to develop a complementary course on social-gender analysis. It was felt that this voluntary course would provide Agency staff with more comprehensive skills to integrate WID

and other social issues (e.g. human rights and the environment) into CIDA activities (Stuart 1992:1).

The Social-Gender Analysis course (SGA) uses the analytical framework developed by gender and development (GAD) theorists, encouraging CIDA officers to look at development from a holistic, sustainable perspective. It also is tied closely to CIDA's **Sharing Our Future** strategy and uses actual CIDA case studies to illustrate how development projects can work to reinforce or breakdown different systemic inequalities that exist within societies.

Unlike the Harvard WID course, the SGA course is not concerned with merely ensuring that "project personnel are sufficiently aware of and sympathetic towards women's needs" (CIDA 1986d:2/14). From the outset, it highlights the need to build "knowledge, attitudes and skills" within the Agency so that development officers systematically can learn to ask and answer the question "development for whom?" (CIDA 1990d:1). The focus, therefore, is on providing CIDA officers with the tools to work with both women and men to alter the conditions that are disadvantaging them within their societies. The SGA handbook states that "participation is about power," and that development is about increasing the power of the disadvantaged within society (CIDA 1990c:17).

The SGA approach also calls for a "learning model or research/action approach" to development that draws on participatory research techniques. The idea is to allow for a blending of local "intuitive" knowledge with the insights and analysis of CIDA staff during project planning and implementation (CIDA 1990c:28-29). The

SGA approach, therefore, teaches CIDA officers how to recognize and monitor different levels and indicators of participation, and explicitly, 'how to' mobilize people to participate genuinely in CIDA development initiatives (CIDA 1990c:21-24). Overall, 'development' is presented as a flexible, dynamic, and iterative process, as opposed to a static blueprint for change.

The SGA course is more encompassing and progressive in its conceptualization of WID/gender issues than the Harvard WID training course. It also is a more useful 'tool' for gender analysis. However, its major shortcoming, in the context of CIDA, is precisely the environment in which it has to operate. In short, the SGA course proposes a framework of analysis that is a radical and innovative departure from mainstream CIDA thinking. As a result, it requires that CIDA officers undergo a major conceptual re-orientation in thinking and a complete revision of existing work habits, in the span of the two day course. As one participant stated,

For some reason, I guess it's understandable, but if I take a 3 or 5 day seminar on agriculture I am not seen as an agricultural specialist. But somehow, if I take a few seminars on gender issues, I can become or be perceived as a gender specialist (Interview 1992F).

Changing minds and work habits at CIDA is complicated further by the Agency's bureaucratic culture where deviations from the 'normal' work routine are not encouraged. Indeed, the Secor Report acknowledged that the administrative nature of the work at CIDA and the government's intolerance for error has led to the development of a "risk-averse, overly cautious bureaucratic attitude" (Secor 1991b:11/2) within CIDA, and "the presence of a group think syndrome whereby prevalent, historically established views are not easily challenged, and innovation is

tolerated only at the margins" (Secor 1991b:18/2). Furthermore, bureaucratic pressures on CIDA staff to disburse funds quickly, often means that WID/social-gender analysis is neglected in the work of CIDA staff (Stuart 1992:5, see also CIDA 1991d:10). As Reiky Stuart states,

Ensuring that the poor are strengthened, ensuring that women are not worse off because of a project means working with people, not sacks of cement or rolls of paper. People take time and skill and care, which are not rewarded, either for CEAs [Canadian Executing Agencies] or for CIDA project managers. It requires extra effort, commitment and often hours of overtime and may not even be visible, much less commended. Ability in projecting and juggling financial flows seems to be a more important indicator of success - in part because it is more readily visible and commendable (1992:5).³³

Finally, regardless of how comprehensive the training course is, systemic discrimination against women is not rational and academic, nor can it be 'unlearned' in a day (Stuart 1992:3-4). It is a "visceral" (Interview 1992G) issue that centres on personal belief-systems and values that often are not dealt with openly in the workplace (Stuart 1992:4). Thus, even the most progressive training course on gender issues may not result in a qualitative shift in the level of understanding of course participants. When this is combined with the fact that Agency staff are operating in an environment that does not provide the time, space, or incentive for rigorous WID/social-gender analysis to occur, it becomes obvious that CIDA's WID/SGA training is limited in its ability to facilitate a greater integration of WID/gender issues

³³ In May 1991, CIDA published a strategy that outlined the skills needed for CIDA staff in the 1990s. The focus is on creating good program managers. In the list of courses recommended for CIDA staff: six are economics, two business/public administration, one sociology, one geography, and one regional political/geographic studies. Social/gender analysis appears only as an option for officers interested in development analysis as opposed to a career in management (CIDA 1991e:table 2).

into Agency activities.³⁴

Given the above environment and the fact that there is virtually no incentive structure within the Agency to rationalize why a participatory approach to development with women will enhance the quality and sustainability of CIDA interventions, WID/SGA training often is perceived as simply not relevant. As one WID co-ordinator stated,

Right now there is very little incentive in the system. People don't get praised for what they do, they don't get any kudos for what they do and they are not punished if they don't do anything. So [WID] is totally voluntary at the moment (Interview 1992I).

The nature of the bureaucratic culture at CIDA, therefore, has been an important factor in marginalizing WID and southern women from the dominant development discourse.

WID in CIDA's bureaucratic project cycle

The knowledge and skills gained from WID/SGA training only will be implemented effectively if the bureaucratic processes are flexible enough to allow for innovative and participatory feedback from southern women. As we have seen, the bureaucratic culture at CIDA does not facilitate this process naturally. The 1986 WID Plan of Action, therefore, put certain bureaucratic safeguards in place to ensure that

³⁴ The preliminary findings of the 1991-92 Corporate WID evaluation reveal that in 1991, eighty percent of CIDA staff surveyed had taken the Harvard WID course. Interestingly, a formal evaluation or follow-up on the impacts that WID training has had on the work of CIDA officers has never been conducted (DWCS 1991:7). Therefore, it is difficult to determine how many people are utilizing the skills and knowledge gained from WID training (This information was released with the permission of CIDA's Evaluation branch).

WID is being considered in the bilateral project cycle. This section will look at whether one of these processes, the WID/PAM annex, has been effective in integrating WID into CIDA's daily operations, and whether it has provided southern women with a space to participate in the WID discourse. Finally, it is important to look at how the WID/PAM annex has shaped our knowledge of southern women.

At CIDA, much of our knowledge of southern women is determined through the processes of CIDA's bilateral project cycle. When project proposals are submitted to CIDA's bilateral desks they are reviewed by Agency project officers to ensure that they meet corporate policy requirements. At this time, proposals are studied for the way in which the project will impact on and encourage the participation of southern women. Ideally, if there is insufficient analysis in the project proposal (or if the impact of the project will disadvantage women), the proposal is returned to the executing agency and funds are held until more rigorous social-gender analysis is provided.

Aside from the WID/SGA training, created to assist CIDA staff in understanding the importance of social-gender analysis, the WID Directorate has created numerous resources and reference materials to illustrate how WID can be tightly woven into CIDA's project cycle (CIDA 1986c, 1989c, 1989f, Lalonde 1989). These documents outline ways of ensuring that women are 'considered' in project planning, yet they rarely discuss strategies for 'including' southern women in the definition and articulation of the project itself. Furthermore, while these documents are accessible within the Agency, there is no guarantee that they will be read and/or

applied in the work of CIDA staff. In short, there are virtually no **formal** spaces in the CIDA project cycle to allow southern women in the project area to participate in defining their roles or needs.

The only visible and mandatory procedure around WID that has been created by CIDA is a reminder to project officers to ensure that WID is being considered in bilateral project proposals. The reminder is in the form of a WID/PAM annex which is required at the approval stage of the bilateral project cycle.³⁵ The PAM (project approval memorandum) is the package of documents that summarize a project's goals and objectives for final CIDA approval. Essentially, it provides the rationale for how project will be implemented and managed, and how monies will be disbursed and evaluations conducted (CIDA 1989f:41). The WID annex to the PAM was created in 1986 as a means of ensuring that WID was being addressed in every project that CIDA approved. It was hoped that this would be an effective control for ensuring that project managers and team leaders do not let WID slip through the project cycle unnoticed. Its ability to do so however, has been questioned for numerous reasons.

Ideally, WID considerations and gender analysis should be enforced at every stage of a project's development, particularly in the initial feasibility studies of the project. Checking for a consideration of WID at the approval stage of a project often is too late in the project cycle from a development planning perspective (CIDA 1990b:33). If a gender-neutral population is assumed in the initial project

³⁵ The responsive branches in CIDA, that respond to funding requests from Canadian private businesses, non-governmental organizations, or partner institutions also have some form of checklist to ensure that policy issues such as human rights, the environment and WID are being considered in the project proposals.

identification phase, it is likely that women will be invisible in ensuing feasibility studies, workplans, project planning, and operationalization (CIDA 1989f:29-30). As one CIDA document states, "If WID has not been sufficiently integrated into the project before this point, it becomes extremely difficult to insert" (CIDA 1989f:41).

Another problem with using an 'annex' to weave WID into the bilateral project cycle is that, conceptually, it reinforces the notion of WID as an 'add-on' item to mainstream development activities which does little to qualitatively enhance the condition or position of southern women. As one CIDA officer stated,

Having a WID annex meant that women's issues were dealt with as an add-on. You developed a project and could spend millions of dollars on it and then throw a little bit of money at creating employment for women for a specified period of time and you could say that you've done your WID thing (Interview 1992H).

Finally, it appears as though the WID/PAM annex was created to expedite WID through the bureaucratic project cycle, as opposed to enhancing CIDA's knowledge and understanding of how southern women are participating in CIDA projects. This is evident from the fact that the WID/PAM annex is highly simplistic. In 1986, the WID/PAM annex was essentially a single page checklist that focused on quantifying and categorizing WID according to budget allocation and type of project (see Appendix 1). The "qualitative information" required by the form merely concerned the project's expected benefits to women, their participation in the project, and whether or not their interests had been considered. There was virtually no interest in the roles and needs of women in the project area. More importantly, all of this "qualitative" information was presented through check-marks in selected boxes. As a

result, the rigid classification system not only limited the choice of answers available, but also eliminated any detail beyond what could be conveyed in the additional two or three lines provided.

In 1989, the WID/PAM annex was revised (see Appendix 2). The new annex appears to be a slight improvement over the 1986 annex in that it has fewer spaces for check-marks and encourages project managers to expand their answers in text form. It also asks for more detailed explanations of how the project team has analyzed the benefits and barriers to the participation of women, and includes a section for outlining where WID expertise has been used in the project cycle. Unfortunately, however, the cluttering of detail and vague directions to project managers has the potential to undermine the annex's new and useful features. It also is based on a trust that project managers will take the time to formulate concrete and knowledgeable responses to its vague questions.³⁶ However, the most important shortcoming of the 1989 WID/PAM annex is the lack of detail concerning the way in which WID/social-gender analysis was conducted in the project area. While project managers are expected to identify the "WID expertise" used on the project, 'expertise' is defined very simply as "giving one or more individuals (male or female) the specific mandate to identify factors that favour, or hinder, women's access to economic, social and political resources" (see Appendix 2). The project manager is not required to identify the skills, experience, or qualifications of the individual conducting the SGA analysis,

³⁶ Interviews with CIDA officers and staff at Corporate Memory (the Agency cataloguing centre that receives all WID/PAM annexes) reveal that often WID/PAM annexes are not completed fully or accurately due to negligence on the part of staff, and the difficulty in quantifying WID information into the required categories.

or outline how these 'experts' went about analyzing the project's impact on women (i.e. interviews with women, surveys, or library research).

Clearly, the entire concept, structure, and content of the WID/PAM annex hinders its effectiveness as a process for genuinely integrating WID into CIDA projects. Because of its position in the project cycle, the analysis often occurs too late to genuinely enhance the position of women in the project area. Furthermore, the WID/PAM annex is not perceived or presented as a procedural mechanism for 'feeding-back' the roles and voices of southern women to project planners and CIDA staff. It has not been created to provide southern women with a space to be heard; it merely appears to be a tool to expedite WID through the bureaucratic process. The WID/PAM annex, therefore, appears to be no more than an "accountability checklist" for WID that offers no real assurance that WID/gender issues have been systematically considered in the project cycle (CIDA 1989f:41).

Overall, the training tools and processes put in place to operationalize CIDA's WID Policy clearly have not succeeded in making WID a 'reflex response' within the Agency. The limitations of the WID/PAM annex show that any gender analysis skills gained by CIDA officers in WID/SGA training often are undermined by the inflexible nature of the bureaucracy and the project cycle itself. Thus, while CIDA has invested considerable effort in educating its staff about the importance of integrating southern women into its development operations, CIDA's bureaucratic environment alone often directly limits their capacity to operationalize the WID policy.

Shaping our knowledge of southern women

As we have seen, the bureaucratic structures and processes put in place by CIDA to operationalize WID, reveal little about the actual lives of women in the project area. The reductionist way that the WID/PAM annex quantifies the subtle and complex realities of the lives of southern women, does little to enhance our knowledge of women of the south. Instead, this bureaucratic process **constructs** southern women as 'objects' of our knowledge and 'targets' of CIDA-directed aid initiatives. In this way, the operationalization of WID has not empowered southern women but **disempowered** them, by stripping them of their agency and denying their ability to control and define their own lives.

WID has not facilitated an interactive dialogue with southern women. Instead, the northern aid-experts that have defined CIDA's WID discourse have created a hierarchical power dynamic that has silenced the voices, histories, hopes, and challenges of women of the south. As Adele Mueller argues, WID has been perpetuated as a tool for ordering and structuring our knowledge of the south to facilitate relations of ruling and control (1987). WID has become part of the power dynamic that it was created to struggle against.

The gap between WID policy and practice: CIDA's failure to empower southern women

It is fine to have a theoretical document that you and I can understand... but if that document that is not clear, and not shared, and not understood, and not committed to, by the people that really have the responsibility to ensure that it

gets implemented - then putting an accountability mechanism in place is not going to create that sense of personal conviction (Interview 1992H).

For the language of a policy to speak, it must reflect the voices of the people that it will touch. The gap between the language of CIDA's WID policy and the actual operationalization of WID appears to stem from the fact that WID, very simply, is not a shared agenda: neither within the walls of CIDA, or in its relations with southern women. Not only is there little sense of 'ownership' of the policy amongst Agency staff, but more importantly, southern women are not being invited to own or contribute directly to the discourse. Thus, the WID structures, tools, and process put in place within the Agency to operationalize the 1984 WID policy will continue to fall short of their objectives as long as WID remains a reverse discourse within the Agency and the voices of southern women are not heard.

If CIDA's WID policy is genuinely to empower southern women, it will require a complete re-shaping and re-structuring of CIDA's dominant discourse to provide a space for southern women to contribute their experiences and knowledge to the development process. WID must be moved from the margins of the Agency, as a reverse discourse, to the centre of CIDA's dominant development discourse. Ultimately, this will require that CIDA re-shape the rigid, inflexible, bureaucratic processes that order and structure our knowledge of the south, to make 'development' a more participatory, creative, and iterative process. Finally, empowering southern women will mean a complete re-configuration of 'traditional' power relations and a reversal of roles between the aid-experts and aid-recipients. In short, southern women

must be allowed to speak as 'experts' in a development process that fundamentally is their own, and CIDA staff must begin to hear, record, and internalize the knowledge of southern women in their development initiatives.

The following chapter presents a case study of how CIDA's Bangladesh desk is re-conceptualizing the Agency's WID discourse to provide Bangladeshi women with a greater space to participate genuinely in CIDA initiatives. The Bangladesh desk has emerged as a role model within CIDA. In innovatively re-shaping Agency WID tools and processes, the desk has not only enhanced their knowledge of Bangladeshi women, but also directly empowered these women with the space to be heard.

CHAPTER 6: RE-SHAPING AND RE-POSITIONING CIDA'S WID DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY OF THE BANGLADESH DESK

This study has shown that if CIDA's WID discourse truly is to empower southern women, it must search for a new and innovative approaches to WID that are flexible, dynamic and grounded in the specific historical realities of the women that CIDA seeks to assist. CIDA's WID discourse, and the development process itself, must become more participatory by building upon CIDA's past 'lessons learned' with WID and incorporating the future visions of southern women. To infuse the necessary changes into the overall corporate structure at CIDA requires a monumental commitment on the part of CIDA's upper management and a complete re-orientation of CIDA priorities and processes. At the Agency-level, this change is not likely to occur overnight. In order for a transformation of this magnitude to occur, people will have to be convinced that a re-structuring of this type is for the better. CIDA management requires models and examples of how a change in the Agency WID discourse can enhance the quality and sustainability of its overall aid interventions. At the branch-level, individual desks and programs are beginning to provide CIDA with the models that it needs.

One of CIDA's bilateral desk's, the Bangladesh desk, has moved WID beyond the parameters of the Agency WID discourse. By re-defining CIDA's conceptualization of WID and re-shaping Agency WID tools and processes to meet their own country-specific needs, the Bangladesh desk has begun to transform WID from a marginalized theme within the Agency to an integral part of the mainstream

development discourse on the desk. This re-conceptualization of WID also has been effective in reducing the inherent tendency of WID to assume characteristics of the dominant discourse in its relations with southern women. Indeed, in re-shaping CIDA's WID discourse the Bangladesh desk has created a larger space for Bangladeshi women to participate in defining, contributing to, and managing the direction and focus of CIDA funded initiatives in Bangladesh.³⁷

It is important to consider the historical trends and the external factors that have shaped the focus of bilateral aid initiatives, particularly when looking at how WID has been interpreted and integrated on each desk. Simply to compare the number and type of WID projects on each country desk would not accurately reflect the emphasis that each desk is placing on WID. Furthermore, the Agency-wide classification of WID projects, undertaken by CIDA's Corporate Memory division, uses broad and ambiguous categories that often result in the misleading classification of WID projects.³⁸ This chapter, therefore, will look at the Bangladesh desk's

³⁷ The amount and focus of CIDA's bilateral assistance to Bangladesh has been dictated by the physical and economic needs of the country, and by priorities set by the Government of Bangladesh. Historically, CIDA's assistance has been focused in the areas of agriculture, water supply, rural development, railway transport, population programs, and energy. In addition, due to the country's vulnerability to floods, a large amount of aid money also has been dispersed directly to the government in the form of emergency relief and food aid. From 1972 to 1989, CIDA disbursed \$1.2 billion in bilateral aid to Bangladesh from a total of \$1.3 billion disbursed bilaterally, multilaterally, and towards linking Canadian and Bangladeshi private sector initiatives. Presently the desk is placing more of an emphasis on institutional development, rural poverty alleviation, assistance to women and destitute populations, food security, and balance-of-payments support for essential commodities (CIDA 1989g: 5).

³⁸ Corporate Memory classifies WID projects into three categories from WID/PAM annexes, however, the reductionist way in which they classify and categorize projects makes analysis from Corporate Memory statistics difficult. For example, in March 1992, Corporate Memory recorded that the Bangladesh desk had a total of 37 active projects with a WID component (see table 1). In contrast, the Kenya desk was recorded as having only 17 active WID projects. When compared with the Bangladesh desk, a larger proportion of the total budget figures in the Kenya projects were directed towards WID. One might assume

commitment to WID, not in the numbers and types of WID projects, but in terms of how the desk has translated CIDA's corporate WID policy into practice. It will focus on the shape that the WID discourse has taken on the Bangladesh desk, the level of enforcement of WID conditionality, and the innovative steps that the desk has taken to operationalize the WID policy.

The chapter will begin by looking briefly at past WID programming on the Bangladesh desk and how the desk, in 1990, began to re-conceptualize and re-position WID on the desk through the creation of a gender strategy. In order to illustrate how far the Bangladesh desk has progressed in its thinking around WID, select examples of the way that WID has been implemented on the Kenya desk are presented as a comparative measure.³⁹ The remainder of the chapter will focus on how the Bangladesh desk, in operationalizing the gender strategy, has begun to re-shape Agency WID structures, tools, and processes to allow Bangladeshi women a greater space in participating in the desk's mainstream development discourse.

that the Kenya desk is doing more for women than the Bangladesh desk. However, the (almost arbitrary) way in which WID projects are classified makes these statistic misleading. In Bangladesh, the Grameen Bank project provides small credit to rural farmers and landless peasants of whom 90% are women. Yet, Corporate Memory statistics reveal that the project has been classified as 'type three,' meaning that there is an unspecified portion of the budget allocated to WID and subsequently no recorded budget figures. Not only does the classification not reflect the actual participation of women in the project, but it also skews the overall WID budget figures for the Bangladesh desk.

³⁹ The Kenya desk's implementation of WID is representative of the standard application of CIDA's WID policy at the bilateral level.

Early WID programming on the Bangladesh desk

In 1990, the Bangladesh desk made a conscious decision to replace 'WID' with the concept of gender equity. This signalled a radical shift in the WID discourse on the desk and a break from the way in which the Agency conceptualized southern women. Prior to 1990, WID programming on the desk focused mainly on WID-specific projects geared towards women in their 'traditional' roles. These projects, however, frequently failed to meet their objectives due to an insufficient analysis of gender and class differences in Bangladesh and a failure to identify women's different practical and strategic needs to ensure their participation in the project (Wilson-Smillie, Eggen, and Shefali 1990a:16). Furthermore, the isolation of these projects from mainstream project activities often reduced their sustainability in the long term.

For example, early skills-training projects supported by CIDA often tended to focus on women's traditional skills, such as handiwork, which provided few returns for their labour-intensive nature. This narrow conceptualization of skills-training rarely assisted Bangladeshi women in meeting their long-term strategic needs. Indeed, these projects did little to address the ability of women to market the products that they produced, or to control the money earned from the sale of their work. In fact, where markets were accessible to women in Bangladesh it often was the men who sold the products, making it questionable as to whether women received any returns for their work at all (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:21). Other 'non-traditional' WID projects supported by CIDA, such as 'earthworks maintenance' or 'food-for-work'

projects, also frequently failed to provide women with sustainable and marketable skills to enhance their position within society once the funding was gone (Interview 1992H). Indeed, as one member of the desk said,

We provided a lot of money for women, but at the same time we were not concerned about empowerment or the capacity of women to change their lives through initiatives. We never really dealt with the status of women, the legal rights, the human rights behind the role of women in Bangladesh (Interview 1992U).

Another feature of early WID programming on the desk was the lack of a common framework for analyzing the position of women in Bangladeshi society. As a result, Canadian executing agencies (CEAs) and CIDA staff often were unfamiliar and inexperienced in conducting gender analysis, which resulted in the approval of project feasibility studies and impact assessments that virtually overlooked the effects of the project on women living in the target area (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:16-17). Many large-scale projects on the desk were regarded as 'gender-neutral' when, in fact, these projects had severe repercussions on the condition and position of women in the target area.

The introduction of electrified rice mills in Bangladesh is one example of how a seemingly 'gender-neutral' project systematically has displaced poor rural women from manual rice processing which was once their principal source of income and labour. While rural electrification was considered to be a necessary aspect of rural development, inadequate gender analysis in the project planning stage has meant that a large number of rural women have been displaced and disempowered. Had this been foreseen, CIDA may have been able to counter the negative effects on women and

create more sustainable income-earning projects for rural women in the affected areas (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:20).

Early programming and planning on the Bangladesh desk also rarely considered WID to be a cross-sectoral issue. As a result, CIDA lost the opportunity of co-ordinating and linking the delivery of services to women through different sector initiatives (i.e. population, agriculture, rural development, water resource management, and food aid projects). Nor was there a sharing of resources and information about the roles, needs, and initiatives of Bangladeshi women in these different sectors, or between CIDA and other donor agencies working in Bangladesh (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:20-21). An integrated and holistic analysis of women in Bangladeshi society was not being conducted or integrated into project and program planning.

The above issues were brought forward in 1989, after the desk funded a team of WID/gender specialists to study how WID had been operationalized in the field. These specialists recommended that the Bangladesh desk adopt a new framework of analysis for **all** programming activities to ensure that women were participating more fully in Bangladesh desk initiatives. The focus of their recommendations was on replacing the 'welfare approach' of WID with an integrated analysis of class and gender in Bangladesh. From these recommendations, the Bangladesh desk developed a gender strategy in 1990.

Re-conceptualizing WID: the Bangladesh gender strategy

The Bangladesh gender strategy essentially calls for a re-conceptualization of all desk project and programming activities from two perspectives: 1) in terms of their effectiveness in addressing gender equity (i.e. in absolute terms the project will not leave women worse off than men in their own social group or class); and 2) in terms of the project's transformatory potential for women (i.e. the extent to which the project works towards meeting women's strategic needs such as, improving their social status, economic empowerment, and social/political decision-making power) (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:33-35). It also emphasizes the need for consistent and ongoing social-gender analysis (SGA) training with all desk staff, and the importance of using these sessions to constantly upgrade the desk's baseline information on Bangladeshi women's grassroots initiatives. The objective is to ensure that the 'lessons learned' from CIDA's past experiences with Bangladeshi women are analyzed and shared between CIDA staff, CEAs, and other donor agencies involved in development programming in the country (CIDA 1992c:3-handouts). Finally, the gender strategy contains a detailed framework for implementation, with clear explanations of the strategy's objectives and flexible time-frames for their delivery.

Implementation of the gender strategy is to begin with a baseline phase that focuses on clarifying terms, gathering data, and researching gender relations in Bangladesh society. This is identified as an important first step towards beginning to restructure the desk's existing projects and programs to reflect the new focus on

gender equity (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:36). Phase one of the strategy (1990-95) is to be implemented concurrently with the baseline stage. It focuses on consolidating WID 'lessons learned' and training staff and CEAs on how to conceptualize and operationalize gender equity in project and program planning (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:36-41). Phase two of the strategy (1995-2000) will introduce new WID initiatives, geared towards in-country institutional strengthening, local training and research, and more innovative support for grassroots women's strategic initiatives. The third phase of the gender strategy (beyond the year 2000) will focus on exploring new and creative approaches to increasing gender equity in Bangladesh society (Wilson-Smillie et al. 1990a:43-45).

The Bangladesh gender strategy represents a significant departure from CIDA's 1984 WID policy and 1986 WID Plan of Action where southern women were conceptualized as 'agents and beneficiaries' of CIDA-defined initiatives. Indeed, one of the most significant aspects of the gender strategy is the re-conceptualization of WID in terms of 'gender equity.' This has shifted the focus of desk initiatives from ameliorating the condition of women, to improving the long-term, social-gender relations between men and women within society. The strategy also defines gender equity as a central and long-term planning priority that transcends all mainstream project and programming activities. In translating WID into gender equity, the desk has taken CIDA's marginalized WID discourse and transformed it into a central policy priority.

Secondly, the gender strategy gradually phases out CIDA's direct involvement

in 'promoting' WID/gender issues in Bangladesh and leans toward empowering local women and women's organizations with the resources to conduct and direct their own initiatives, training, advocacy and research. As the 1990 gender strategy states,

The core of CIDA's gender strategy requires that in all our work we take the time and effort to listen to the ideas and concerns of women and to plan for whatever initiatives we might take if we are to act as catalysts and supporters in their struggle for gender equity through empowerment (CIDA 1992e:1).

Unlike the corporate approach to WID, the Bangladesh gender strategy directly places the 'ownership' of the desk's WID discourse in the hands of southern women, as opposed to defining their needs and level of participation 'for' them. It focuses on nurturing and supporting the efforts of local Bangladeshi women (and men) in building a more equitable society. Ultimately, it is creating a formal space for southern women to participate as partners with CIDA in defining their own development needs and objectives.

By comparing Bangladesh's gender strategy to the WID strategy on the Kenya desk, we can see how far the Bangladesh desk has evolved in its approach to WID. The Kenya WID strategy, created in 1991, appears to be more of an exercise in articulating the Agency WID discourse, than a means of creating a space for Kenyan women to participate in shaping CIDA's WID initiatives. Unlike the Bangladesh desk, the language of the Kenya WID strategy appears to take a more responsive, as opposed to pro-active, approach to WID with its policy objectives couched in terms of support for Government of Kenya WID initiatives (Masia 1991a:9). At the program and project level, the objectives of the Kenya WID strategy strongly emulate the language of the 1984 WID policy, discussing the need to ensure that "both men and

women are appropriately involved as agents and beneficiaries of development co-operation, with particular emphasis on their economic roles" (Masia 1991a:10). While there is some discussion of the need to allow women to 'participate' in CIDA initiatives and to remove structural and legal barriers to women's access and participation in their communities, there are no specific strategies articulated to meet these objectives (Masia 1991a:11). The WID implementation strategy focuses on the need to increase policy-dialogue and training with the CEAs and the Kenyan Government, integrate WID more closely into project-cycle documents, increase sex-disaggregated data collection, and continue the use of small-scale, WID-specific initiatives to implement the goals and objectives of the WID strategy (Masia 1991:13-14). In addition, the Kenya strategy provides no time-frames or target-dates for realizing the strategy objectives.

The Kenya desk, therefore, has not used its WID strategy to incorporate WID into the mainstream discourse on the desk or define methods for including a space to integrate the knowledge and needs of local women into project and program planning. Indeed, beyond discussing the general need to consult Kenyan women in project planning and decision-making (Masia 1991a:18), local women are not empowered with the space or resources to control and direct their own development.

The following section will explore how the Bangladesh gender strategy has altered the WID discourse on the desk, looking specifically at the way in which it has re-shaped Agency WID structures, tools, and processes to facilitate this process.

Operationalizing the gender strategy

WID strategies created by bilateral desks must be based on the Country Policy Framework (CPF) which is the strategy that orients all funding activities approved by the desk. In the case of Bangladesh, the gender strategy clearly articulates and supports the goals and objectives of the CPF. The goal of the most recent policy framework (June 1992) is to focus Canada's assistance towards promoting "the transition of the Canada-Bangladesh relationship from one of dependence upon donors to one of greater self-reliance" (CIDA 1992f:7). As we have seen, this parallels the objectives of the gender strategy which strive to give Bangladeshi women greater control over the resources designated to assist them.

The manner in which the CPF denotes support for WID is an important indication of the position that WID, as a discourse, assumes on the desk. Because the CPF is a key planning document disseminated to partner governments, CEAs, and donor agencies, the way in which WID is presented reflects the level of conditionality being given to women and gender issues on the desk. In the Bangladesh CPF, one of the overall priority objectives is,

To strengthen the capacity of community based institutions to increase the productive capacity and empowerment of the rural poor, particularly women (CIDA 1992f:7).

To reach this objective the CPF discusses the need for tightly integrating the desk's priority issues (i.e. agricultural policy, family planning, health, gender issues, and poverty reduction) with those of the Government of Bangladesh to create a strong

focus for policy dialogue and aid conditionality. The level of commitment to gender equity that is defined in the Bangladesh CPF, therefore, is a radical departure from the way in which WID is presented in other desk CPFs. In general, while CIDA's WID objectives are often acknowledged in CPF's, it is rare that they are articulated beyond a cursory WID statement.⁴⁰

The Bangladesh CPF not only clearly defines and prioritizes the desk's gender strategy, but also discusses how the desk intends to implement it. Specifically it refers to: working with CEA's, donor consortia, and Bangladeshi institutions to sensitize them to gender issues and ensure that social-gender analysis is undertaken in their activities; promoting and supporting Bangladeshi initiatives which protect and improve the legal status of women; providing institutional support to strengthen the women's national machinery in Bangladesh; and assisting Bangladeshi women to move into professional policy-level and decision-making positions within the country (CIDA 1992e:9). By articulating the implementation strategy in the CPF, the Bangladesh desk is sending a strong message to partner organizations, CEAs, and the Bangladesh government about its obligation to working with southern women.

The Bangladesh desk has re-enforced its commitment to gender equity by ensuring that a consistent level of financial and staff support is present on the desk to ensure that gender equity is not marginalized in daily operations. Unlike other bilateral desks, the Bangladesh desk, since 1988, has consistently ensured that there is

⁴⁰ At present, the Kenya desk's CPF is not yet completed. The Country Program Review Update (1990) that guides the desk in its programming activities discusses the need for increased attention to WID and environmental issues in program design criteria and selection, however, there is no specific discussion on how the desk will approach or enforce this objective.

a WID co-ordinator/consultant working with project officers to integrate gender analysis into projects and programs on almost a full-time basis.⁴¹ This level of constant support is crucial in building a sense of 'ownership' around the desk's gender strategy. As one member of the Bangladesh team stated,

The main conduits of information from the program to the outside are the officers. Unless they know what they are saying, and unless we have a common understanding and a common approach, we are going to be telling different stories to different institutions and in the process everybody gets confused (Interview 1992U).

The desk also has re-framed the responsibilities of certain staff members to ensure that WID is considered as an integral priority item in policy discussions and project/program approval. While each staff member on the desk still has the individual responsibility for integrating WID/gender equity into their work, the desk also has appointed a staff person to be a WID project team leader (WID PTL) for the desk. This person has the overall responsibility for ensuring that gender equity is being considered in all desk initiatives from project planning to policy formulation. Having a staff person in this position ensures that special funds are retained on the desk to keep WID in place as a priority item (i.e. for funding a WID co-ordinator/consultant, implementing special projects etc.)(Interview 1992J).

Furthermore, the desk's WID PTL is the 'country program analyst' who is directly responsible for integrating and streamlining corporate policy issues to officers at the desk level. Thus, the creation of a WID PTL position has been a strategic move

⁴¹ Like other bilateral desks, the Bangladesh desk also has a WID Monitor at the Post and a person in the Canadian High Commission who is responsible for WID in the field.

towards ensuring that gender equity retains a central position in the dominant discourse on the desk.

Re-shaping CIDA's WID training tools

The Bangladesh desk has been the first amongst the bilateral desks to introduce a country-specific WID training program.⁴² Created specifically to assist in operationalizing the gender strategy, the objective of the training program is to enforce the fact that gender equity is not a voluntary item on the desk, but a key policy and funding imperative. The aim is to work with CEAs, partner organizations, and ultimately the government of Bangladesh to make the objectives of the gender strategy part of a shared agenda. Indeed, instead of being called a training course, it is formally referred to as a consultation/briefing module or consensus-building process. As a member of the Bangladesh desk said,

I think that the didactic concept of a training module - that you have something to tell somebody, that there is some **answer** to this **problem** that is gender and development - is not very useful for this kind of work. What you really need to do is find an excuse to sit around and talk....Yes, you talk about tools and methods, and you get people to use them during the course of the sessions; it is structured to that extent; but at the same time there is the sense that what they have to say is important too, which is why we want to call it a consultation. Part of what they will do during the course of the session is develop their own kind of strategies or strategy for the project....so that it becomes a process of change for them (Interview 1992J).

⁴² The Industrial Co-operation Division within the Canadian Partnership branch works in linking Canadian businesses and firms with overseas partners. It also has developed a WID training course geared specifically to meet the needs of Canadian private sector organizations unfamiliar with addressing issues of gender equity in their work.

The Bangladesh desk consultation/briefing module was first offered in September 1991 and still is considered to be in its experimental stages. It is designed to illustrate the requirements of the gender strategy, and can be used in either a one or two hour session, a half/full day course, or to focus on specific sectors or projects. The most important priority is that the facilitators clearly define the objectives and needs of the session **with** the participant group, so that it is relevant and useful to them. As the module states, "if it is not useful at a **project** level, for CEAs, it is not useful **at all**" (CIDA 1992d:5, emphasis in original). In addition, the desk encourages the WID co-ordinator and project team leader to be involved as facilitators, to promote the fact that the gender strategy is a shared, priority agenda on the desk (CIDA 1992d:2).

The briefing module itself is divided into two components. The baseline component introduces partner organizations to the rationale behind CIDA's WID policy. It then relates the desk's objective of gender equity explicitly to CIDA's Agency policy on sustainable development and the CPF (CIDA 1992d:7). The second component of the module is designed to provide executing agencies and planners with a collection of tools that they can use interchangeably to ensure that Bangladeshi women are consulted during the design and implementation of CIDA projects and programs. The tools presented range from analytical/conceptual frameworks (e.g. the SGA/GAD framework, differential impact analysis) to various operational tools (e.g. project cycle matrix, women's activity/access profiles). In addition, actual Bangladesh-specific sector/project case studies and summaries are presented to assist

participants in directly applying analytical and operational tools to the Bangladeshi situation. Most importantly, the desk has catalogued and recorded CIDA's past WID 'lessons learned' so that participants can recognize the value of experience as a tool (CIDA 1992d:9). The intention is to show participants that in undertaking a change of this magnitude, mistakes will be made. However, programming changes can only come about by **acting** on the policy objectives and beginning to listen to and consult with Bangladeshi women.⁴³

Overall, the Bangladesh briefing module is designed to be practical enough to respond to the very specific needs of different partners, while at the same time acting as a means of building a large, sector-specific data base on Bangladeshi women that is based on the experiences of CIDA staff, CEAs, and women in Bangladesh (CIDA 1992d:2). It is one innovation that the Bangladesh desk has created to bring the voices and needs of Bangladeshi women more vividly to the attention of donor governments, CEAs, and project planners.

Moving from dialogue to action

It has been a long and arduous process to get the actors, the key people, on board and at a common base of understanding and commitment and then to impart that kind of knowledge and commitment to Canadian consulting firms. This is another long process of working **with** them as opposed to just dumping

⁴³ In general, WID/gender training sessions offered by bilateral desks to CEAs and partner organizations tend to be adapted mini-sessions of the Harvard WID training or SGA course. If there is an attempt to fit the course to the specific desk or program often it is only with country-specific case studies. Therefore, in most bilateral WID training sessions the concepts remain broad and global in nature, rarely keying in on the most important needs of the participants. In addition, most of CIDA's WID training courses are facilitated by outside consultants and desk officers are not required to be present at the session

it in their laps and saying 'O.K., now you guys have to get on with it.' And it is you **guys**: it's guys not women that are the project directors. I would say about 90% of them or more with Canadian firms are men who don't see [WID] as being their responsibility (Interview 1992H).

The degree to which the Bangladesh desk staff have internalized the objectives of the Bangladesh gender strategy and translated the training tools into action at the project/program level is evident from an analysis of the way in which projects have evolved on the desk. The persistence that desk staff have shown around the issue of WID/gender equity is clearly evident from the evolution of one large project, in a 'non-WID traditional' programming area. From an analysis of project documentation submitted to CIDA from 1988-1991, one can see that there has been a progressive evolution in the conceptualization of WID/gender issues on the part of the CEA, to the point where social-gender analysis has become a key factor in defining the way in which the project will be designed and implemented.⁴⁴

The original technical proposal for the project in 1988 stated that WID would be addressed during the project's development, yet, further project documentation revealed that few resources actually were committed to meeting this end. While the proposal stated that a social development/WID specialist would be hired to analyze the impacts of the project on women, the qualifications and terms of reference for this position were vague. The proposal merely stated that the specialist was to 'advise' on the implementation of WID and assist in co-ordinating the efforts of the local NGO selected to promote and monitor the 'participation' of women. Furthermore, this

⁴⁴ The following information has been taken from select project documents. Significant details can not be revealed due to the need to protect confidentiality.

person was only scheduled to be in the field over the five year project span, for two months: once at the end of the first year and again at the beginning of year three.

Due to the perseverance of the project team leader and the WID co-ordinator on the desk, the CEA responsible for the project was forced to make significant revisions in its approach to WID. In this case, this meant defining precisely the role and objectives of the gender specialist and how these would fit into the larger project plan. By 1991, the draft workplan for the project had evolved to include an integral place for a 'qualified' gender specialist. This person was to conduct a reconnaissance mission of the region to collect information on the local community which included conducting six locational studies to determine the potential impacts of the project on gender relations in each area. Furthermore, the workplan specifically stated that the locational studies were to be undertaken with the assistance of local Bangladeshi researchers (male and female) and cover issues such as: the impact of the project on land ownership, distribution, and tenure; the gendered allocation of resources; transport; employment and migration; sex-segregated activities within homesteads; and the environment as food and fuel. The studies also specifically were to analyze the different sex-disaggregated roles and needs of the rural poor. Lastly, the analysis of the gender specialist would be used by the project team to create a WID action plan that would become integrated into the overall long-term programming framework for the project. Overall, the gender specialist would spend nine months of the first year in the field, which was a substantial increase over the one month of work allocated to the WID specialist in the original project proposal.

While this project is not necessarily indicative of the level of gender analysis conducted on all Bangladesh desk projects, it does reveal the extent to which one project officer (in a 'non-WID traditional' field) has operationalized the desk's gender strategy by persistently enforcing a strong conditionality around gender equity. As one project officer stated,

It's a question of trying to be consistent in the messages that we're giving, in being persistent and not backing off when people say we can't find those resources either in Canada or overseas, or it's imposing on Bangladeshi society. The convenient excuse when you're talking an Asian/Muslim society or an African patriarchal society is to say that we have to be culturally sensitive and respect it so we shouldn't be doing this. To me that is denying the human rights of 50% of the population and using a scapegoat of cultural sensitivity as a way of avoiding it because it is a sensitive issue to deal with (Interview 1992H).

The level of conditionality around gender equity shown by the Bangladesh desk appears to be higher than on other bilateral desks within CIDA. For example, in 1991, the Kenya desk produced a binder of 'WID recommendations' based on a review of specific Kenya desk projects. As a complement to the WID strategy, this binder should have reflected how WID was being operationalized on the desk. However, a review of this binder reveals that in many cases, recommendations for WID interventions mirrored the strategies outlined to 'integrate' WID in the 1986 WID Plan of Action. Indeed, for all of the projects reviewed in the binder, the recommendations for implementing WID/gender analysis focused on one of the following: increasing SGA training for CEAs and project participants, highlighting WID in terms of reference and evaluation agreements, drawing more frequently from sector-specific WID strategies created by CIDA's WID Directorate, or gathering more sex-

disaggregated base-line data. There were few references to the specific changes needed in each individual project, nor was there any indication that these changes were required before further funding was dispersed. Thus, WID clearly is not being discussed at the same level as on the Bangladesh desk. Furthermore, it does not appear to be a central feature of the Kenya desk's discourse on conditionality.

The final innovation that the Bangladesh desk has used to reach and empower Bangladeshi women is the creation of the Gender Fund. This small fund (\$500,000 over three years) was approved by the Country Program Director in 1991 and has been created specifically to channel resources to local grassroots women's organizations. In the past, CIDA has dealt with several large Bangladeshi NGOs that claim to work 'on behalf' of rural women. Yet CIDA rarely has been able to put funds directly into the hands of local rural women to support their own initiatives (Interview 1992J). Although each bilateral desk has a Canada Fund that often supports local grassroots women's initiatives, the objective of the Gender Fund is to move beyond the funding of WID-specific projects.⁴⁵ The goal of the Gender Fund is,

To act as a catalytic force to promote the development of gender initiatives by government, non-government as well as private organizations concerned with women's development in Bangladesh (Bangladesh project file).

It also places special emphasis on the funding of "progressive women's groups that

⁴⁵ On most bilateral desks within CIDA the Canada Fund is used to support local, grass-roots initiatives, predominately projects for women. In 1991-92, 66% of all Canada Fund grants on the Bangladesh desk went to local NGOs and women's groups for projects created to directly support women. In most cases, however, funding is project-specific and targeted towards income-generating projects that do little to emancipate women from their 'traditional' roles in society. Projects such as, rabbit and poultry co-operatives, tree-planting projects, and women's education and training centres (sewing and knitting) were funded by the Bangladesh Canada Fund in 1990-91.

find it difficult to receive sponsorship from other sources" (Bangladesh project file).

The Bangladesh Gender Fund is a departure from 'traditional' bilateral funding precisely because **project** sustainability is not an issue. On the contrary, the Fund emphasizes the sustainability of **results**. The goal is to fund local initiatives that will explicitly empower women in their local communities. This could include anything from institutional support for training, research, or workshops to supporting local women's groups efforts to publish pamphlets on issues of violence against women (Interview 1992J). In addition, the Fund also will assist Bangladeshi women's organizations to link and network with other women's groups nationally and internationally, particularly in the support for policy and/or legislative reform for women, and in linking issues concerning women and the environment in the Bangladeshi context. Finally, the Fund is set up to be administered at the post by a project selection committee comprised of one CIDA field officer and a team of Bangladeshi women from strategic positions within the Bangladesh private sector and NGO community. In effect, the Fund has been designed as a way of working directly with Bangladeshi women from the bottom and the top. Its specific objective is to bring women's voices up through the system and then use these locally-created alternatives to challenge the government's position on gender issues (Interview 1992U).

The concept of the Gender Fund created by the Bangladesh desk is unique in that it provides a space for channelling resources directly to local Bangladeshi women to start and support their own initiatives to empower themselves. It provides CIDA

with an important opportunity to make contact with grassroots women's organizations that it has not been able to reach before. As such, it also is a learning opportunity for CIDA, to discover what Bangladeshi women are doing in their local communities to affect change, where their priorities are, and how CIDA can provide support (Interview 1992J).

Re-positioning the discourse to empower Bangladeshi women

In comparison with other bilateral desks, the Bangladesh desk has made an exemplary effort to re-define CIDA's WID discourse to work more constructively towards empowering Bangladeshi women. Not only has it integrated gender equity into the dominant discourse as a key funding priority, but it also has re-shaped CIDA's WID tools and processes to make the concept more understandable and accessible to CEAs and Bangladeshi partners organizations. By consistently emphasizing gender equity as a priority for CIDA funding, the Bangladesh desk has begun to open up a space for Bangladeshi women to be heard. Not only are local women participating in defining the shape of CIDA interventions in their communities, but they also are beginning to articulate how CIDA funds should be used. As one person on the Bangladesh desk said,

It is a risky thing to do because we come from a government or a bilateral type of tradition, but I think if we are really going to look at participatory development and if we are really going to change systems, you have to do it in a participatory way. It makes life more complicated, but at the same time the effectiveness of our interventions is really enhanced (Interview 1992U).

In addition, there is always the problem that changes in the discourse will not translate well into changes in practice. The difficulties that the desk has experienced in changing attitudes and work habits at CIDA headquarters have been magnified considerably outside the walls of the Agency. As one member of the desk said,

I mean people laugh less about it then they used to, but that used to be the biggest problem. In Bangladesh it is quite hard to get people to take it seriously - to get men to take it seriously (Interview 1992J).

The test, therefore, will be to wait and see whether the desk's efforts to educate CEAs, partner organizations, and the Bangladeshi government to the benefits of working with southern women results in more sustainable development initiatives. For other divisions within CIDA, it also will be important to learn from and watch the initiatives taken by the Bangladesh desk. Indeed, as one WID consultant said,

Even in terms of the Bangladesh strategy, what we don't have right now are really good examples of how this whole attention to WID and gender makes a development program work. If in five years time people could look at the Bangladesh program and see that its whole development track record and the nature of its projects were particularly successful because they had done all of this innovative stuff with women - that is when things are going to start to change (Interview 1992I).

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

Working with women through policy analysis: moving from there to here

I like to think that everyone experiences in their life, a moment or a memory that drives them to pursue a certain path or a certain dream. My own desire to work in 'development,' and particularly with southern women, grew as I did from the experiences that I had and the friendships that I made during a six month volunteer placement in a small rural village in the Fiji Islands.⁴⁶ What so impressed me about the Fijian women with whom I lived was their inner strength, pride, and vitality, and their fierce self-reliance and independence. I went and left feeling that I had much to learn from them.

When I returned to Canada and started looking seriously at the possibilities of working with southern women, I began to feel as though something was amiss. The literature that I obtained from CIDA and other non-governmental organizations did little to enlighten me about the work that southern women were undertaking to strengthen and improve their lives and communities. It appeared to focus more on the work that southern women were doing on Canadian-initiated development projects. The images of the women whom I lived with in Fiji did not seem to fit into this picture. These women did not need to be 'integrated' into the development process as 'agents and beneficiaries' - in my experience they were the agents of development,

⁴⁶ In 1988-89, I spent six months in the Fiji Islands as a volunteer with Canadian Crossroads International.

and without their work nobody would benefit in the household or the community. CIDA's WID mandate to "foster the active participation of women in the development process" seemed rather paradoxical from the very limited knowledge that I had of women in the south (CIDA 1986a:2).

As I began to read more, I became increasingly intrigued by the discourse that surrounded CIDA's effort to 'incorporate' women and WID into the development agenda. I began to realize that part of my unease with WID was due to the language that was being used, that presented southern women as passive recipients in a development process that was not their own. This seemed to contradict the knowledge that I had gained about women's roles and responsibilities in the Fiji Islands. The perception of southern women that was conveyed through the WID literature did not mesh with what I had experienced in reality.

I decided to look more closely into what CIDA was doing with WID and I started to feel even more detached from the southern women that had inspired me to pursue this work. As my research evolved, I felt further and further removed from their world. Slowly, I began to realize that a great deal of this was a result of the WID discourse itself. The language and conceptualization of WID was separating me emotionally, physically, and intellectually from southern women. WID discourse was shaping my knowledge of southern women as a homogeneous group of overburdened souls, desperate for 'relief' in the form of labour-saving projects and income-generating initiatives. One could see how CIDA had evolved in its thinking about how to 'help' these women, yet it was difficult to find literature that documented the

voices and requests of the women that CIDA wanted to help. I began to wonder just how involved southern women were in creating these projects. Were these projects what they really wanted and needed? Why was it so difficult to find the answers to these questions?

My personal experiences with southern women and the contradictions that I encountered in CIDA's WID discourse were the basis for this study. My experience in Fiji had taught me that I had much to learn about being a woman in different cultures, about the bounds of international feminism, and about the parameters of cultural sensitivity. I discovered my own northern cultural and academic biases. Most importantly, I learned that one of the most detrimental traits that I could have as a 'development worker' was to believe that I was right. People of the south can speak and act for themselves and our role should be to listen.

With hindsight, my own unease around WID was illustrating the powerful way in which discourse shapes knowledge and defines power relations. In this case, CIDA's WID discourse was excluding the voices and material reality of women in the south. It was disempowering these women by defining the discourse for them and rendering them invisible in the process. Southern women were not being given the space to speak for themselves.

As this study has shown, if CIDA is truly concerned with 'assisting' women of the south, it must give these women the power to define their own realities, and their own needs and strategies for change. WID must become a shared discourse, not only amongst CIDA staff, but also amongst and between CIDA staff and southern women.

For generations, women of the south have led and participated in the development of their communities and countries. It is time therefore, for southern women to share their histories and their knowledge with 'development' agencies such as CIDA, and time also, for CIDA to let them do so. If CIDA is truly to engage in a partnership with southern women, it must begin to transform the rigid, inflexible, bureaucratic processes that order and structure our knowledge of the south, so that the lost knowledge of southern women can be reclaimed and heard. CIDA must relinquish order and expediency, for diversity and creativity. Above all, if true 'development' is to occur CIDA, must begin to take the time to listen.

This thesis has been an attempt to uncover the silences in CIDA's WID discourse, and to prod CIDA to reflect upon why the diverse and robust voices of southern women are not being heard. It has not been an attempt to define strategies for change, but to advocate clearly the necessity of change. In considering how to move forward, I believe it is important to take the time to stand back and look at where we have come and where we are headed. This often requires acknowledging our mistakes and revising past goals. In the case of WID, it has been important for northern feminists to look closely at the discourses that we are creating and to reflect on who is shaping and creating the discourse (and the political agenda) for whom? By demystifying WID, we can expose the shortcomings and contradictions of a discourse created by northern feminists, and a dynamic and creative learning process can begin.

Ifi Amadiume believes that if northern development workers really want to assist southern women, they must relinquish their hegemonic control of the

development discourse and share the power to name, define, and articulate solutions to southern 'problems' with the people of the south (1987). Southern women have long been exposing the contradictions in their societies, recording their own social histories, lobbying governments for change, and positively challenging discrimination against women in their quest for safer, healthier and more equitable communities. She feels that it is time for northern women to halt in their criticism and definition of southern structures and begin to look critically at the way in which their own social reality has been defined. As Amadiume says,

This is the monitoring of policies and activities of international development agencies, exposing their ethnocentric bias. In this way [northern women] would be working within the culture they know best - their own (1987:10).

Amadiume's words are poignant in terms of my own 'development' experience in the Fiji Islands. When I realized that I could never completely know what it meant to be a woman in another culture, I wondered how I would ever be able to work with women in the south. In many ways, the writing of this thesis has helped me to understand what I perceive to be my role in this process. It took my very intense, emotional experience and transformed into an academic one and then brought me, in the end, back to where I began. As I finish this study, I feel very strongly that I have been brought back, full circle, into close solidarity with the southern women that helped to shape my life. This thesis is my attempt to work from here to ensure that the songs, stories, struggles and victories of all southern women can be heard.

TABLE 1

TABLE 1 - PERCENTAGE OF WID PROJECTS CATEGORIZED BY CODE ON THE BANGLADESH AND KENYA DESK

BILATERAL DESK	TOTAL # OF PROJECTS WITH WID COMPONENT	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	UNCLASSIFIED	WID BUDGET AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PROJECT BUDGET
BANGLADESH	37	8%	27%	30%	35%	8.9%
KENYA	17	29%	35%	24%	12%	16.0%

Source: CIDA Corporate Memory. Corporate memory classifies WID projects into three categories from the WID/PAM annexes. Projects classified as code 1 have 100% of the total budget targeted towards women (i.e. women cooperatives, scholarship and training programs for women). Code 2 WID projects have only a certain specified portion of the budget allocated to WID (i.e. social forestry projects, institutional support) and code 3 projects have an unspecified portion of the total budget allocated to WID (i.e. roads, water management). As a result, code 3 and unclassified projects have no WID budget figures.

The classification of projects will depend on how the project officer has completed the WID/Pam annex. Due to the nature of the annex, WID budget figures often are arbitrarily allocated to projects purely for classification purposes. If the WID/PAM annex is not completed thoroughly, then the Corporate Memory analysts will classify the project as either, WID code 3 or unclassified.

FIGURE 1

APPENDIX 1

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID) — PAM ANNEX

1. CLASSIFICATION DU PROJET — PROJECT CLASSIFICATION

a) TYPE DE PROJET (cocher un seul type) — WID PROJECT TYPE (check one only)

☐ TYPE I — aucune partie des fonds du projet allouée à l'IFD
 no project funds allocated to WID

☐ TYPE II — une partie clairement identifiable du budget allouée à des composantes ou activités d'IFD
 portion of budget allocated exclusively to WID components or activities

☒ TYPE III — aucune partie clairement identifiable du budget allouée à l'IFD
 no portion of budget allocated exclusively to WID

b) SECTEUR DE L'IFD (TYPES I et II et s'il y a lieu TYPE III) — WID SECTOR (TYPES I, II, and if applicable TYPE III)

 ● Inscrire dans les cases les codes qui correspondent le mieux au projet (maximum trois codes)
 Provide the codes to a maximum of three that best describe the project

 CODES — par ordre d'importance décroissante (voir au verso)
 in descending order of importance (see reverse)

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2. DONNÉES FINANCIÈRES (TYPE II seulement) — FINANCIAL INFORMATION (TYPE II only)

 BUDGET IFD — partie du budget réservée à des composantes ou activités d'IFD
 WID BUDGET — portion of project budget allocated to WID components or activities

année year									TOTAL
budget \$0001									

3. DONNÉES D'ORDRE QUALITATIF — QUALITATIVE INFORMATION

a) RETOMBÉES PRÉVUES POUR LES FEMMES — EXPECTED BENEFITS TO WOMEN (TYPE I et III)

 ● Taille approximative de la population cible
 approximate size of target population

 ● Les femmes bénéficieront-elles directement du projet?
 Will women benefit directly from project?

☐ NON
 NO

☐ OUI
 YES

 pourcentage estimé
 des femmes bénéficiaires
 estimated percentage
 of women beneficiaries

 ● Les femmes bénéficieront-elles indirectement du projet?
 Will women benefit indirectly from project?

☐ NON
 NO

☐ OUI
 YES

< 5%	5-10%	11-25%	26-50%
------	-------	--------	--------

 Si oui, préciser
 if yes, specify

b) PARTICIPATION DES FEMMES (cocher toutes les cases appropriées) — PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN (check all that apply)

☐ éducation/préparation
 education/preparation

☐ programmes de bourses
 scholarship programs

☐ gestion/coordination
 management/administration

☐ autres (préciser)
 other (specify)

☐ consultation
 consultation

c) PRISE EN CONSIDÉRATION DES INTÉRÊTS DES FEMMES — CONSIDERATION OF WOMEN'S INTERESTS

 ● consultations auprès des femmes
 consultation of women

 ● effets négatifs possibles sur les femmes
 negative impacts on women

☐ OUI (comment)
 YES (comment)

☐ NON (donner les raisons)
 NO (give reasons)

☐ aucun
 none

 mesures prises pour réduire au minimum les effets négatifs
 measures to minimize maximum & effects

CLASSIFICATION DES PROJETS/COMPONENTES/ACTIVITES POUR LES FEMMES
CLASSIFICATION OF PROJECTS/COMPONENTS/ACTIVITIES FOR WOMEN

1.1	CODE
1. AMELIORATION DE LA SITUATION FINANCIERE DES FEMMES	1.0 ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT
1.1 Activités génératrices	1.1 Income generating activities
e.g. agriculture, pêche, foresterie, industrie, services, mise en marché, secteur informel, etc.	e.g. agriculture, fisheries, forestry, industry, business, marketing, informal sectors
1.2 Emploi	1.2 Employment
postes rémunérés dans tous les secteurs, amélioration des conditions de travail, etc.	e.g. salaried positions in all sectors, improved working conditions
1.3 Crédit	1.3 Credit
Women's World Banking, mécanismes nationaux, fonds adaptés aux besoins des femmes	e.g. Women's World Banking, national credit systems suited to women
2. SOUTIEN DU TRAVAIL DOMESTIQUE	2.0 SUPPORT FOR HOUSEHOLD TASKS
2.1 Infrastructures allégeant le fardeau domestique	2.1 Labour saving infrastructures
accès aux sources d'eau, énergie, électrification, des habitations, moyens de communication, etc.	e.g. improved access to water supplies, energy, home electrification, communications
2.2 Soutien du travail domestique	2.2 Support for Household tasks
activités, dont les femmes sont traditionnellement responsables, comme la culture de légumes de terre, familial, la préparation des aliments, les soins des enfants et des autres membres de la famille	e.g. support for activities that have traditionally been the responsibility of women, such as farming of family plots, food preparation, care of children and other family members
3. EDUCATION	3.0 EDUCATION
3.1 Éducation de base — alphabétisation	3.1 Basic education, literacy
3.2 Études primaires/secondaires	3.2 Primary/Secondary education
3.3 Études collégiales/universitaires	3.3 College/University education
4. FORMATION	4.0 TRAINING
formation professionnelle et technique, autres, priorités, de formation adaptées au milieu de travail, etc.	e.g. vocational and technical training, other training specifically adapted to the working environment
5. SANTÉ	5.0 HEALTH
équation des naissances, soins préventifs, y compris suite contre les maladies et les épidémies, approvisionnement en médicaments, nutrition, médecine familiale, hygiène, soins dentaires, hôpitaux et cliniques, administration des services sanitaires, sécurité sociale, etc.	e.g. fertility control, preventive health including prevention and control of disease and epidemics, provision of drugs, nutrition, family medicine, hygiene and sanitation, dental services, hospitals and clinics, health administration, social security, etc.
6. GROUPEMENT DES FEMMES	6.0 ORGANIZATION
aide à des organisations féminines existantes ou nouvelles, etc.	e.g. assistance for existing and new women's organizations
7. ÉTABLISSEMENT DE SERVICES GOUVERNEMENTAUX CHARGES DE LA FEMME	7.0 ESTABLISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT SERVICES FOR WOMEN
7.1 Développement des compétences, banques de données, bulletins d'information, etc.	e.g. assistance with development of skills, data banks, information bulletins
8. CULTURE	8.0 CULTURE
réseaux et médias d'information, activités et institutions culturelles, etc.	e.g. information networks and media, culture activities and institutions
9. REFUGIÉS ET SECOURS D'URGENCE	9.0 REFUGEE AND EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE
secours alimentaire, secours d'urgence, etc.	e.g. food aid, emergency distress relief
10. PROGRAMMES MULTILATÉRAUX D'IDF	10.0 MULTILATERAL WID PROGRAMS
contributions au programme d'IDF de l'ONU ou d'autres institutions multilatérales, etc.	e.g. contributions to UN WID programme or other multilateral organizations
11. FORMATION EN MATIÈRE D'IDF	11.0 WID TRAINING
logiciennes, formation à l'IDF, etc.	e.g. WID training, programs, workshops, seminars, etc.
12. AUTRES	12.0 OTHER
autres activités	12.1 Other activities
12.2	12.2 Other activities

APPENDIX 2

Agence canadienne de
développement international Canadian International
Development Agency

L'INTÉGRATION DE LA FEMME DANS LE DÉVELOPPEMENT (IFD) ANNEXE AU MAP

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID) — PAM ANNEX

N° de projet
Project no

POPULATIONS CIBLES — TARGET GROUPS

L'ensemble des groupes sociaux (groupements villageois, groupements féminins, groupements coopératifs, associations locales) et des partenaires locaux (hommes, femmes, jeunes, aînés) à qui le projet devrait bénéficier.

EXEMPLES

1. dans un projet d'assistance technique: les homologues
2. dans un projet de bourse: les boursiers
3. dans un projet d'infrastructure routière: les usagers de la route

All social groups (village groups, women's groups, co-operatives, local associations) and local partners (counterparts, women, men, young people, senior citizens) that will benefit from the project.

EXEMPLES

1. in a technical assistance project: the counterparts
2. in a scholarship project: the students
3. in a road infrastructure project: those who use the road

Nombre de femmes
Number of women

Nombre d'hommes
Number of men

TOTAL

CONSULTATION AUPRÈS DES FEMMES — CONSULTATION WITH WOMEN

Les femmes ont-elles été consultées lors de la planification du projet?
Were women consulted when the project was being planned?

OUI / YES
NON / NO
Si OUI, les détails sont fournis à l'Annexe A, section 1.
If YES, details are provided in Annex A, section 1.

BÉNÉFICES PRÉVUS POUR LES FEMMES — EXPECTED BENEFITS FOR WOMEN

Les bénéficiaires directes sont les personnes qui, immédiatement et sans intermédiaire, tirent de la réalisation du projet des avantages mesurables tant au niveau des intrants que des extrants.

1. Elles sont habituellement partie prenante du projet, soit à titre de partenaire, de participant ou d'homologue.
2. Elles tirent des avantages mesurables de leur participation au projet, soit sous forme d'intrants ou d'extrants:
 - a. au niveau des intrants: il peut s'agir de celles qui reçoivent une rémunération, de l'équipement, des fournitures, des biens matériels, des bourses d'études, des stages de formation, etc.
 - b. au niveau des extrants: il peut s'agir de celles qui reçoivent certains services tels que: santé, éducation, crédit, services collectifs de base, ou de celles qui ont accès à l'utilisation d'une infrastructure (routes, réseau d'électricité, aménagement hydraulique, puits, etc.).

Direct beneficiaries are those who, as a result of the project, obtain immediate measurable gains and / or privileges at either the input or output level.

1. They are those who usually take part in a project as partner, participant, or counterpart.
2. They obtain measurable gains at either the input or output level from their involvement in a project:
 - a. at the input level, it applies to those who receive remuneration, equipment, supplies, material goods, scholarships, training sessions, etc.
 - b. at the output level, it applies to those who receive services such as health care, education, credit, basic common services, or to those who use a project's infrastructure (roads, electrical network, water supply system, wells, etc.).

Les femmes bénéficient-elles DIRECTEMENT du projet?
Will women benefit DIRECTLY from the project?

OUI / YES
NON / NO
Si OUI, précisez à quel niveau et donnez le pourcentage estimé des femmes bénéficiaires.
If YES, estimate percentage of beneficiaries who are women and specify at what level.

AU NIVEAU DES INTRANTS — AT THE INPUT LEVEL

< 5 % 6-10 % 11-25 % 26-50 % 51-75 % 76-100 %

AU NIVEAU DES EXTRANTS — AT THE OUTPUT LEVEL

< 5 % 6-10 % 11-25 % 26-50 % 51-75 % 76-100 %

LE RÔLE DES FEMMES DU PAYS BÉNÉFICIAIRE DANS LE PROJET — THE ROLE OF WOMEN FROM THE RECIPIENT COUNTRY

Précisez à quels niveaux les femmes ont participé et / ou participeront au projet (cochez TOUTES les cases appropriées).
Specify the levels at which women have participated, or will participate, in the project (check ALL appropriate boxes).

participantes / planners
gestionnaires / managers
professionnelles / professionals
techniciennes / technicians
bénéficiaires / beneficiaries
travailleuses / workers
généralistes / generalists
spécialistes / specialists
autres / others
participation / participation

BARRIÈRES À LA PARTICIPATION DES FEMMES — BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Les obstacles à la pleine participation des femmes au projet peuvent être d'ordre économique, social, juridique, culturel, religieux ou politique, selon le contexte du pays bénéficiaire et la situation des femmes dans ce pays.

EXEMPLE

Obstacle d'ordre culturel dans le cadre d'un projet d'accès au crédit pour les agriculteurs d'un pays donné: les femmes sont exclues du projet car elles n'ont pas de titre de propriété foncière à présenter lorsqu'elles veulent emprunter à une banque. La tradition ne leur permettant pas d'hériter de la terre.
Solution possible: ne pas exiger des femmes un titre de propriété foncière et trouver une autre forme de garantie de prêt qui soit à leur portée.

Barriers that keep women from fully participating in the project can be economic, social, legal, cultural, religious or political in nature, depending on the recipient country and the situation of women there.

EXEMPLE

A project to give farmers in a certain country access to credit may not allow women to participate fully if they cannot get a loan because they cannot inherit land according to the country's traditions, and thus cannot submit a land title when applying for a loan at the bank. This is a cultural barrier.
Possible solution: women could be exempted from the requirement of submitting a land title and another, more suitable way of securing the loan could be found for them.

Les barrières possibles ont été identifiées.
Potential barriers have been identified.

OUI / YES
NON / NO
Si OUI, les détails sont fournis à l'Annexe A, section 2.
If YES, details are provided in Annex A, section 2.

Les mesures à prendre pour les réduire sont énumérées à l'Annexe A, section 3.
Measures to be taken to minimize them are stated in Annex A, section 3.

EXPERTISE IFD — WID EXPERTISE

L'expertise IFD est le recours à une ou des personnes (femme ou homme) qui reçoit / reçoivent le mandat spécifique d'identifier les facteurs qui favorisent ou, au contraire, limitent / l'accès des femmes aux ressources économiques, sociales et politiques.

L'expertise en matière d'IFD a été/sera utilisée aux phases suivantes du cycle de projet (cochez TOUTES les cases appropriées):
WID expertise has been / will be used in the following phases of the project (check ALL appropriate boxes):

WID expertise involves giving one or more individuals (male or female) the specific mandate to identify factors that favour / or hinder women's access to economic, social and political resources.

planification / planning
suivi / suivi / evaluation
évaluation / evaluation
aucune expertise requise / no expertise required

DONNÉES FINANCIÈRES — FINANCIAL DATA

Contribution totale (1000 \$) de l'ACDI
CIDA's total financial contribution (1000\$)

Partie estimée (de la contribution de l'ACDI) qui bénéficiera directement aux femmes
Estimated portion (of CIDA's contribution) that will directly benefit women

À L'USAGE DE LA SECTION IFD — FOR WID SECTION USE ONLY

☐ TYPE A ☐ TYPE B ☐ TYPE C

Une fois l'approbation finale obtenue, le chef de l'équipe de projet devra copier ce document aux DPS des directions géographiques (DGP, DGP, DGP, DGP) des Affaires publiques (CDG) et au CPGP (SPD) à l'Agence canadienne de développement international (ACDI) et le consulter en conséquence (AND).

CHEF DE L'ÉQUIPE DE PROJET — PROJECT TEAM LEADER

Signature

Date

Upon final approval, the PTL will distribute copies of this form to all Area DPSs (DGP, DGP, DGP, DGP), Public Affairs (CDG), ACPG (SPD), Corporate Memory (TPE), WID (RSP) and Environment (AND).

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