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From Gender Theory to Relief Practice: Opportunities for Effective Confluence

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From Gender Theory to
Relief Practice:

Opportunities for Effective Confluence

Master's Project
Final Draft

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Abstract

This paper offers an overview of the main theories shaping gender-related policy that originated in development and that have been applied to relief. The analysis considers the tensions between maintaining theoretical integrity and managing practical operational concerns, bringing into question what is adaptable and applicable within an emergency context. It is not necessary to re-invent the wheel by developing a separate set of theories and tools for relief; there is overlap between the two. This creates an opportunity for development to inform relief and for relief to inform development. Included is a summary of the major gender planning and analysis frameworks for development and relief.

Chapter I.

The Implications of Gender Mainstreaming

There have been considerable theoretical and practical strides made in the past two decades in furthering the understanding of the respective roles that women and men play in development/relief policy-making, planning and implementation of projects and programs. Yet, women continue to be left out or behind in participating in development and relief efforts at all levels of planning and implementation; they continue to be adversely targeted by violence within the public and private spheres; and, alongside children and elders, women make up the majority of refugees and displaced persons throughout the world. Work remains to be done.

This paper offers an overview of the main theories shaping gender-related policy that originated in development and that have been applied to relief, and considers the tensions between maintaining theoretical integrity and managing practical operational concerns. Included is a summary of the major gender planning and analysis frameworks. This chapter introduces the context in which gender-related policy is now located and defines several of the major concepts that will be used throughout the paper.

Gender Mainstreaming

“Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design and implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women can benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.” (ECOSOC, 1997, in IASC, n.a., p. 10)

Gender planning and policymaking is now steeped in the push for gender mainstreaming in development and humanitarian aid agencies. Mainstreaming was introduced in the late 1980s and gained momentum throughout the 1990s in reaction to the isolationist approach to women’s issues that created pockets of women in development units without linkages to greater organizational programming or policy. In a sense, mainstreaming became the structural answer to addressing issues of gender in development. It is most commonly understood as “an organizational strategy to bring a gender perspective to all

aspects of an institution's policy and activities, though building gender capacity and accountability" (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 12). A mainstreaming strategy places gender concerns as relevant and significant to all sectors and areas of activity in development, and a fundamental part of the planning process. Responsibility for the implementation of gender policy is theoretically diffused across the organizational structure, rather than concentrated in a small central unit.

There are generally two ways of approaching mainstreaming. Typically, women's and gender issues are integrated into existing programs and policies, leaving them relatively unchanged. Less typically, the mainstreaming approach is used to re-conceptualize the development agenda with a gender focus (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 12). Mainstreaming seeks to challenge development organizations to go beyond allocating relatively limited resources to create women's projects on the margin, to integrating gender-awareness into all aspects of program planning, analysis and implementation. This implies "working with men and women rather than providing separate spaces for women, and working within existing structures rather than setting up separate structures" (Mukhopadhyay & Appel, 1998, p. 16).¹

Gender Analysis & Planning Frameworks

An important component of gender mainstreaming has been the production of conceptual gender analysis and planning frameworks. Ines Smyth defines the term 'framework' as "methods of research and planning for assessing and promoting gender issues in institutions", but can also be referred to as 'methodology', "the combination of theories, concepts, and selected 'observation techniques' (March, Smyth & Mulhopadhyay, 1999, p. 11). Gender 'tools' make up the techniques for gathering data and information relevant to gender and the planning or project implementation process. Such tools "would include observation techniques such as participant observation, the wide range of

¹ Results have been mixed, at best. Mainstreaming is widely interpreted by different organizations and agencies. Many development institutions have placed the responsibility of gender on everybody, doing away with gender units and specialists. In some institutions, mainstreaming has discouraged employees from discussing the specific needs and roles of women and men (Mukhopadhyay & Appel, 1998, p. 16). The most frequent complaint is that mainstreaming dilutes the issues, forgoes expertise and lacks accountability for ensuring that gender planning has its place in policy formulation and programming.

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques, or the more formal surveys which provide quantitative data” (March et al., 1999, p. 11). I will address the differences between analysis and planning methodologies in more detail in chapter three, but the definition used in this paper for gender analysis is: “The systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify, understand, and redress inequities based on gender” (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 2). Gender Planning is defined as: “The technical and political processes and procedures necessary to implement gender-sensitive policy” (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 2).

Gender Training

Gender training is another major component of mainstreaming strategies. This paper discusses the content and theoretical implications of gender training, but does not directly address gender training per se. Nevertheless, it is important to briefly point out the main objectives of gender training. The operational objectives of gender training depend upon the theoretical and ideological loyalties of the agency in question. On the one hand, the purpose can be to provide in-depth and accurate information on the role of gender in planning and programming, and to suggest strategies through which development interventions can identify and effectively utilize gender roles for more efficient programming. On the other hand, “training strategies analyze the gender division of labor and resources to point to the disadvantages to which women are subject, especially in terms of skills, confidence, credit, and employment, and how to meet women’s practical needs arising from these disadvantages” (Mukhopadhyay & Appel, 1998, p. 13-14). It is also understood to be “a facilitated process of developing awareness and capacity on gender issues to bring about personal or organizational change for gender equality” (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 20).

Gender training is often lauded as the panacea to the persistent problems of gender in development. Despite the inherent challenges in doing sporadic training programs for a variety of stakeholders and for a number of objectives, training shoulders a considerable bulk of the responsibility to successfully mainstream gender in development and relief organizations.

Challenges & Problems

There is pressing evidence that further work needs to be done to examine the meaning of gender, and the position of women in particular, in development and relief efforts.

Though development and relief practitioners and planners may be more *aware* of gender issues today, they continue to struggle with how to address them in the work they do.

Challenges lie in the conceptualization of the issues, the level of commitment to addressing gender on an individual and organizational level, the lack of training on gender 'tools', and the complexity of how gender and other forms of oppression manifest in specific cultural and political contexts.

Relief continues to lag behind development in terms of developing methodologies and theories for addressing issues of gender, specifically for humanitarian aid. The persistent lack of commitment, funding and gender-related or trained staff continues to jeopardize the necessary level of accountability for gender in relief efforts. The challenges of mainstreaming gender in development are similar if not more obstinate in relief; the process fails if it is used for a quick fix, less-cost solution to dealing with gender issues. The ongoing assumption that approaches to gender and development can be applied to a relief context is perhaps more disputable than initially thought. Therefore, despite the recent trends to produce relevant research and literature on the topic, gender issues in refugee contexts are largely overlooked with dire consequence for women's (and children's) safety and men and women's overall well being.

Until gender issues become more than a temporary trend and ideological battleground, gender will continue to be passed off as a "women's" issue and an unnecessary luxury in low-resources emergency contexts. By prioritizing gender, relief practitioners will directly serve the beneficiary populations they exist for, and perhaps ultimately enhance their agencies' ability to produce effective and equitable policy and programming. One aspect of the solution is the simple suggestion to identify and apply the best parts of oftentimes opposing methodologies, to train staff on how to effectively apply the

methodologies, and to ensure accountability in organizational structure for integrating gender into policy and programming.

The Chapters

The following chapter is a literature review of gender planning models historically and currently implemented in the context of international development and relief. I present a concise overview of the concepts, themes and frameworks that have shaped the field of gender and development, in order to understand how they are being used today and for what purposes. The challenges people and organizations have faced in bringing issues of gender to the forefront of development policy and practice play an important role in shaping the practices and goals of the present and future.

The third chapter looks at the prevailing analysis and planning frameworks that have shaped the field of gender training in the past 15 to 20 years. These include the following frameworks: Harvard or Gender Roles (1984), Moser's Triple Roles (1993), Kabeer's Social Relations (1994), Longwe's Women's Empowerment, and Socio-Economic Gender Analysis: SEGA (1995). I highlight the theoretical underpinnings outlined in chapter 2 that are threaded throughout these frameworks. These concepts and political 'positions' inform not only the development of the frameworks (theory), but play a vital political and philosophical role in deciding how the frameworks are put into practice. They can make or break a framework in specific organizational and programmatic contexts, as the political implications of a theory can bare more weight with an organization or government than the potential efficacy of the actual tools themselves.

Chapters four and five trace the process of translating development theory into relief practice. Chapter four addresses the analysis and planning needs that differ in relief, as compared with development, due to the unique gender issues that arise in emergency contexts. Two relief frameworks are reviewed, The People-Oriented Planning Framework, and The Capacities and Vulnerability Analysis Framework. They are discussed within their theoretical location, and Chapter five concludes the analysis by

looking specifically at how WID and GAD are, and can be more effectively, applied to relief methodology.

Gender analysis frameworks are taken, initially as intact bodies of theory and methodology, to two distinct points of confluence. First, at the organizational level where these frameworks are adapted to substantiate organizational policy and programs; and second, the instance at which practitioners participate in training aimed at building capacity in implementing gender-aware programs. The final chapter concludes the paper by reflecting on the analysis and offering recommendations for further research.

Chapter II.

From Critique to Movement: A Brief History of Gender-Related Policy

Gender analysis and planning frameworks need to be understood in terms of the policy context from which they emerged. Gender-related policy and programming originally evolved within a school of thought that is today categorized as Women in Development (WID). As is outlined below, this policy approach underwent multiple manifestations in response to the changing trends in economic and social development. Gender and Development (GAD) grew out of this tradition, in part because of a growing critique of the WID approach. This chapter offers a brief background of the evolution of WID, as well as the major concepts and political standpoints of the GAD approach. The chapter concludes with a section on practical and strategic needs, which are touched upon to varying degrees within both WID and GAD and have played an important role in gender-related policy formulation and programming.

Women In Development²

Welfare

The issue of women in development is one that has undergone critical changes since the end of World War II when women were identified as the ‘forgotten’ component in development and finally recognized as having special needs. Between 1950 and 1970, emerging policy focused on making women better mothers with the goals of bettering the household. Women were placed within the confines of the marginal welfare sector, their role conceived as “recipients rather than contributors, clients rather than agents, reproductive rather than productive” (Kabeer, 1994, p. 6). Women were officially brought into the development arena by top-down efforts to meet practical needs. The approach is still popularly applied (Moser, 1993, p. 231).

² These policy categories are largely based on Moser’s WID policy matrix, an important component of the Triple Role Framework. It would be misleading to understand them as completely separate categories; in fact, the lines are somewhat arbitrarily drawn in order to highlight the values that predominated in policy in somewhat blurry periods of time.

Equality

With the recognition of Boserup's revolutionary work in 1970, women's role in development gained greater status in the formulation of policy, and eventually development practice, with the considerable shift from welfare to equality (Kabeer, 1994, p. 6). This shift resonated with important components of liberal feminism (predominantly in the West), which stressed the particular issue of access to economic opportunities for women, equal to that of their male counterparts. Women were perceived as having the same opportunities as men once barriers to participation were removed, and success measured against the male norm (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 10).

Within equality, the systems in which women were marginalized were left relatively unquestioned; sex-roles and stereotypes were seen as the major obstacles to women access to the opportunities men enjoyed (including education, political involvement, etc.). The societal and cultural structures reinforcing the subordination of women to men (and the unequal treatment of girls and boys) were left relatively unexamined, as well as the differences between women's and men's reality and experiences. Equality, coupled with the growing concern over the alleviation of poverty and basic needs, ultimately evolved into what would represent the matured WID framework.

Equity

In the mid-1970s to 80s, equity emerged to be the first official WID policy approach. This policy sought to gain equity for women by challenging gender-based inequalities. Equity took the next step to analyze the different needs and interests of women and men, and acknowledged that equivalence in life outcomes for women and men may necessitate different treatment of men and women (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 10). It focused on women's triple role (reproductive, productive and community management) and recognized women as active agents in development. Policy goals were framed to meet strategic "needs through direct state intervention giving political and economic autonomy, and reducing inequality with men." (Moser, 1993, p. 231) Equity requires a redistribution of power and resources, and transformative change. This approach was, and continues to be, widely criticized as being an inappropriate and hegemonic form of

Western feminism by many groups (feminist and otherwise) and governments in the South. Equity continues to influence the development arena by implying that all development policies and interventions need to be scrutinized for their impact on gender relations (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 10).

Anti-poverty

Anti-poverty surfaced as the second WID approach from the 1970s onwards in response to the backlash that WID experienced due to the 'radical' elements inherent in equity. Anti-poverty was, in effect, the softer, more palatable version of equity. The goal was to meet women's practical needs by increasing women's productivity through such interventions as income-generating projects, recognizing both their reproductive and productive roles. "Women's poverty is seen as a problem of underdevelopment, not of subordination" (Moser, 1993, p. 231).

Efficiency

Aspects of equality, equity and anti-poverty can be seen in the policy that followed. Efficiency is the third WID approach that gained ground during the 1980s' debt crisis and has maintained its popularity throughout the 90s. Efficiency purports that the success of development efforts directly depends upon the participation of women, specifically in economic terms. Within this WID framework, women are conceptualized as rational economic agents in the development process (Kabeer, 1994). Practical needs would be met by making use of their triple roles, or women's capacity "to compensate for declining social services by extending their working day" (Moser, 1993, p. 231).

The efficiency argument rests on the notion that 'development needs women', particularly as rational economic agents. Within this paradigm, issues of access, sex-roles and stereotypes are problematized, yet the societal and cultural structures reinforcing the subordinate position of women as to that of men (and the unequal treatment of girls and boys) are left relatively unexamined (Kabeer, 1994).³ Women are essentialized as the keys to development through the efficiency approach to development. "Convinced that

³ Therein lies the issue of practical needs versus strategic interests, which I will examine in the following section.

the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women” (CEDAW, 1982).⁴ Women’s access to and participation in development activities are rationalized by transferring the benefits from the woman to that of the family or society. Woman is conceived as producer for the society and reproducer/caregiver for the family. There is validation of the significance of socio-cultural practices and norms that re-enforce the inequality between men and women, but there is no call to examine the structures themselves that inherently allow men to enjoy greater freedoms and access than women. There are assumptions in simply dealing with the issue of access, because there is a notion that women will experience and have the chances of benefiting from development efforts in the same way, without looking at the differences and examining power relations. Left out is the acknowledgement of “the larger economic, political and interpersonal power that men exercise over women” (Kabeer, 1994, p. 38).

Empowerment

The empowerment policy approach arose from the South, actively resisting alliance with Western feminism, though there are commonalities (Moser, 1993, p. 231). The purpose is to meet strategic needs by addressing practical needs from a highly participatory and grassroots approach. The empowerment of women is seen to be a result of greater self-reliance. Women’s triple role is recognized.⁵ “Women’s subordination is expressed not only because of male oppression but also because of colonial and neo-colonial oppression” (Moser, 1993, p. 231). Though empowerment is located within the WID paradigm, this policy approach bridges the theoretical shift from WID to GAD.

⁴ This raises important questions: does a woman deserve to fulfill her potentiality as a means in and of itself? Do women’s participation in development have to be linked to the family, the society, or even social action for that matter?

⁵ See Moser’s Framework in the following chapter.

Gender And Development⁶

GAD eventually emerged from the growing critique surrounding WID, stressing equity and structuralist analysis.

...critiques of WID go beyond its neglect of gender politics in the policy domain; they question its theoretical ability and political willingness to address the systemic nature of gender inequality and its connection with other forms of inequality thrown up by the functioning of an asymmetrical world economy. (Kabeer, 1994, p.38)

In the GAD perspective, the focus of analysis, as well as development policy and field practice, does not necessarily rest solely on women but more so on the problematics of gender relations. (Young, 1997, p. 51) In addition to framing the problem in a less individualist ('woman' as a biological entity) and more holistic manner, gender relations are seen as more than simply the relationships created through birth, kinship and marriage; they are defined by political and economic involvement as well as "relations based on factors such as class, race, ethnicity, religion etc." (Young, 1997, p. 51)⁷ The GAD approach doesn't place the inherent nature and behaviors of women and men into a good versus evil binary, but "does assume that male privilege makes most men unlikely to ally themselves to the cause of women's advancement without powerful persuasion." (Young, 1997, p. 52)

There is considerably less emphasis on the manner of optimism WID places on the role of the market and women's access to income in the GAD framework. This shift goes beyond economic self-reliance to realizing women's roles as political agents. This approach recognizes the close relationship between economics and politics, and assumes that in order for women to experience freedom from socio-economic, political and cultural constraints, the conditions for both men and women alike to overcome poverty must be put into place. These conditions include a combination of welfare and basic-needs programming, integrated with the important element of consciousness-raising.

⁶ I do not break down the GAD approach to policy into sub-categories as was done in the previous section on WID. The Development Planning Unit (DPU) at the University College of London has recently identified sub-categories within GAD, marking the shifts in policy throughout the 90s. These include: the GAD integration, efficiency, equity, and anti-poverty approaches.

⁷ "Moreover, treating gender as one aspect of social relations reminds us that it is not the only form of inequality in the lives of women and men. While 'gender is never absent', it is never present in pure form." (Kabeer, 1994, p. 65)

GAD looks to the government to fulfill its responsibility concerning social welfare and providing the social capital necessary to guarantee the conditions needed for the betterment of future generations. (Young, 1997, p. 53)

In summary, the major differences between WID and GAD are:

Understanding of the problem:

- WID: Policymakers, and the interventions that follow, have ignored women's needs and roles, thus excluding them from development efforts (development as benign)
- GAD: Development agencies and policies are inherently biased; they produce and reproduce social inequalities

Approach to gender:

- WID: Gender is what women do and need vs. what men do and need
- GAD: Gender is one aspect of constructed social relations

Strategies:

- WID: Identify the activities men/women do, and what resources women/men have access to and control over. Plan accordingly to remove obstacles to participation.
- GAD: Uncover social relations that define gender roles, including those produced and reproduced by institutions at every level (community, state, market, household). Analyze accordingly to challenge social relations, and reformulate development policies and interventions to be gender-redistributive.

In order to further clarify the differences WID and GAD, and the ultimate importance of combining aspects of to create effective policy and programs, it is important to discuss the relationship between practical and strategic needs.

*Practical & Strategic Gender Needs*⁸

Practical needs encompass tangible, immediate wants and concerns that are usually based upon basic needs (whether they be food, water, shelter, land), or involve skills acquisition (i.e. education, training, extension work). They can be relatively salient, though that is not always the case. They can also vary widely in how they are perceived and prioritized, depending on the context at any given time (Young, 1997, p. 368). In essence, practical needs make up the crux of development planning and programs. With regard to women, practical needs are grounded in the issues and challenges of their day-to-day *condition* within the reproductive and productive spheres.⁹ Typically, the focus on practical needs does not include an analysis of structural discrimination, nor does it challenge the subordinate position of women in the public or private spheres.

Strategic needs are developed out of the structural power relations that exist in society. They are less tangible than practical needs, as they concern the issue of *position* in society, vis-à-vis gender, ethnicity, religion, and class.¹⁰ Strategies include challenging how gender is perceived, as well as the roles and practices that continue to support the domination of one gender over the other. The envisioning of what constitutes strategic needs and how to incorporate them in planning is a complex issue, further complicated by sincere efforts that often result in the re-enforcement of unequal gender roles (Young, 1997).

Meeting women's practical needs may indeed assist in making aspects of work and life easier and less labor-intensive, but the GAD paradigm holds that it can do little in challenging unequal gender roles or initiating a shift in power and control. I would argue that without prioritizing practical needs, the space or entry points for meeting strategic needs is difficult to create; they go hand in hand. There is a link between practical needs and the efficiency model, as often the needs of the woman are perceived as needs of the

⁸ What are referred today as practical and strategic gender needs (PGN, SGN), were first conceptualized by Maxine Molyneux in 1985 as practical needs and strategic interests.

⁹ See Moser's Framework in the following chapter for a deeper discussion of reproductive and productive roles.

¹⁰ As well as sexual orientation.

family, therefore what is good for the woman is good for the family, and so on. In environments where a hint of 'feminism' is immediately perceived as inappropriate and threatening, by both women and men, a programmatic focus on practical needs becomes less of an ideological cop-out and more of a well-intentioned entry point.

Another complication in the division of needs and interests is the issue of whose interests count. Though to some degree we can identify some basic tenets/issues that could be considered universal women's interests¹¹, there is no consensus on what women's strategic needs are or how to formulate them (Molyneaux in Kabeer, 1994, p. 90). In recognizing differences, not only between women and men but also within groups of women and men, the idea of pinning down strategic needs becomes even more elusive. The problem of creating solidarity among women, even within a specific context, to organize around politically charged issues that address strategic needs, does not come easily or naturally (Kabeer, 1994, p. 91). Coupled with the internalized "ideological construction of...[inequality] as biologically determined...or rationally chosen", solidarity and common understanding are further divided along class/caste, ethnic, religious and other social lines (Kabeer, 1994, p. 91). Though Molyneaux acknowledges that this is often the case, she also suggests that changes made "in a piecemeal fashion can threaten women's short-term practical interests" or cause them losses for which there would be no compensation, therefore making them resistant to acting (Kabeer, 1994, p. 228).

Aspects of Molyneaux's division of strategic interests and practical needs have undergone the typical analysis and resulting critique that has allowed the concepts to be better flushed out and appropriately used. Critiques of her work have included the idea that by distinguishing between interests and needs, we ignore the link between them and the ways how women address their everyday needs impact gender relations.

Experience has also shown that women involved in what have been called welfare-oriented schemes¹²... have often, through their collective experience of

¹¹ These have been suggested to be "male control of women's labor; women's restricted access to valued social and economic resources and political power, and as a result a very unequal distribution of resources between the genders: male violence; and control of sexuality" (Young, 1997, p. 368).

¹² "providing better nutrition for their children, community-improvement project, etc." (Young, 1997, p. 371)

struggle, become active in questioning their social position and organizing to bring an end to discriminatory practices (Young, 1997, p. 371).

In addition, there seems to be an implication in the binary of “a hierarchy of women’s issues, that strategic needs show more evidence of a ‘feminist consciousness’ and therefore are more politically advanced” (Walters & Manicom, 1996, p. 13). These critiques can be readily applied to western feminists who have been criticized for condemning non-strategic programs as anti-feminist or perpetuating the patriarchal structures, or for attempting to define for the world what strategic needs ought to be. As suggested by Moser, Molyneaux’s distinction between needs and interests can be useful in elucidating the “possibilities and limitations of planning as a tool for change” (Kabeer, 1994, p. 295)

From Movement to Methodology

The WID and GAD approaches have been the crux of much political and academic debate that has played a significant role in shaping policy and programming within the development and relief realms. It is within these paradigms that the gender frameworks for analysis and planning were developed, shaping the theories, as well as reacting against them. The specific application of WID and GAD to the relief context will be discussed in chapters four and five.

Chapter III: **Gender Analysis & Planning Frameworks for Development**

Gender frameworks have been developed and used for a variety of reasons, ranging from conducting “initial research, planning and monitoring an intervention, to evaluating what it has achieved” (March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, 1999, p. 26). They can assist development practitioners and planners in better understanding the context in which they work, or intend to work, by providing: a conceptual and visual tool for making informed decisions; the tools and checklists to aid in synthesizing and communicating important information that would otherwise be over-looked; a process for the monitoring and evaluation of any program and project by highlighting where strides have been made, or not; and concrete tools for training people on gender issues in their work.

In this chapter, five frameworks will be discussed. These are: 1) The Gender Roles Framework (GRF); 2) The Triple Roles Framework (TRF); 3) The Women’s Empowerment Framework (WEF); 4) The Social Relations Framework (SRF); and, 5) The Socio-Economic and Gender Analysis Framework. Each framework will be analyzed according to four categories: identifying its policy location as discussed in the previous chapter; looking at how it frames issues of gender, gender roles and gender oppression;¹³ discussing its applicability within an organizational context; and, teasing out the potentialities and challenges of translating the theoretical framework into training. I approach the review with the assumption that each framework contributes something of value to the field of gender in development, and therefore have made a conscious decision to concentrate on critiquing the potential uses of the frameworks, as opposed to focusing on what they do not offer. Part of this comes from my recognition that the

¹³ This discussion is loosely based upon the definitions I have used in gender training in the U.S., and how frameworks compare against these definitions, as well as against one another. I define *gender* as the social constructs based on a group of psychological characteristics that classify an individual as feminine, masculine, androgynous, or transgendered (Hans, 2000). *Gender roles* are understood to be the social expectation of how an individual should act, think and feel, based upon one’s assigned sex and corresponding gender. Gender role includes behavior characterized as feminine or masculine according to culturally prevalent or stereotypic standards (Hans, 2000). *Gender oppression* is the verbal, physical, and emotional violence and legal discrimination against people based on their gender, both if they do or do not conform to socially acceptable gender roles (Hans, 2000).

frameworks emerged in a distinct political context, and that each was somewhat radical for its time.

Harvard/Gender Roles Framework (1984)

This framework was developed by Catherine A. Overholt, Kathleen Cloud, Mary B. Anderson, and James E. Austin in collaboration with Harvard University and USAID. It grew out of the evidence that development policy and programs were failing to acknowledge the impact of development on women and women's impact on development. This was considered to hamper the potential outcomes of development efforts, framed mainly in terms of economic growth, project efficiency and social justice (Overholt et al., 1984, p. 3).

The tools and methodology are geared toward illuminating what women (and men) do and why¹⁴, by collecting and categorizing data in the following components: Activity Profile; Access and Control Profile; Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities, Access, and Control; and Project Cycle Analysis.

Policy Context

The Gender Roles Framework (GRF) is clearly positioned within the efficiency WID policy approach that seeks to integrate women into development. Development is perceived as inherently positive for both women and men, and a process that will benefit from the participation of women (Miller & Razavi, 1998). The participation of women is seen to improve development overall, and hence benefit everyone. Equity and economic growth are seen as compatible goals, ones that must be pursued simultaneously (Overholt et al., 1984, p. 4). The framework purports to identify with equity goals and yet its approach is much more in line with the equality policy that maintains that women and men will benefit equally once the barriers to participation are overcome. The misunderstanding and stereotyping of women's roles are seen as the underlying factors creating these barriers. In addition, as the equality model maintains, the development priority is economic growth, which is seen as the pathway to achieving social justice.

Conceptualization of Gender

This framework perceives women as a homogeneous category, even though there is mention of disaggregating the data further by age, ethnicity, social classes, and other characteristics. Women are perceived as being impacted by development, whether they are directly or indirectly involved. Women are framed as “key actors in the economic system,” yet ignored by development efforts (Overholt et al., 1984, p. 4). Women are seen as the majority of the population, yet marginalized in terms of employment, education, income and status (Overholt et al., 1984, p. 4). Gender is constructed within the household and is seen as a locus of cooperation and conflict. Linked to an economy-based understanding of the allocation of resources, issues of access and control form a system in which bargaining is the main mode of gender relations. Therefore, women’s reproductive and productive roles are identified in order to anticipate the impact of development interventions on these roles. Production is framed in terms of goods and services (market-based) and human resources (family-based), as well as in terms of who has access to production (doing it, using it) and control over it (deciding how to do it and what to do with it).

Gender bias on the planning level is understood as a misinterpretation or, “lack of information, or shortsightedness,” as opposed to an institutional phenomenon (Miller & Razavi, 1998, p. 6). The data collected within this framework describe men’s and women’s roles and their relative access to and control over resources. Women’s and men’s roles are seen as separate entities.

Applicability

The Gender Roles framework is very popular with a wide array of organizations due to its integrationist approach that has minimal political overtones. In other words, it is typically not perceived as confrontational or threatening. There are no inherent judgments made about the division of labor and issues of access and control, because the focus remains on how to work within existing gender roles as opposed to challenging the social

¹⁴ The original approach focused on uncovering specifically what women do. Even though data was collected on

institutions and constructs that foster inequalities.¹⁵ The framework is correctly used “as a diagnostic tool for project planners concerned with the efficient use of scarce resources” (Kabeer, 1994, p.270), or for collecting base-line data. But it would not be appropriate for implementing policies concerned with addressing strategic needs and directly transforming existing gender relations. It is useful for figuring out how a project places more or less demands on people according to gender, and whether these expectations are appropriate and/or realistic. It does this in part by addressing the pre-conceived notion of women’s leisure or ‘idle’ time that for many women is taken up with work that is neither remunerated nor valued in the private and public spheres.

The perception of women as being passively impacted carries over into program and policy development, by encouraging interventions that will act *upon* their roles. This is in-line with the efficiency and equality policy approaches that typically foster top-down approaches to development that have a welfare ring to them. Therefore, this framework is most applicable to those organizations and agencies that work with a welfare/efficiency approach to incorporating gender into their programs and policies.

Training Issues

The framework can be used to educate practitioners and planners on the basic implications of gender in the planning and implementation stages of the project cycle: Project Identification, Preparation, Design, Appraisal, Ratification, Implementation, Monitoring/Evaluation. Participants analyze case studies by breaking down issues of access and control in terms of gender roles and corresponding modes of production, while taking into consideration the broad range of factors influencing them. There is little said about how practitioners can use the tools in their work and whether they are to be used in a participatory manner, or approached as more expertise-based research. Additional training would be necessary to build participatory appraisal skills.

men’s activities, access and control, it seems geared towards better understanding the roles of women.

¹⁵ Kabeer criticizes the GRF with the following argument: if modes of production are clearly delineated along gender lines, it makes it necessary to create modes of exchange, in order to gain access. In addition, cooperation is needed when they work together to produce. She argues that the GRF fails to look at the division of labor in context of their interdependencies.

Moser: Triple Roles (1993)

Caroline O. N. Moser created this framework at the University College, London Department of Planning Unity (DPU), in response to criticisms of WID's 'separatist' approach of dealing with men's and women's development as separate entities. This is the one framework that specifically distinguishes itself as a planning tool, versus an analytical one, though it can be used for planning (and analysis) at both the policy and project level. Gender planning is defined as "the technical and political processes and procedures necessary to implement gender-sensitive policy" (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 16). The Triple Roles Framework (TRF) incorporates aspects of gender analysis in "the systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify, understand and redress inequities based on gender" (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 2).

The primary planning tools include: gender roles identification (triple role); gender needs assessment; disaggregating control of resources and decision-making within the household; planning for balancing the triple role; distinguishing between different aims in interventions; involving women, and gender-aware organizations and planners, in planning.

Policy Context

Moser's Triple Roles Framework forms a veritable bridge between later WID policy approaches and a pre-GAD approach. Moser sought to revolutionize the development planning approach itself, not just the programs and projects that resulted from policies.

The goal of gender planning is the emancipation of women from their subordination, and their achievement of equality, equity, and empowerment... First, [gender planning] is both political and technical in nature. Second, it assumes conflict in the planning process. Third, it involves transformatory process. Fourth, it characterizes planning as 'debate'. (Moser, 1993, p. 1, 83)

Moser clearly keeps one foot in the equality and equity WID policies, with another in empowerment and beyond into the beginnings of GAD-inspired social relations. Through planning framework, Moser described the path of WID policies from the end of World War II to the early nineties. This was in part her push for planners to

take a critical stance by better understanding where to locate policy they were formulating and promoting, and to better anticipate its outcomes.

Conceptualization of Gender

The TRF marks a shift in the conceptualization of gender. Women are not only left out of the development process, but they are identified in terms of their subordinate position relative to men. Moser considers gender the lens through which to identify “the social relations between men and women. [Gender] therefore refers to not men or women but to the relationship between them, and the way this is socially constructed” (Moser, 1993, p. 230). Gender relations are considered contextually specific and responsive to changes in economic climate. As does the GRF, Moser uses the household as the unit of analysis, but specifies them as low-income households and identifies them in relation to the wider community. In doing so, the framework recognizes the necessary involvement of the community in sustaining the household (reproductive spheres), but does not go so far as to examine other social institutions that foster gender inequalities.

One of the greatest contributions of this framework is the conceptualization of the triple role. Both men and women take on multiple roles throughout their lives in the private and public spheres. But they differ in terms of what and how many roles are played and when, how the roles are valued and compensated (on an individual and community level), and whether the roles act as a deterrent or entry point to participation in development. In general, men typically play their roles sequentially, while women must usually balance multiple roles simultaneously. Moser identifies four categories of gender roles, of which women juggle productive, reproductive and community management roles:

Productive Roles

- Remunerated work, either in cash or kind.
- “It includes both market production with an exchange-value, and subsistence/home production with actual use-value, and also potential exchange-value.” (Moser, 1993, p. 230)

Reproductive Roles

- “Child-bearing/rearing responsibilities, and domestic tasks done by women, required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force” (Moser, 1993, p. 230)

Community Management Roles

- Unpaid ‘voluntary’ activities at the community level, done in women’s ‘free’ time
- Extension of reproductive role

Community Politics Roles

- Either paid or high status/power work, undertaken primarily by men
- Organizing activities at the formal political level, for the community

Moser argues that the division of labor along gender lines “embodies and perpetuates women’s subordination” (Moser, 1993, p. 28). The TRF maintains that women’s triple role directly influences their ability to participate in planned development interventions, and highlights how traditional gender-blind initiatives make undue demands on women’s precious time and energy. The tools, similar to the GRF, seek to uncover all that women do. For example, reproductive and community management roles are seen as natural to the female sex, not valued as work, and therefore rendered ‘invisible’; or the productive work that women are actually engaged in is not culturally accepted and therefore ‘hidden’ or understated.¹⁶

In addition, the TRF encourages planners to understand the differences and relationship between women’s practical and strategic needs, so that they can make informed decisions about whether and how to impact gender relations through development planning. Typically, planners are tasked with identifying and addressing basic and practical needs, the fulfillment of which can actually contribute to validating and maintaining existing gender roles and inequalities. “This distinction draws attention of the practitioner to the

¹⁶ Kabeer critiques Moser’s conceptualization of ‘roles’ as limited. “It is not just what women do, but how they do it that should inform the planning process” (Kabeer, 1994, p. 278). “Since the schema looks at social relations only in connection with community roles, it does not capture how relations of power and authority operate at the household level (or in other institutional contexts)” (Miller & Razavi, 1998, p. 10).

transformatory potential of development planning”, and redefines the planner’s position as a political agent of change (Miller & Razavi, 1998, p. 9).

Applicability

This framework is best used by policy and project planners who seek to be empowered in the work they do. Moser’s target is the empowerment of women in low-income households, but the planner also takes on a vital role of empowerment in her/her own right. This is in part achieved by distinguishing between strategic and practical needs, the triple role, the implications of fitting within a specific policy category, and therefore making the planning process about making informed decisions. It has the potential of transforming the planning process, by addressing the inherent conflicts that would arise if given the space to. It is also effective in training programs geared towards raising awareness of gender issues, the subordination of women, and planning for equality and empowerment.

Though there is room for adaptation, the TRF would best fit the needs and approaches of organizations and agencies that focus on low-income households as the priority for development planning, with a grassroots and participatory planning process that highlights the importance of the reproductive ‘economy’ (Miller & Razavi, 1998, p. 11). Planners should be aware of the degree of variance within the ‘low-income household’ bracket to avoid glossing over the impact of other social inequalities linked to class, ethnicity, religion, etc.¹⁷ It is also important to note that the framework examines the roles of both men and women, but deals only with the strategic needs of women.

Training Issues

Moser developed this framework as a trainer, keeping in mind the need for short- and long-term training programs to meet the diverse needs of planners and practitioners. She developed a training of trainers model to promote the framework and importance of

¹⁷ “To impose the assumption of triple roles as a generalization for all women in low-income households across the world can close off policy attention to the constraints that prevent some categories of women in poverty from participating in community and market activities” (Kabeer, 1994, p. 278).

training methodology/pedagogy. The TRF is often introduced and used in conjunction with the GRF.

Women's Empowerment: Longwe

The Women's Empowerment Framework (WEF) aims to guide planners in translating the question of women's empowerment into practice, and to monitor the degree to which interventions support or undermine the empowerment process (March et al., 1999, p.92).

The Women's Empowerment Framework seeks to shift the analytical focus from gender equality in mainstream sectors of society (i.e. education) to women's equality within the development process itself. The conceptual tools are: levels of equality and level of recognition of women's issues.

Policy Context

Women's development is constructed on the foundation of women's empowerment, "enabling women to take an equal place with men, and to participate equally in the development process in order to achieve control over the factors of production on an equal basis with men" (Williams, 1994, p. 292). But the WEF does not fit squarely within the WID empowerment policy approach. Enabling people to take control over their lives and choices is equated with escaping poverty. Poverty is perceived as a result of oppression, exploitation and marginalization, not from lack of efficiency or productivity. Women's productivity, efficiency and effectiveness take the back seat, marking the shift from a WID to a GAD approach. Typical to WID, Longwe measures women's equality against men, without acknowledging that equality for women and men may not take the same form.

The framework encourages a bottom-up approach in-line with the WID empowerment movement emerging from the South calling for a highly politicized and participatory grassroots approach to development. Participation inherently means that development agencies cannot assert to 'empower women', but instead focus on creating and supporting an environment conducive to *enabling* women's empowerment. The nebulosity of

'achieving' empowerment also requires a shift in how policies and programs are evaluated and, consequently, valued in the development organizational environment.

Conceptualization of Gender

Though the framework is very woman-centric, Longwe does not specify whether development interventions should be aimed at women, men or both; it only specifies that both men and women should take on the issues of women's empowerment. An intervention is deemed successful due to the degree to which it addresses women's issues. 'Women's issues' are defined by Longwe as "all issues concerned with women's equality in any social or economic role, and involving any of the levels of equality"¹⁸(March et al., 1999, p. 95) An issue becomes a 'women's issue' when it is addressed from the perspective of gender relations, rather than simply from women's traditional and subordinate sex-stereotyped gender roles

Longwe's levels of equality are categorized as: welfare; access; conscientisation; participation; and control. Welfare connotes the lowest level of equality and control, the highest. The framework encourages development planners to intervene at the higher levels (e.g. participation and control), because it implies a greater possibility of enabling empowerment. Longwe seems to equate equality with empowerment with the lower levels of equality as less vital to women's development. Longwe's level of recognition of women's issues in project design (negative, neutral and positive) is used in conjunction with planning and evaluating the extent to which women's issues are addressed and empowerment achieved.

Applicability

The WEF appears to be most useful to planners and practitioners as an additional tool to specifically address concerns of empowerment and women's issues, but not necessarily as a complete framework in and of itself. The WEF might be most effective in ensuring that women's issues are addressed and not watered-down in a process that purports to be

¹⁸ It is interesting to see how Longwe's focus on women specifically has been re-interpreted by other as 'gender'. " 'Gender issues' do not arise merely from gender role differentiation, but from inequalities deriving from the gender division of labour and allocation of benefits" (Gurumuthy, 1998, p. 3)

dedicated to gender relations. Its use would require a high level of political and personal commitment on the part of planners to women's issues. It also stresses the importance of monitoring and evaluation in the project design cycle.

Training Issues

Participants would greatly benefit from a process that encouraged them to clarify what empowerment might look like. Since empowerment is such a difficult 'result' to measure, realistic indicators should be developed as the program's objectives are defined. This framework seems to lend itself to a training process that would have participants address their personal understandings of women's issues and possibly be an opportunity for participants to feel empowered as well. Because this framework is deeply rooted in a commitment to bottom-up development, practitioners would require training and field practice in participatory appraisal methods.

Social Relations (1994): Kabeer

Naila Kabeer's Social Relations Framework (SRF) was developed at the Institute for Development Studies (IDS), Sussex, in collaboration with practitioners and planners from the South. The framework seeks to translate development policy, or technical logic, into social logic, by exposing and challenging power relations that perpetuate inequities (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p.6). Kabeer's concept of *means* and *ends* distinguishes "between the different ends of the development effort and the means by which they are realized" (Kabeer, 1994, p. 279).

The data collection tools target the household, community, market and state institutions, and aim to identify women's bargaining position and formulate strategies to improve this. But this framework offers more a methodology of concepts than it does practical tools. These concepts for critical analysis include: development as increasing human well-being; social relations; institutional analysis; institutional gender policies; and immediate, underlying and structural causes (March et al., 1999, chapter 2.7).

Policy Context

The SRF is clearly positioned within the GAD policy approach in its relations-based mode of analysis and its integrationist approach to self-reliance and political agency. It seeks to bridge the gap between practical and strategic needs / interests by stressing “the interconnections between efficiency and welfare...[and the need for]...more equitable redistribution of resources and responsibilities between women and men (Kabeer, 1994, p.270). The problem and solution are no longer framed as women’s relative participation in development, but how women are included, not only in development but by all institutions, on unequal terms that reproduce social inequalities. The policy SRF seeks to develop calls for structural analysis and change on the micro and macro levels. Empowerment becomes a highly politicized goal of human-centered development.

Conceptualization of Gender

As its title connotes, the framework marks a significant shift in the understanding of gender, vis-à-vis social relations. The SRF looks at social relations between people and their relationship to resources, activities, and institutions.

Gender relations refer specifically to those aspects of social relations which create and reproduce systematic differences in the positioning of women and men in relation to institutional processes and outcomes...Gender relations are therefore interwoven into the broader set of social relations structuring the division of resources and responsibilities, claims and obligations between different social groups of women and men within any given society. (Kabeer, 1994, p. 280)

As opposed to other frameworks that begin with gender and attempt to broaden the analysis from there, the SRF considers gender relations to be one of many social relations to be unpacked. Women (and men) are framed within all of their social identities, including ethnicity, class, and caste. Gender relations are seen as conflictual and collaborative, fostering a process of bargaining and negotiation. Gender roles are seen as dynamic and ever changing . “The framework concentrates on structural analysis, material poverty, marginalization, and powerlessness, and how those have evolved [over time]” (March et al., 1999, p. 117).

Gender inequality is reproduced not just in the household, but also through a broad spectrum of institutions, including the international community, the state and the market. The analysis looks at how institutions create and reproduce inequalities by distinguishing between institutions and organizations. Institutions are defined as distinct frameworks of rules for achieving social or economic goals, such as the state, market, community (local and international), and family/kinship; and organizations are defined as the specific structural forms that institutions take, such as the military, financial corporations, village tribunals/INGOs, and the household. (Kabeer, 1994, p. 281) Each institution and corresponding organization claims 'ideological neutrality' in reference to social and gender relations, masking its mechanisms for reproducing and re-working social inequalities behind 'official' ideology, such as: the state pursues the national interest and welfare; the market pursues profit maximization; the community provides services; and the household promotes altruism and cooperation (Kabeer, 1994, p. 308).

Kabeer identifies "five distinct but interrelated dimensions of social relationships within institutions" that are vital to the analysis of social, and in particular, gender inequalities (1994, p. 281). These are:

- Rules: *how things get done, who will benefit?*
- Activities: *what is done, by whom, who can claim what?*
- Resources: *what is used, what is produced?*
- People: *who is in, who is out, who does what?*
- Power: *who decides, whose interests are served?*

Applicability

Overall, the complexity with which the SRF approaches development makes it less a participatory methodology to be used by practitioners in the field, and more an intellectual analysis for planners and practitioners to challenge how they approach development.

Kabeer offers a classification of institutional gender policies, which can assist planners in determining what kind of development policy they intend to produce and plan accordingly. Policies are either gender-blind (do not distinguish between men and women and therefore tend to exclude women and incorporate existing biases), or gender-aware

(recognize difference among women and men's needs and priorities). Gender-aware policies may be gender-neutral, gender-specific or gender-redistributive. There is also a focus on causes and effects that would appeal to planners and practitioners who are intent on affecting structural changes through development interventions. Clearly, the depth to which the SRF aims to go could easily be perceived as threatening and conspiracy-driven by organizations and institutions that have a stake in maintaining the status quo or seek non-confrontational entry points to work in conservative and challenging environments.

The SRF has been used in conjunction with the logical framework that stresses identifying objectives (long-term, intermediate and immediate), activities and corresponding indicators in program design process.¹⁹

The SRF can be used to examine the formation and reproduction of inequalities in both individual and multiple institutions. One thing is clear; it is used most effectively by organizations that are willing to examine their own role in structuring social relations. This makes it a very challenging approach to adopt.

Training Issues

Training in SRF prioritizes creating the space to address social relations (and gender inequalities, in particular) on a personal level, with the assumption that development planners and practitioners must deal with their own 'gender baggage' before they can effectively foster change. Individuals are challenged to "critically examine their own roles in the construction and reinforcement of gender inequality" (Kabeer, 1994, p. 267). With this awareness, participants are exposed to the concepts and analytical tools that uphold a transformative approach to policy-making that fosters women's empowerment. In order for this approach to be effective, participants would need to attend on a voluntary basis and be willing to engage in a long-term process. Aspects of the framework could be adapted and used as part of an on-going consciousness-raising process for practitioners, policy-makers, and project participants. Little is shared on how this framework has been translated into training.

¹⁹ Kabeer has gone on to publish subsequent work on evaluating empowerment.

Socio-Economic and Gender Analysis (1995)

The Socio-Economic and Gender Analysis (SEGA) framework was originally developed by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), in collaboration with the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The training manual that was used for the purposes of this review came out of Clark University, headed by Barbara Thomas-Slayer.²⁰ The SEGA methodology draws heavily from Participatory Rural Appraisal, making participation one of its major goals.

SEGA recognizes the inter-connectedness between gender and other social variables: for any given context, gender may or may not be the key analytical variable, and other social attributes may be equally important to consider. SEGA is considered a 'systems theory' approach, "a holistic perspective which sees physical and social systems functioning in a dynamic process with positive and negative feedback mechanisms, all of which induce change" (Gurumurthy, 1998, p. 6). Development programs and projects spur changes in how these systems function and their interaction with the natural environment. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the systems first in order to accurately project how they may be adversely or positively affected by development interventions.

Analysis takes place at the individual, household and community level (field), the district and regional level (intermediate), and the national and international policy level (macro) levels; diagrams and tools are aimed at visually representing how the different levels are interlinked. Focus areas include: the development context; stakeholders' interests; resources and constraints; and, conflict identification.

Policy Context

SEGA is clearly located within the GAD paradigm, with its focus on participation, empowerment, social equity, and the transformation of inequitable relations as a means and end of the development process. It goes beyond the initial GAD approach by

²⁰ It is difficult to decipher the differences between these two sources, other than a slight variance in the acronym: SEAGA vs. SEGA.

including the connection with the natural environment and sustainability as additional components of social inequity.

Development, in this sense, means capacity-building, expanding one's ability and energy to bring about change at an individual, community, national or global level. It addresses equity or distributional issues so that increasing development and increasing productive capacity mean broadening levels of well being for many people, not just a few. (Thomas-Slayter, Polestico, Esser, Taylor & Mutua, 1995, p. 14)

Keeping in step with GAD policy, the focus of the SEGA framework is very much on the development *process*; the methodology it puts forth is very project oriented, steeped in practical clearly laid-out tools.

The SEGA framework also draws on aspects of WID in its attention to equity, equality and efficiency. Long-term productivity and sustainability are considered both means and ends in the SEGA approach to development. "Social equity, including gender equity, can enhance livelihood security, productivity and sustainability because it involves all members of a community in building their capacities for their own development" (Thomas-Slayter et al., 1995, p. 2). SEGA builds off of the Gender Roles Framework by making access and control an important component of the analysis. It also incorporates aspects of the Gender Analysis Matrix that were developed within the WID policy paradigm in 1990. Empowerment is considered a means of transforming inequitable relations and equity, as the means of securing people's participation in development.

Conceptualization of Gender

GAD took the emphasis off of women and men as individuals by focusing on gender relations as the locus of inequality. The Social Relations Framework took this approach another step further in recognizing that gender does not exist in a vacuum, but rather within a whole system of social relations, the inequalities of which are produced and reproduced through social institutions. But gender is still assumed to be the focal point of these social relations. The SEGA framework continues this same approach, and arguably attempts to even de-emphasize gender by stressing the complexity of social hierarchies existing in every society. But gender continues to be framed as the most basic level of social inequity. Since the SEGA framework purports to put the least advantaged groups

first, gender is always an entry point to understanding privilege and deprivation at all socio-economic levels.

Strategic needs are seen as common to almost all groups without recognizing that men and women will have very different strategic needs.

Applicability

SEGA's purpose is to provide development agents, working as organizers, educators, catalysts, or planners, with communities of both the South and North, with the concepts and tools to facilitate empowerment and to make their work both more effective and more appropriate to the needs and interests of local people (Thomas-Slayter et al., 1995, p. 32).

SEGA's primary model "Processes Needed to Support Equitable and Sustainable Development" would be a powerful educational tool at any level, especially for planners. It lays out the structures and conditions that produce and reproduce inequalities (analysis), interfaced with the processes and interventions that could alter them (planning). (Thomas-Slayter et al., 1995, p. 5)

The framework, as a whole, was designed to apply to both the local and global planning levels, and yet its weight lies in the heavily participatory methodology. In fact, without the high degree of engagement of "all members of a community, including disadvantaged groups, in designing, planning and implementing projects", the purpose SEGA would be left unfulfilled. Therefore, without this degree of participation of the communities targeted by development programs and projects, the framework would be inappropriate to be used on a global level.

The SEGA framework would be most appropriately used by organizations committed to participatory methodology and to participatory appraisal as a vital component of the development process/project design. It would be of great assistance to organizations that are very project oriented and able to adapt projects to specific communities. It would match best with organizations that wish to increase, or already have, a strong degree of commitment to social equity and justice. The framework draws on experiences from the

South (stressing participation on a macro-level) and would assist organization interested in creating and maintaining linkages between local community and policy makers, among all stakeholders, and between socio-economic and gender analysis with participation

Training Issues

Though this framework could be used to introduce important concepts of the many layers and interconnections of social inequalities at all levels of the development organizational hierarchy, its strength lies in its participatory approach to project planning and implementation at the grassroots level. As practitioners would conduct the tools with community members, they would require training in participatory facilitation skills that stressed the appraisal process as a balance of gathering information and awareness-raising. Ideally, practitioners would then be actively monitored and supported as they began to use the tools. The SEGA framework requires a high degree of commitment on behalf of organizations and participants for it to be used effectively. Due to its practical scope, it would be appealing to practitioners who desire concrete methods for addressing gender and other social issues in their work.

From Theory to Practice & Practice to Theory

Gender frameworks are the translation of theory into methodology. This is the intersection where ideas must be reconfigured and communicated effectively to meet the needs of practitioners working in the field. Many challenges arise during this process that have to do with insufficient tools, resistance to ideas, and the organizational impact of practitioners and policymakers who recognize the social inequalities within their own working and private spheres, or fail to. This translation is a difficult process, and one that relies on dynamic and sensitive trainers and practitioners to bridge methodology and field realities, and committed policymakers to craft effective gender-intentional policies. The next challenge is to adapt these theories and methodologies spawned in development to a relief context.

Chapter IV.

From Development To Relief: The Re-Application of Gender Analysis and Planning Frameworks

“Today an estimated forty to fifty million people around the world are uprooted. Approximately 75 to 80 percent of them are women and children” (Cohen in Mertus, 1995).

In 1952, when the Convention on Refugees was drafted, refugees were written about as if they were a homogenous group. With the advent of the international women’s movement and closer analysis of the implications for women in development, strides were made in challenging this limited conceptualization of who refugees are and the issues they face. Despite initial resistance, it has become overwhelmingly clear that men and women deal with uniquely special challenges as they flee from persecution and conflict and, more recently, that their unique needs continue as they settle.

Recommends the development by States of appropriate guidelines on women asylum-seekers, in recognition of the fact that women refugees often experience persecution differently from refugee men (Executive Conclusion No. 73 (XLIV) (1993), paragraph (e), Refugee Protection and Sexual Protection).

In this chapter, the applicability of gender analysis and planning frameworks to emergency contexts is analyzed, taking into consideration different gender issues that arise with relief, in comparison with development.

Gender analysis and planning frameworks developed within and for the development context, which in and of itself contains a wide range of interpretations, and thus, implications for policy formulation. As can be seen in the previous two chapters, the evolution of gender policies and frameworks have come to address more and more the social relations and institutions that produce and reproduce inequalities, and offer strategies (means and ends) for affecting change.²¹ The frameworks correctly assess that noteworthy changes require heightened awareness of social and gender inequities at all levels, and that awareness, as development, is an on-going process. With this comes the unspoken assumption that one of the precious resources necessary to this process is *time*: for analysis, planning, implementation, and ultimately, in-depth structural and behavioral

change. Emergencies by their very nature do not allow for what we can now consider the 'luxury' of time. Recently, it has become clearer that in order for humanitarian planners and practitioners to respond efficiently and effectively to emergencies, they must take into account cultural and social issues in providing humanitarian aid. In this respect, relief appears to have more in common with development than has been traditionally considered.

For the purposes of this paper, emergency relief is understood to mean humanitarian assistance delivered in the immediate aftermath of an emergency and/or disaster. Relief has been defined as immediate humanitarian response focusing on saving lives and reducing suffering. Efforts include supporting local capacity building and preventing and mitigating the effects of disasters. Complex emergencies generally involve a combination of political and military strife and a breakdown of governance and social infrastructure.²² (ACDI/VOCA, 2001, p. 1) The people affected by natural or human-made crises are oftentimes forced to flee their homes and rendered refugees or internally displaced persons. Those who remain are referred to as war- or disaster-imperiled populations (Mertus, 2000, p. 5). Due to the limited breadth of this paper, the discussion will be limited specifically to emergency response; it will not include the vital post-conflict transitional phase that is generally understood as bridging relief and development. The term refugees will be understood here to include all people who are forced to flee their homes, whether or not they cross an international border.

Development vs. Relief in Addressing Gender Issues

Until recently there has been a significant gap between development and relief in terms of how gender and social relations are incorporated into policies and programs; relief has

²¹ This shift is both a product and cause of the changes occurring within and between the WID and GAD schools of thought, as are outlined in chapter 2.

²² Emergencies have been categorized into six 'types' by the Institute of Development Studies and in the World Disaster Report (1995). These categories are: natural rapid onset (caused by earthquakes, pathogens, floods, etc.) which is usually temporary; technological rapid onset (chemical or fuel accidents, or disruptions in transportation or information systems); slow onset (triggered by natural disasters, i.e., drought); 'permanent' emergencies (caused by widespread structural poverty requiring more or less permanent welfare); mass population displacements (both a cause and outcome of other types of emergencies); 'complex' emergencies (associated with civil war, intimidation and harassment). (Byrne and Baden, 1995, p. 6)

lagged significantly behind. This discrepancy is due, in part, to the manner in which development and relief have been traditionally viewed as completely separate contexts and requiring very different approaches. The logistical considerations and the immediacy involved in relief have contributed to the idea that the two fields are more disparate than similar and that gender issues are not relevant to relief as with development work (Williams, 1994, p. 215). The goals and needs of emergency response have traditionally been understood in a way that has reinforced a view that not only is a top-down approach to emergency relief efforts more efficient, but that it is inherently necessary.

Some of these [constraints to introducing a gender perspective into relief work] relate to the separation of relief and development work, the practical need to respond to emergencies quickly and the tendency of relief operations to be characterized by...donor-dependent, expatriate-run operations, drawing on separate funds, with minimal appraisal and approval procedures, in comparison to development programmes. (Byrne and Baden, 1995, p. iv)

Because humanitarian response is so mired in logistical concerns, it requires a specific type of employee, the majority of whom are short-term engineers, technicians, and logisticians who bring to the work a particular set of skills and agendas to the work. The fact that the majority of relief workers are male (Williams, 1994, p. 244) is an important factor to consider when assessing how issues of gender have been addressed in relief efforts and strategizing for how they should be addressed in the future.

There are important differences between development and relief, and yet there are remarkable similarities in how gender has been framed and approached in both contexts. "Current relief practice to a large extent reflects a WID rather than a GAD approach, focusing on women's specific needs and their role as mothers" (Byrne and Baden, 1995, p. i). Getting the food out and the water in are undoubtedly primary priorities, but the effectiveness of addressing these practical needs is oftentimes jeopardized by an inability to account for the more elusive social and cultural issues that refugees bring with them. If the connections between practical needs and strategic interests are not recognized and accounted for, the effectiveness of meeting practical immediate needs is likely lessened.²³

²³ The CASA evaluation of the UNHCR Anti-Rape Firewood Project found: "No long-term and sustainable solution to the problems of rape and other forms of violence in the area will be possible without a serious challenge to the cultural characteristics and practices that perpetuate them. UNHCR staff...shy away from

There are primarily two distinct approaches to how gender and relief are presently understood, the roots of which are clearly linked to the WID and GAD schools of thought. The former has successfully helped in bringing to the world's attention the unique plight of women refugees, stressing the fact that emergencies adversely impact women and children. The focus is on addressing the needs of women in food distribution and health care (reproductive role), possibly at the exclusion of contextualizing and challenging their situation in terms of gender and social (power) relations. The latter GAD approach stresses the effects of the pre-existing social and political context and social make-up on how a population experiences disasters, calling for in-depth gender analysis. Post-conflict situations are considered to be entry points to challenge imbalances in social relations, namely gender. This approach emphasizes and requires greater attention, planning and resources, all of which are in tremendous demand during emergency situations.

'Unpacking' the Refugee

Gender analysis is based upon the belief that planners and practitioners need to understand the population with whom they are working. Whether the analysis is located within a WID or GAD context, analysis and planning frameworks seek to disaggregate information to inform programming goals and objectives. Before addressing the specific frameworks used in relief, it is important to consider the underlying question driving this need to understand a refugee population beyond the immediate technical issues of safety, shelter and food. The fundamental question is: who is a refugee? What are the forces that have transformed the citizen into the refugee? What are the individual elements of this group of people that are important to consider when addressing safety, shelter and food?

Who a refugee is and why s/he is fleeing is much more complex than:

$$I + C = R$$

where I = Individual, C = Crisis, and R = Refugee²⁴

this problem giving priority to 'technical fixes' and dismissing social/cultural change as impracticable because it is a 'long-term' solution." (CASA, 2001, p. 6)

²⁴ The idea to create this 'formulae' comes from Patricia Hyne's 'Reformulating I=PAT'.

'I' is an individual, pre-refugee status. Easily assumed is that this person's life has been relatively 'normal' up to the impending crisis or threat of conflict. But the fact of the matter is that this person, 'I', may have never been free from violence or the threat of violence. In fact, if this person is a woman, (and 80% of the time 'R' is either a woman or child), there's already a 1 in 7 chance that she has already been raped by the time she is twenty years old.²⁵ (Panos, 1998)

It is vital to consider the identity of this individual; the fact of the matter is this 'I' belongs to one or more distinct social group(s) and that it is often this identification (by 'I' or how 'I' is perceived) that plays a key role in ultimately transforming 'I' to 'R', a refugee. In order for our equation to reflect the complexity of 'I', we make note of this by

$$(I \in S)$$

where 'I' is a member of Social Group(s), 'S'.

The next point to consider is that the social group to which s/he belongs, or is perceived to belong is persecuted. The ways in which persecution manifests itself are complex and can happen directly, such as in the case of targeted ethnic cleansing, or indirectly. An example of indirect persecution would be circumstances that cause people to flee, not because they are specifically targeted, but because they would risk being killed if they remained. Our equation needs to include the persecution of the individual who belongs to a particular social group, where P = persecution.

$$P(I \in S)$$

Though natural disasters do not constitute persecution per se, it is important to recognize that they affect people differently in terms of their social groups. For example, natural disasters disproportionately affect poor people, of which women can be additionally impacted because of their gender, in addition to their socio-economic level. The multiplicity of identity is what often renders women more vulnerable than their male counterparts (or vulnerable in different ways). For instance, 'I' belongs to the social group 'Muslim' and another for 'ethnic group', both of which she is targeted for ethnic

²⁵ The World Health estimates that at least one in five women has been physically or sexually abused by a man at some time in her life; and times of war possibly excluded, women are more at risk from their

cleansing. But in addition, she also is a member of the social group 'female', for which she is raped and forced into prostitution.

The crisis, 'C', could be war, civil unrest, genocide, or political unrest. And all of these things could be motivated by racism, sexism, heterosexism, class and caste hierarchies, struggles over limited resources, and/or struggles over religious or political ideology, culminating in the targeting of a particular social group, to which 'I' belongs.²⁶ The attack on 'I' could be both mass attacks (i.e. ethnic cleansing or mass rape), but it could also take the form of what would appear to be an individual attack, such as the impending mutilation of a girl's genitals. In addition, people may be forced to flee their homes due to a natural disaster, or simply circumstances that arise that are dangerous or potentially dangerous. For the purpose of this exercise, 'crisis' is thus defined by those conditions directly and indirectly caused by humans. Therefore, the conceptualization of 'C' should include: Crisis, Conflict or Circumstances.

The equation must also recognize the complexity in which persecution can be caused by the crisis, and/or crises can inspire and fuel persecution. Often it is a case of the chicken and the egg, with a feedback loop.

$$P(I \in S) \Leftrightarrow C$$

or

$$C \Leftrightarrow P(I \in S)$$

Up until now, 'I' is still not technically a refugee (but maybe an internally displaced person). S/he must cross an international border and under the Refugee Convention, is unable or unwilling to return because of a well-founded fear of persecution based on his or her race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group (UNHCR).

husbands, father, neighbors or colleagues than they are from strangers (Panos, 1998).

²⁶ In efforts to clarify the issues, I admittedly risk oversimplifying the complexities. Mertus does an excellent overview of the reasons why women are forced to flee. These include: internal and regional strife; human rights violations; severe forms of bias and abuse based on alleged political activities; severe forms of bias and abuse due to religion, race, ethnic group, or political opinion; natural disasters and environmental degradation; and, poor economic condition (Mertus, 2000, 3-4).

$$[P(I \in S) \Leftrightarrow C] + F = R$$

or

$$[C \Leftrightarrow P(A \in S)] + F = R$$

where:

P = persecutions, I = individual, S = social group
 C = crisis/conflict, F = fleeing (and crossing an international border)
 R = refugee status

or

$$[P_{\text{ersecution}}(I_{\text{ndividual}} \in S_{\text{ocial group}}) \Leftrightarrow C_{\text{risis}}] + F_{\text{leeing}} = R_{\text{efugee}}$$

or

$$[C_{\text{risis}} \Leftrightarrow P_{\text{ersecution}}(I_{\text{ndividual}} \in S_{\text{ocial group}})] + F_{\text{leeing}} = R_{\text{efugee}}$$

Clearly, refugees cannot be considered a homogeneous group; planning for their immediate needs and impending future requires a deeper understanding of who they are, where they come from, and what they bring with them (in terms of material and human resources), all of which are gendered. Rarely are individuals randomly affected by disasters; the social position of individuals is often the direct target for persecution and a significant indicator of the degree to which they are able to manage crises and successfully survive. An integrated WID and GAD approach to relief highlights the importance of taking social and cultural values, structures, relations and behavior into consideration when planning and implementing relief interventions.

Gender Analysis & Planning in Emergency Contexts

Women, whose roles in their pre-conflict lives oftentimes did not include decision-making for the community (as is seen in Moser's triple role), are easily ignored or silenced in emergency situations. Though women make up the majority of displaced persons, they are rarely involved in planning or policy making (Williams, 1994, p. 245). "When women refugees arrive at a camp or settlement, little is likely to be known about them or their lives, and they will probably not be consulted about methods of delivering aid by the implementing agency" (Williams, 1994, p. 245). As is demonstrated in Moser's triple role, women play an important role in maintaining social and cultural cohesion through their roles as community managers. Gender analysis and frameworks

can be used to both seek out women's voices and encourage their participation in planning and decision-making. Careful gender analysis and planning can also serve to disprove stereotypes of women as victims and men as combatants and challenge limited approaches to programming and policy formulation that fail to address the issues concerning the growing number of women and girl combatants in intrastate conflicts. "In many cases in Latin America, women were combatants. In El Salvador, for example, women made up thirty percent of the FMLN's demobilized soldiers. Nevertheless, official accounts tended to ignore these women" (Kauth, 2002, source unknown).

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) for humanitarian agencies identifies the following objectives for gender analysis and planning in emergency relief:

- Gender analysis highlights both men's and women's capacities and indicates where opportunities are missed by humanitarian agencies for targeting effective strategies to support and enhance women's skills and capacities.
- Gender analysis can identify the division of labor within the household and domestic economy as well as identify the burden of reproductive labor that women bear and highlight the way this intensifies during periods of rapid and violent social change.
- Gender analysis can reveal the socio-cultural constraints facing women who, as bearers of culture and the social reproduction of norms and values, become subject to new forms of control and victimization during emergencies.
- Gender analysis points out that men's experiences and identity in times of emergency are also impacted and that the 'gender' question is not just a woman's issues. The ways in which violence has helped restructure 'masculinity' in poverty-affected and marginalized societies is an important factor when considering boys' and men's involvement in armed militias and their acts of violence against women. This is particularly important when considering the post-conflict phase where men and boys are re-socialized. (ISAC, na, p. 3)

Included in these goals are the important issues and concerns that gender-intentional planning and response need to consider in humanitarian aid. These include the question of distribution, changing gender roles, gender-based violence, and resources and resentment.

Distribution

Despite the strides that have been made, there continues to be a myriad of challenges in identifying and meeting the needs of women, men, children and the elderly and disabled in emergency circumstances. One of the major challenges is the age-long problem of distribution. When humanitarian aid is handed out, it does not flow equally among all recipients; instead, it usually finds its way into the hands of those who hold positions of relative power. A 'redistribution' plan is then implemented with different recipient targets than those originally identified by aid agencies. Refugees who come together to settle temporarily (in camps or otherwise) are vastly diverse in terms of their gender, ethnicity, civilian vs. military status, political ideology, religion, etc. This means that even within the same camp, there can be people who are deemed 'guilty' as opposed to 'innocent' refugees. This was the case with Rwanda's outpouring of Hutu refugees in the mid-nineties, whereby the camps were also home to those who actively planned and participated in the genocide of Tutsis.

In cases such as these, humanitarian aid can actually go into the hands of those who perpetuated the violent conflict that created the refugee crisis in the first place. Aid in the hands of the powerful may actually contribute to fueling the conflict, diverting provisions and foodstuffs to guerrilla or military groups. More commonly, distribution does not reach many of the intended recipients because rations are made and handed out to the male head of household, who instead of delivering the aid to his family may instead sell it to buy other goods. For women, it can mean the difference between receiving equal rations to feed themselves and their families, and being forced to resort to dehumanizing means of accessing food. "Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a fundamental human rights principle of equality and non-discrimination, it is also a necessary prerequisite for the meaningful integration of women's interests and concerns, including ensuring equal access to all protection and programme services." (UNHCR, 1997, p. 4)

ISAC suggests that gender analysis and planning can be used to address issues of distribution, strategies among which include:

- Adopt positive measures such as distribution primarily to women to redress the discrimination in allocation of resources and food, given that women are first to suffer extensive anemia and famine with implication for their babies and unborn children.
- When undertaking nutrition assessment of the causes and physical signs of malnutrition, take into account the causal differences and needs of males and females.
- Examine how, for example, registering only male household heads in refugee or IDP camps for food distribution directly reduces women's influence over the production and provision of food within the family and undermines their position within the household. Adopt measures to overcome this. (IASC, na, p. 1-2)

Changing Roles

Women may be forced to abandon, or be abandoned by, husbands and male children who remain behind to fight, or simply disappear in the chaos, or are killed. Whether abandonment is intentional or unintentional, the result is that women are burdened with heading the remains of the household alone. "80-90 percent of households or family groupings in refugee settlements are headed by women" (Williams, 1994, p. 245).

Women oftentimes assume full responsibility of the elderly, young, sick and disabled, in very precarious circumstances.

Refugees' worlds are turned upside down in every respect. "A key element of modern political violence is the creation of states of terror to penetrate the entire fabric of grassroots social relations as a means of social control... The valued institutions and way of life of a whole population can be targeted" (Summerfield, 1996, p. 1). The nature of such circumstances can force women and men to take on new roles and responsibilities, and relinquish traditional ones:

...male refugees complain that their role and standing in the home is effectively being usurped by unhr. As one man put it, 'unhr now provides housing for my family, food for my kids, and clothing for my wife. What use am I any more?' This challenge to their traditional role as providers for their families tend to lead to anger, frustration, uncertainty, and helplessness among male refugees. (HRW, 2000)

These changes could very well be threatening to men who are socialized to self-identify and self-affirm with respect to the degree power and control they have in their families and society. "Even in long-term refugee settlement where women's and men's roles may stabilize, they will be different from those pre-flight, and may be regarded as temporary

by refugees themselves” (Williams, 1994, p. 273). To some degree men and women may respond to these changes by adopting new attitudes and roles that are steps towards gender equality and equity. Refugees possibly have an unexpected window in which to transform and transcend traditional roles, because their entire context has been altered. “The political impact of conflict many times actually created opportunities for women to increase their public roles and responsibilities. In the absence of men, women take on leadership roles in both civic and political institutions” (USAID/CDIE, 2000, p. 3). The literature seems to illustrate that this response is not the norm. “In some situations, there will be a stronger adherence to traditional roles, values and perceptions” (March et al., 1999, p. 43).

Analysis for addressing such issues of changing gender roles would include:

- Examine the impact of the humanitarian crisis on gender roles. Have women assumed household roles and economic responsibility formerly undertaken by men? Do the culturally traditional roles of women still apply? Have they become more lenient or more stringent? Are women more involved in the decision-making in the public sphere?
- Has the division of labor within the household been affected? To what extent are such changed roles to women’s advantage?
- Consider changes in women’s roles and workloads. To what degree have women-headed households assumed extra burdens as a result of the crisis? How has the crisis situation increased the burden on women for finding food, shelter, etc?
- Question if control and access of goods and services are consistent with the gender division of labor. In developing programs, ensure that both women and men are targeted according to their productive activities and needs. (IASC, na, p. 4-5)

Sexual & Gender-Based Violence

Organizations that work with refugees are inundated with empirical data substantiating the fact that women continue to be adversely targeted for acts of sexual and gender-based violence at moments when they are rendered most vulnerable.²⁷ Assaults and harassment by strangers seem to accelerate, but women also continue to be physically, sexually,

²⁷ “Sexual violation is an endemic yet poorly visible facet of violent conflict...Under-reporting of rape by victims is probably universal because of the associated stigma” (Summerfield, 1996, p. 2-3).

emotionally and economically abused by those who are supposed to protect them, such as spouses, relatives and men in official positions of power (e.g. guards and officers).

As women flee, their vulnerability often increases due the fact that they may travel alone or with children.

Refugee women are vulnerable to violence at every stage of their flight. While fleeing a war zone alone, they risk rape or abuse by soldiers or guerrillas. On arrival at a refugee camp, they may be raped or exploited by local security personnel or other refugees.
(UNHCR)

In addition to seemingly individual acts of violence, rape can be used as a tool of warfare “as a means of ethnic cleansing, serving not only to terrorize individual victims but also to inflict collective terror on an ethnic group” as has been made explicitly clear in recent conflicts (USAID, 2000, p. 2). “In some countries, such as Angola and Mozambique, combatants kidnapped women to use as sex slaves- a tactic for terrorizing and dehumanizing young women from particular ethnic groups” (USAID, 2000, p. 2). The circumstances in which women become and live as refugees is ripe with forms of gender-based violence that cover a wide spectrum of human rights violations.

Women continue the everyday chores whether they are on the move or temporarily settled, which oftentimes require having to walk great distances to procure wood and water. This is a time when women become more vulnerable to sexual and physical assault, as they are often alone. The structure of a camp does not necessarily mean less likelihood for violence against refugee women, despite the presence of guards and officials. In fact, the literature seems to suggest that, in some cases, the camps themselves are actually breeding grounds for violence.²⁸ For women refugees, sexual harassment can mean having to tolerate camp guards’ sexual harassing banter, advances and/or demands

²⁸ This can be due to overcrowding; general chaos and confusion; lack of separate accommodations; great distances to latrines, and water and fuel sources; lack of proper lighting making it easy for attacks; ‘prison-like’ environments; ‘lawlessness’ in closed detention facilities (for unauthorized or illegal entrance into a country); lack of support services to report incidences of violence; and, no precedence for the strict punishment of perpetrators (UNHCR, Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women).

for sexual 'favors' (assault) in 'exchange' for the right to go collect firewood or receive provisions and food.²⁹

Sexual assault certainly increases in conflict situations, and there is ample empirical evidence that domestic abuse also escalates when families manage to stay together or new families are formed within the refugee environment (UNHCR). Some refugee women may actually experience less domestic violence simply due to the fact that in conflict situations families are torn apart and often women flee without their husbands. But those women who are accompanied by their husbands, even for a short time, can experience abuse for the first time or more and/or new abuse. "Research has indicated that a contributory factor to sexual and domestic violence in and around the refugee camps involves male refugees who are idle, having lost their primary and traditional roles in society" (UNHCR, 1997, p. 6). Women and men also may marry in refugee camps and the violence can begin then and there. "She said she had married a man [who abused her] there [in the camp] because she felt the need for protection, as women were being raped at the camp and when they left the camps to collect firewood" (HRW, 2000).

The fact that women and children make up 80 percent of the world's IDPs and refugees is also an indication of the violence that men are subjected to during times of crisis. Their absence is largely attributed to the fact that they have been killed, exiled, or called away to serve in combat. "Less is known about the psychosocial consequences of violence, including sexual violence, suffered by men during conflict" (McAskie, April 1, 2002, p. 2).

For gender-intentional planning concerning issues of sexual and gender-based violence, IASC suggests considering the following points:

- Be aware that homelessness and lack of adequate shelter forces many displaced women and girls into prostitution.

²⁹ Important to keep in mind is that refugee women may have experienced sexual and gender-based violence prior to the conflict or circumstances that forced them to flee; the violence or threat of violence may be the primary reason for fleeing their home; and, in attempting to escape the violence or threat of violence, they may encounter any number of the forms of violence against women.

- Integrate the security concerns of women and children into the assessment of shelter and domestic needs. Ensure that women are involved in and consulted in the process.
- How has the shift in gender roles exacerbated women's vulnerability to sexual exploitation, domestic violence and rape?
- Establish gender-sensitive systems of separate registration of women and men to help refugees and IDPs deal with the specific problems they are facing in seeking protection, asylum, services, etc.
- Examine how the fear of harassment and rape in turn forces women into forming alliances with soldiers and other men in power as a means of safety and escape.
- Examine the extent that the loss of husband and children also causes a loss of identity in situations where women's status is defined solely as mothers and wives. Note how this increases their vulnerability to abuse and violence. (IASC, na, p. 7)

Resources & Resentment

Lack of resources is an on-going theme for refugees, for relief agencies and on a local and national level for the country of asylum. Host country communities may resent the presence of refugees, especially when they are perceived as receiving free handouts and having it 'easier' than they do. This can be an additionally false perception of women or marginalized refugees, who do not experience equal access to food and material distributions, but are disproportionately the target of blame from the outside community at large.³⁰ The presence of refugees may also represent a severe strain on preciously limited resources, such as water, wood, land, social services, areas to defecate, food in the market, etc. Refugees may easily offend the local population by accessing and using resources in a manner that might be perceived as culturally inappropriate or wasteful (e.g. cutting down trees as opposed to collecting brush or using dried cow dung for fuel). There is also the potential that relief and transitional efforts directly conflict with the development resources of the host community. For example, in Kenya, UNHCR found that professional psychological support for trauma victims was not "made available to the Somali rape survivors on the grounds that such treatment would be unjustified given the level of services available to the local population" (UNHCR, 1995, p. 3). One way of dealing with the negativity surrounding the influx of refugees and stress on local

resources may be in the commitment to funding and supporting local NGOs to keep resources flowing to local institutions and building the capacity of existing organizations.

These schisms and negative perceptions or experiences may also contribute to refugee women's vulnerability to violence. If the local nationals perceive refugee women as wasteful, dirty, or 'loose', this can directly affect how refugee women are able to access and benefit from local resources, organizations, and services, such as the courts.

"[Burundian] refugees are viewed by many Tanzanians as a threat to security and a drain on the country's limited resources" (HRW, 2000). The local population may denigrate refugee women if the camps are notorious for sexual activity and abuse, and/or domestic violence, fostering an attitude that 'refugees foster crime and violence, they steal precious resources'. Refugee women who are forced to resort to prostitution due to the lack of other viable choices or trafficked directly into prostitution, may also contribute to this negative perception that 'they steal our husbands'. This may make it more socially viable for local nationals to assault refugee women without fear of prosecution.

The understanding of resources includes: essential health services, water and sanitation services, shelter and livelihood needs, and education.³¹ The committee suggests to:

- Adopt measures to ensure women's access to resources for collecting/carrying water, as well as control over containers and storage facilities and that these systems and resources are located in safe, secure areas.
- Involve community-based organizations, especially women's groups, in facilitating emotional and psychological healing, and restoring community and family capacity for protection and self-support.
- In developing emergency educational programs and facilities, consider the longer term developmental needs of girls and boys, and consult community organizations, particularly women's organizations in the process.
- Examine how women's lack of access to agriculture land underlies their food insecurity and whether national laws exist that deny women access to land. (IASC, na, p. 1-7)

³⁰ In the anti-Violence Against Women movement in the U.S., this would be considered a form of victim blaming.

³¹ But there lacks a direct acknowledgement of the struggles that ensue over land and resources, among refugee groups, as well as between them and host-country communities.

Gender Analysis & Planning Frameworks for Emergency Situations

In this chapter, two frameworks will be discussed: 1) The People-Oriented Planning Framework (POP); and 2) The Capabilities and Vulnerabilities Analysis (CVA), the former of which serves in this paper as an example of a WID approach to relief, and the latter, a GAD approach. As in chapter three, both frameworks will be analyzed according to four categories: identifying its policy location as discussed in the previous chapter; looking at how it frames issues of gender, gender roles and gender oppression; discussing its applicability within an organizational context; and, teasing out the potentialities and challenges of translating the theoretical framework into training.

People-Oriented Planning Framework

The People-Oriented Planning Framework (POP) is based on the Gender Roles Framework. It was devised specifically to address the gender needs and concerns of refugees. Its aim is to “ensure that there is an efficient and equitable distribution of resources and services” and to reduce the gender disparities in humanitarian aid (March et al., 1999, p. 43).

Central to this framework is the significance of change, participation, protection, and analysis in responding to emergency situations. The tools used in this framework are: Refugee Population Profile and Context Analysis; Activities Analysis; and Use and Control of Resources Analysis.

Policy Context

As the POP framework grew out of the GRF, the values it purports and its approach to relief are very much in line with the WID policy context. The priority is on including refugee women, men and children in the project design and implementation process, in order to secure the success of the program, which reflects aspects of the efficiency model.

Conceptualization of Gender

Change plays a dramatic role in the lives of refugees as it affects nearly every aspect of their lives, but changes affect men and women differently. In effect, change is a gendered experience. Gender roles and responsibilities shift as refugees' contexts are completely altered due to tears in the social fabric, and loss of vital resources and life. Both women and men are affected directly or indirectly by violence, whether natural or human-induced. "The dynamics of change working within the society determine, to a great extent, the acceptance and success of any project" (March et al., 1999, p. 43). Refugees' pre-conflict experiences play an important role in determining how they will respond to relief efforts. Existing gender roles, and thus the division of labor, are disrupted by flight, therefore making it vital to uncover the pre-conflict activities and roles of women and men, as well as what they are doing (and are capable of doing) now in the refugee situation (March et al., 1999, p. 45). If there is a gender imbalance in the refugee population, work that was traditionally done by men, for example, cannot be accomplished in the usual way.

Cultural norms and social hierarchies are recognized to be especially important to people as they flee, partly in order to retain some semblance of normalcy. Women, in particular, risk being exiled from the religious or social community if they fail to observe cultural norms during times of crisis. Part of the analysis is geared towards uncovering what women need to sustain their livelihoods and positions in society, despite the radical changes to the overall structure.

Gender is seen as an entry point to understanding what resources populations have lost and retained in flight. Resources are of vital importance to all people, but especially to refugees who invariably lose everything from land and seeds to animals and tools. The lack of resources will affect gender relations, and in this situation there is a potential for women to gain control over and access to resources that they were not accustomed prior to flight. Analysis questions include: what resources were lost due to flight? (use/control); what resources were brought by refugees? (use/control); what resources are/must be provided for which refugees?; to whom are they provided?

Protection is framed as an activity that individual or social groups are expected to provide. In flight, these protective structures are lost often at the expense of women's and children's safety and sense of well-being. "Such protection can be of a legal, physical or social nature. It is important to find out what protection gaps there are in the current situation" (March et al., 1999, p. 45).

Applicability

These activities should be conducted with both the host communities and refugee populations in order to consider the "economic and demographic factors, institutional structures, socio-cultural factors in the refugee group and the host country/population, legal factors and international political events and trends" affecting refugees (Williams, 1994, p. 274). The framework functions best with fairly homogenous communities, as it does not necessarily seek to uncover differences that would exist among groups of women and men. The POP framework can be an important tool for organizations committed to mainstreaming gender into their humanitarian relief operations.

Training Issues

This framework is relatively simple to learn and employ. It is a practical approach to collecting a considerable amount of data in a short amount of time, which is vital in the initial stages of resettlement. There is little that is potentially controversial about the tools and underlying assumptions, therefore practitioners could be trained in a limited time span.³² A possibility for pushing the envelope in training people in POP is to do it in conjunction with the CVA framework or to base it in Human Rights language and concepts.

³² "At the end of 1996, a total of 2,368 persons had been trained in the use of the People-Oriented Planning...A total figure can be broken down to 946 UNHCR staff, 1,422 implementing partners, composed of NGOs and government officials...In spite of the extensive training, the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in UNHCR programmes remains low" (UNHCR, 1997, p. 5).

Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis Framework

The Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis Framework (CVA) is a methodology for approaching and integrating issues of gender into humanitarian interventions and disaster preparedness. It is considered to be a 'development approach' to relief, in which emergency interventions are geared towards increasing people's capacities and decreasing their vulnerabilities. Relief is understood as immediate needs, and development as long-term strategic needs.

Policy Context

The CVA clearly fits within a GAD approach to gender-intentional planning and analysis. The focus is on gaining a deeper understanding of, and affecting change in social relations. Gender is considered an important (if not the primary) element of social relations, in addition to economic class and ethnicity. Though not explicitly stated in the WID relief doctrine, there is an assumption that the ultimate goal is to provide as much assistance to refugees as will allow them to regain some semblance of normalcy. In contrast, the CVA approaches crisis as an opportunity to challenge oppressive social relations.

Conceptualization of Gender

Gender is framed in terms of capacities and vulnerabilities. Capacities are the existing strengths of individuals and social groups (March et al., 1999, p. 79). "Capacities are built over time and determine people's ability to cope with crisis and recover from it" (March et al., 1999, p. 79). Capacities are affected by crisis or conflict because a society loses its ability to cope. "Vulnerabilities are the long-term factors which weaken the ability of people to cope with sudden onset or drawn-out emergencies" making them more susceptible to crises (Williams, 1994, p. 389). Vulnerabilities exist before and after disasters and contribute to the effectiveness of emergency interventions. They are not practical needs, but instead "require long-term strategic solutions that are part of development work" (Williams, 1994, p. 389). The CVA recognizes that populations respond to and manage to cope with conflict, disasters and flight very differently because of the degree to which the forces at work impact their internal capacities to cope (Byrne

and Baden, 1995, p. 1). These capacities are formed pre-conflict and are significantly influenced by gender.

Both capacities and vulnerabilities are analyzed in terms of people's material and physical resources, social and organizational resources, and their attitudes and beliefs. Women and men experience resource losses differently and come through material deprivation with different sets of skills and knowledge upon which interventions can be built. "Crisis can be a catalyst for extraordinary efforts by communities, but when people feel victimized and dependent, they may become fatalistic and passive, and suffer a decrease in their capacities to cope with and recover from the situation" (March et al., p. 80).

Applicability

Though the CVA is specifically geared towards emergency contexts, it can be applied in purely development-oriented programming, or in communities that are particularly vulnerable to and/or consistently impacted by crises. The framework can be used to assess change within a community over time (March et al., 1999, p. 89). The CVA is considered to be "easier to adapt to macro-analysis...to see the constraints and opportunities for promoting gender equality in the wider context and within implementing agencies" (March et al., 1999, p. 90). It is possible to use the CVA and still exclude gender from the analysis, which could be useful or detrimental.

Training Issues

This framework takes on considerably more complex issues as compared to the POP framework, in that it purports to address the social, psychological and attitudinal realms, in addition to the material needs of refugees. This 'extra step' requires greater education and buy-in from participants because their own values would ultimately affect the analysis. Participants would benefit from receiving training in POP, and in how to use the frameworks consecutively or simultaneously.

Concluding Thoughts

The international community has a responsibility to those who flee escaping danger to ensure them the utmost degree of security and safety. It is remarkably complicated to decide how to go about doing this in an informed manner that takes into account not just the most pressing needs, but the long-term effects of whatever intervention is chosen. The emergency gender analysis and planning frameworks are an important step in recognizing and working with the complex realities and social relations reproduced by refugees wherever they settle. It seems almost logical to simplify the situation and to work in chronological order, first taking care of safety, then food, then shelter, and to address the other issues after these basic needs have been provided. Though it is a mistake to perceive these primary concerns within a vacuum, it is important to recognize the obstacles and pressures with which aid workers approach an emergency situation. With this in mind, I see the ideal intervention as bridging WID and GAD policies, for example, using the POP framework in the initial stages of humanitarian response, and systematically moving into using the CVA. The following chapter addresses this point in more detail.

Chapter V.

From Development Theory to Relief Practice: Points of Confluence

Confluence: a coming or flowing together, meeting, or gathering at one point; the flowing together of two or more streams; the place of meeting of two streams (Webster's Dictionary).

There are tremendous ideological and political struggles over the role of gender theory in development and relief. Much of the struggle lies in an assumed necessity for ideological purity. There is value to this desire for theoretical purity because it puts pressure on policy-makers and practitioners to set high standards to reach the expectations of the theory, and not to settle for less. When dealing with issues as fundamentally crucial to human well being such as refugees' human rights for protection and assistance, there is little room for settling for less. This aspect of the discussion is not debatable. Issues arise, however, when stakeholders become inflexible in terms of preserving theoretical purity ultimately at the beneficiaries' expense. This ideological battle seems to occur at the highest levels, between the stakeholders who impact policy most, such as governmental and academic institutions, and at the top of organizational hierarchies. This seems to be juxtaposed with the unabashed intermingling of theories and methodologies that happens in training and ultimately, in practice.³³ "A constant refrain in gender training programs, especially in the context of development agencies, is the need to make training practical and not theoretical" (Mukhopadhyay & Appel, 1998, p. 14). This is, in essence, the reality of translating theory into practice. In this chapter, I analyze the translation of gender theory into specifically relief practice, considering its potential benefits and consequences.

Translating WID and GAD into Relief

Agencies' decisions to adopt a WID or GAD approach to emergencies will depend upon the policy base for any gender programming they may already have and, their primary stakeholders: donors, organizational and political cultures, governments, and recipients/participants.

³³ This became clear to me in my interviews with the head of the WID office at IDB, as well as in my research on relevant policy documents and training manuals.

Many [relief] institutions (government, non-government, multilateral and bilateral donors) express real discomfort in addressing issues of power in gender relations for fear that this might alienate men (Mukhopadhyay & Appel, 1998, p. 13).

There are a number of constraints, political and institutional, to the introduction of a gender perspective in relief work. These factors create a culture clash when trying to introduce gender concerns. (Bryne and Baden, 1995, p. iv)

The trainer's, as well as the organization's, approach to gender and development influence the training approach, and hence the framework used. These vary in the degree to which they see the need for personal attitudinal and behavioral change, or focus primarily on changing organizational procedures and practices. (Reeves & Baden, 2000, p. 20)

It is at the point of first implementing theory into practice that methodological theories on gender and development reach confluence; they are sifted through at various levels to fit the needs and constraints of organizations' specific goals and mission, and adapted to fit the different contexts in which organizations' implement programs and projects. At the base of my argument is the assumption that individual methodological theories on gender and development are pieces to the puzzle, and only when reformulated in practice do they begin to complete the picture. This can be illustrated by looking at the potential benefits of combining WID and GAD approaches for relief policy and programming.³⁴

Understanding of the problem:

WID: Policymakers, and the interventions that follow, have ignored women's needs and roles, thus excluding them from relief efforts (relief as benign)

Versus

GAD: Humanitarian aid agencies and policies are inherently biased; they produce and reproduce social inequalities

Both of these issues are valid and continue to persist. Though the majority of refugees are women and children, they continue to be left out of the decision-making processes that have a direct impact their lives; for example, aid does not always make it into their hands. A WID conceptualization of refugee gender issues borders on a simplistic, if not a

³⁴ GAD theorists would insist that GAD already incorporates the pieces of WID worth keeping, but I do not necessarily see this reflected in GAD approaches to policy and programming. For the purposes of this analysis I have intentionally drawn a clear line between them.

superficial, understanding of the problems at hand. It even can be used to detract from dealing with oppressive social relations (and oppressive structures within relief agencies) on a truly meaningful level. In a sense, a WID conceptualization fosters an attitude that what is needed to remedy the situation is simply *more* of what is already being done. Doing in-depth gender analysis can be viewed as time-consuming and unnecessary during the initial stages of emergency response.

Introducing a gender approach into relief programmes need not always slow down the delivery of relief and it can render assistance more effective. Mistakes made in the early phase of relief operations, such as the inappropriate siting of water and sanitation facilities, can prove damaging and be costly to remedy later. (Byrne and Baden, 1995, p. iv)

But, the WID conceptualization of the gender problem cannot be ignored, as it is an appropriate framework to guide interventions at the beginning phases of emergency response. During the process of challenging and re-envisioning agencies and their policies, efforts must be made to increase the likelihood that women receive equitable resources and vital aid, as well the equity of women's degree of participation in decision-making in relief efforts. Simultaneously, relief agencies should be committed to scrutinizing their policies and programming with the level of complexity that the GAD paradigm demands. There is the potential of bridging these conceptualizations of the problem by developing progressive and effective ways of increasing women's participation in relief efforts and decision-making and, ultimately, transforming how relief is done. This would require opening up the direction of influence between theory and practice, and policy, programs, and evaluation, making it a two-way street.

Approach to gender:

WID: Gender is what women do and need vs. what men do and need

Versus

GAD: Gender is one aspect of social relations

In the WID paradigm, women are often framed as victims and passive players in conflicts. GAD analysis takes more than just gender into consideration and more readily recognizes that women and girls are playing more and more active roles in conflicts (as

combatants, etc.) and that their needs as active players need to be addressed as well. Included in the GAD conceptualization of gender is the idea that refugees' experiences of crisis, forced flight and resettlement differ according to the degree of vulnerability they experienced pre-crises; vulnerability is in part a gendered characteristic. Because the GAD approach takes into account psychological experiences, it may tend to recognize that the likelihood that women were targeted for violence pre-conflict, as well as during and after, increases their vulnerability as refugees. On the contrary, women may be more apt at managing and surviving crises, in comparison with their male counterparts. A GAD approach may be more apt to consider interventions targeting perpetrators of oppression and violence as part of the problem and solution, while a WID approach tends to focus primarily on women's issues separately from those of men.

Though it may be plainly obvious, these differences lie in the very names of the two approaches: one that focuses on women (and what relief can do for women to help them benefit from interventions), and the other that focuses on gender in a much broader (and less concrete) manner.³⁵ GAD interventions focus on challenging and transforming social relations for the empowerment of both women and men to overcome crises. The WID approach would only benefit from drawing from GAD methods for identifying the potential diversity of identities and issues facing a population of refugee, and what that means for inter- and intra-group struggles over resources. For example, how do a women's multiple identities affect her ability to access and control resources, vis-à-vis men, different ethnicities, caste, religion, political affiliations, etc.? Relief efforts need to broaden their conceptualizations of gender programming so they address the needs and interests of men in a way that is aimed at transforming inequalities and oppressive social relations.

Strategies:

I.

WID: Identify the activities men/women did and currently do, and what resources women/men had, and now have, access to and control over

³⁵ Not to mention, the fact that they are both development focused, not relief. Women in Relief (WIF) and Gender and Relief (GAR)?!

*Versus***GAD: Uncover the social relations and organizational structures that produce and re-enforce vulnerabilities and capabilities**

Gender roles are tremendously challenged during conflict and emergency situations. Refugees' experiences of life alter dramatically even if their values and beliefs do not, and these events are gendered. Gender roles change to different degrees; there may be no choice on the part of the people to bend traditional mores, such as with the creation of female-headed households due to the absence of males. There may be also an increased willingness or adaptability to change as a coping mechanism to survive. In this respect, it is very important to plan interventions with an understanding of the experiences refugees have come with, and what they are experiencing at present, this is very much in line with a WID approach to gender-sensitive humanitarian aid. The issues addressed by a WID approach are absolutely pressing problems, such as determining a cursory make-up of the refugee population, the resources they bring with them, and their former and present capabilities. This information, though superficial, is especially vital at the crucial point of emergency resettlement. This is only a beginning and, therefore, an appropriate response at the immediate onslaught of a refugee crisis.

Given the separation of relief and development, and the constraints on introducing gender issues in emergencies work, rehabilitation is likely to be the phase when the introduction of gender-aware practice is most feasible. Here, also, consultation is crucial and appropriate spaces are needed for women to articulate your concerns. It may also be the point when interventions can most readily seek, not only to meet women's gender-specific needs, but also to build on their skills and capacities and redress gender inequalities in access to resources and power. (Byrne and Baden, 1995, p. 54)

The GAD approach should follow quickly behind, as refugees settle and begin to reinstate cultural and social institutions to lend structure to their altered experiences. These structures will affect how refugees manage the situation, and whether they benefit from, or are negatively impacted by, well-planned and implemented humanitarian aid efforts.

Strategies:**II.**

WID: Plan accordingly to remove obstacles to participation, and ensure equitable distribution of services and goods

Versus

GAD: Analyze accordingly to challenge social relations, and reformulate relief policies and interventions to be gender-redistributive³⁶

The following passage is a typical critique of the discrepancies between WID and GAD.

[A WID] approach gives only a partial understanding of gender relations in emergency situations and has a tendency to, on the one hand, *meet some of women's needs*, whilst on the other increasing their work loads or reducing their control over decision-making... A GAD analysis allows for a *fuller appreciation* of the effect that gender relations and thus on the relative positions of men and women. (Bryne and Baden, 1995, p. 40)³⁷

There is nothing necessarily wrong in this critique, but I find it interesting that the GAD analysis focuses on the *appreciation* of gender relations, without mention of its effectiveness in meeting refugees' needs. This is a typical analysis that rightly acknowledges that meeting *some practical needs* is not enough and, yet, fails to prioritize practical needs or offer a *practical solution* to the problem. A WID approach focuses on women's practical needs at the time of crises and resettlement and is highly concerned with ensuring equal access to available resources, and creating programs specifically to meet the needs of women. As discussed in chapter 4, women face specific challenges and forms of violence that necessitate special programming, but this ideally includes the participation of men in the solution. If implemented immediately, a GAD approach runs the risk of over-looking gender-specific needs, because the focus is so heavily on the institutions that produce and reproduce unequal social relations.

³⁶ Kabeer breaks down gender-sensitive policy into three categories: *gender-neutral* (interventions intended to leave distribution of resources and responsibilities intact), *gender-specific* (interventions intended to meet targeted needs of one or other gender within existing distribution of resources and responsibilities), and *gender-redistributive* (interventions intended to transform existing distributions in a more equalitarian direction). (1994, p. 307)

³⁷ Italics mine

In emergency crises involving refugees, people's practical needs are of primary concern, which is fundamentally a WID approach. Bridging practical needs and strategic interests, a GAD approach requires time, leadership, and some sort of structure to facilitate the naming and understanding of what people need and aim to work towards. Because GAD-related tools are complex and in-depth, they do not lend themselves to rapid forms of appraisal or participatory methods. In effect, relief practitioners apply their own analysis to the situation and determine what a population's strategic needs are. This depth of analysis is of vital importance and, once immediate needs are met, it should be a process in which diverse groups of women and men have the opportunity to explore these issues for themselves. Though interventions can be geared towards challenging oppressive social relations, it is not the place of the relief practitioner to decide what to challenge and how, without the buy-in or participation of the target population.

Confluence: Dilution or Solution?

One could easily argue that this process is how ideas that challenge the status quo become diluted into an easier to swallow pill for stakeholders involved.

Although WID and GAD perspectives are theoretically distinct, in practice it is less clear, with a programme possibly involving elements of both. Whilst many development agencies are now committed to a gender approach, in practice, the primary institutional perspective remains as WID and associated 'anti-poverty' and 'efficiency' policies. There is often a slippage between GAD policy rhetoric and a WID reality where 'gender' is mistakenly interpreted as 'women'. (Reeve and Baden, 2000, p. 33)

But I would suggest that it is useful to view this 'readjustment' or 'muddying' process from the perspective of how theory begins to mirror the complexities of gender issues in reality. That is to say, one approach to gender may sufficiently satisfy a priority, such as food distribution or the physical structure of a refugee camp. But an individual's experience as a refugee is not limited to only one or two priorities; these are, in fact, intrinsically linked to other priorities and problems they may be experiencing. Agencies are limited by the scope of their missions and donor restrictions, but should be encouraged to view gender issues from a broader perspective. Theorists should understand these limitations, and refrain from throwing out the practical realities of the baby with the ideological bathwater. Confluence can be a form of dilution, but it can also

be an opportunity to pick and choose, depending on the level of gender expertise, autonomy and accountability in an organization.

Chapter VI.

Conclusions: The Future of Gender's Sex Appeal

Resolutions

Humanitarian relief agencies have the responsibility to implement equitable and effective relief interventions but also to better understand how their initiatives play into and potentially impact the existing social relations and cultural infrastructure that refugees bring with them. In this respect, gender planning and analysis frameworks can play an important role in the successful mainstreaming of gender. "In order for gender issues to be taken seriously, means of implementing policy and guidelines are required, such as marker systems for programme appraisal, incentives or sanctions for the inclusion of gender issues and systematic evaluation of the gender impact of programmes" (Byrne and Baden, 1995, p. v). Because gender-related theory and methodology for relief grew out of a development context, there are tensions that exist, bringing into question what is adaptable and applicable in the emergency-transition-development continuum. It is not necessary to re-invent the wheel by developing a separate set of theories and tools for relief; there is overlap between the two. This creates an opportunity for development to inform relief and for relief to inform development. But it is important to recognize the dissimilarities and the areas in which priorities differ (i.e. strategic vs. practical needs).

Ideally, a GAD approach encompasses the aspects of WID that directly address the immediate needs of refugees and, in particular, the needs of vulnerable groups within refugee populations, such as women. But, in general, the gender literature upholds GAD as a critique of WID, without addressing how aspects of a WID approach may be in fact a better fit for the emergency response context. On the ground, it makes sense to make informed choices about interventions, and to pick and choose from both theoretical tool kits.

Looking Ahead

An underlying thrust of this paper is the need to integrate relief and development, in order to respond more effectively to emergencies as well as to prevent them. Gender-

intentional planning and response in emergency contexts can help balance the immediate relief-related needs of incoming refugees with the ongoing development needs of the local environment to where the refugees have come. They can also set the foundation for the transitional-development period refugees face soon after their arrival. Relief agencies need to explore how creating or bolstering existing support, prevention and legal services for refugees might be integrated with ongoing development work with the local national populations. Bridging relief and development would in fact help to reduce tensions between refugee and host communities.

It is difficult to know in which direction gender and relief is headed. There is a chance that the relatively heightened awareness at present, aided by the recent media coverage of the plight of Afghan refugees and women in particular, could bring necessary funding and educated staffing to the field where assistance is most needed. Sexual and gender-based violence is fast gaining credibility in the human rights and UN circles, which has important implications for funding and programming. It appears that gender might enjoy its recent celebrity status for some time until the development and relief world again refocus on another trend and gender loses its sex appeal. Though there is greater awareness and lip service paid to gender, there are still tremendous strides that must be taken before relief interventions actually become equitable and effective. "Whilst the concept of gender analysis has been introduced...effort is needed to mainstream gender concerns and to monitor and evaluate the progress in needs assessment and programme design" (UNHCR, 1997, p. 7) There is evidence that a recent trend in UNHCR has been to scale-back field staff that would be accountable for implementing gender-related interventions, due to budget cuts and perhaps to a lack of commitment.

In spite of extensive training, the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in UNHCR programmes remains low...While impressive guidelines...have been produced, these are not being adequately used on a system-wide basis and implemented at the field level. Until the accountability of managers for the implementation of the policy and guidelines is better established, progress will be piecemeal and unsatisfactory.
(UNHCR, 1997, p. 5)

As the theoretical knowledge grows, the practical implementation of gender-intentional interventions may in fact be shrinking. It is difficult to gage. We may also anticipate a sort of backlash against gender programming at some time in the near future, as was the

case for WID during the seventies and eighties. Quantitative data that would potentially boost support for adequate gender and relief funding, and prepare evidence should a backlash occur, is sorely lacking. Such information, on the effectiveness and impact of gender analysis and planning, would inform the development of evolving methods. There are plenty of stones yet unturned in the realm of relief and gender.

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