City Research Online

City, University of London Institutional Repository

Citation: Jensen, K. F. (2003). The challenge of gender mainstreaming for a contemporary non-governmental organisation: The International Planned Parenthood Federation. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, City, University of London)

This is the accepted version of the paper.

This version of the publication may differ from the final published version.

Permanent repository link: https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/30636/

Link to published version:

Copyright: City Research Online aims to make research outputs of City, University of London available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the author(s) and/or copyright holders. URLs from City Research Online may be freely distributed and linked to.

Reuse: Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge. Provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

City Research Online: http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/ publications@city.ac.uk

The Challenge of Gender Mainstreaming for a Contemporary Non-Governmental Organisation: The International Planned Parenthood Federation

By Kira Fortune Jensen
Department of Sociology
City University, London
27 September, 2003

Contents

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the ESRC for funding this research. There are also a number of people to thank for their help in the production of this thesis. Professor Angela Coyle, Professor Peter Willetts and Dr. Pramilla Senanayake were encouraging and thoughtful in supervising the research on which the thesis is based. Special thanks must go to Naana Otoo-Oyortey who has been unflagging enthusiastic even when I felt slightly daunted myself. I am grateful to staff at The International Planned Parenthood Federation for sharing their 'organisational lives' and thoughts with me. Particular thanks go to Judith Helzner who facilitated a regional visit and shared with me her many thoughts and beliefs. Rita Ward at IPPF was always helpful in digging out any material needed. Finally I would like to thank my parents for their encouragement to seek stimulating challenges. Last but not least I wish to express my gratitude to my husband, Richard Fortune, for his constant support, patience and interest in my research.

List of Tables

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CC	Central Council
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women (UN)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DFID	Department for International Development
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
FP	Family Planning
FPA	Family Planning Association
GAD	Gender and Development
GC	Governing Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEP	Gender Equity Policy
GLAD	Global Advocacy Division
GNP	Gross National Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
IDS	Institute of Development Studies (Sussex, UK)
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IMAP	International Medical Advisory Panel
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International NGO
IPAP	International Programme Advisory Panel
IPPF	International Planned Parenthood Federation
IWAP	International Women's Advisory Panel
MA	Members Assembly
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NNGO	Northern NGO

NOVIB	Dutch NGO
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
ODI	Overseas Development Institute (UK)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SAR	South Asian Region
SARO	South Asia Regional Office
SCF - UK	The Save the Children Fund (UK)
SIDA	Swedish International Cooperation Development Agency
SNGO	Southern NGO
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Family Planning Association
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
V2F	Vision 2000 Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation
WHR	Western Hemisphere Region
WID	Women and Development

Abstract

This thesis has two main aims; firstly, to clarify the nature of gender mainstreaming and secondly to articulate the challenge for a contemporary NGO, The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), to incorporate this increasingly popular strategy. During the 1970s and 1980s insights from Western women's movements were fed into the thinking and practice of development aid, resulting first in WID (Women in Development) and later in GAD (Gender and Development). Up to a certain point it looked like a 'success story' culminating in the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Yet, at Beijing it became apparent that there was no clear evidence that progress had been made, despite the fact that many NGOs had improved their stated goals and strategies, incorporating a commitment to improve women's conditions and to promote the empowerment of women. Consequently, gender mainstreaming was adopted as a new strategy and became part of the *Platform for Action* and thereby part of a broader international agenda.

Yet, from its very inception, there has been a paradox at the heart of the gender mainstreaming strategy - whilst 'gender' is a concept of plurality derived within the post-modern school of thought, 'mainstreaming' is a strategy based upon modernist interpretations, which are neutral with regard to organisational structures. Promoting the role of women in development and putting women's values at the centre of development work means reaching into the 'heart' of the development discourse and reconstructing from the bottom, the very concepts that shape that same discourse. Throughout this thesis I argue that by using gender mainstreaming as a strategy there is a tendency to build upon the overtly modernist theses of WID and GAD, through the adoption of a logical, technical and top-down methodology. Implicit in this strategy is that change can happen by adding on post-modern terms such as 'empowerment' and 'participation' onto existing modernist and bureaucratic structures. Often these attempts have failed to 'take account' of gender in a way, which adequately accounts for the plurality of 'lived experiences', which compose and define the notion of gender.

This thesis is about this very paradox and will attempt to deconstruct IPPF and its gender sensitization efforts in order to understand and illustrate how the Federation has tackled the conceptualisation and practical application of gender mainstreaming. My overall argument is that as an NGO, IPPF has knowingly driven its gender sensitization process through focusing primarily on the mainstreaming element within gender mainstreaming. Consequently the notion of gender as an articulation of 'difference' has been subsumed within the overtly modernist terms of mainstreaming. Here mainstreaming rather than being the strategic function of gender has effectively re-conceptualised gender on its own terms so that gender in the context of IPPF's efforts also derives from a modernist framework of understanding where 'women' are abstracted and universalised.

Introduction

The writing of this thesis coincides with a period of extensive re-appraisal and reflection on the direction of gender orientated development. This is, not least, because the most recent contribution to development thinking in the gender[1] space, namely gender mainstreaming, has now had time to advance from being a theoretical notion to a set of practical policy guidelines, which are influencing governments, inter-governmental organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). In its present state, gender mainstreaming is much more than a set of theoretical inclinations, which initially grew out of feminism[2] and the feminist grassroots movement. In fact the last five years have seen gender mainstreaming become absorbed into organisational practices and more recently into programmes and projects themselves. This means that the 'window' of analysis available for this thesis is optimal in terms of allowing an extensive discussion of the significance of gender mainstreaming.

[1] Whilst the notion of gender will be discussed in great detail in *Chapter One*, I use March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay's definition of gender, stating that 'Whilst sex is a fact of human biology; gender is not. The experience of being female or male differs dramatically from culture to culture. The concept of gender is used by scholars to describe all the socially given attributes, roles, activities and responsibilities connected to being a female or male in a given society. Our gender identity determines how we are perceived and how we are expected to think and act as women and men, because of the way society is organised. Moreover, gender varies according to other social relations such as class, race, ethnicity and disability.' (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999: 18).

[2] There are many different interpretations and definitions of feminism. For the purpose of clarity I use the International Reproductive Rights Research Action Group's definition of feminism, which states that feminism is a concern in theory and practice with the conditions of women, and a commitment to transform gender oppression along with and in relation to systems of domination that divides women by race, class, ethnicity, region, nationality, religion, sexual orientation and age. This definition implies a questioning of all hierarchies and power relations, including those within the research process itself, and a general commitment to achieving social justice throughout the world. It also implies recognition that women's movements, geared towards 'political action of women' on many issues, may not always be self-defined as feminists in this sense, and that the accepted meanings of feminism in our different national and cultural contexts may vary. (IRRRAG, 1998: 27).

The term gender mainstreaming emerged in relation to the debate within the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) on the role of women[3] in development. The Commission described gender mainstreaming as a means of promoting the role of women in development and of integrating women's values into development work (European Commission, 1998: 5). These concerns and objectives of promotion and integration highlighted at the CSW were consolidated in the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, a document outlined at the UN sponsored conference held in 1985. This conference recommended that the various UN organisations and departments assimilate these strategies into their ordinary work as they move forward. The consequence of both the Commission's work and the ongoing Nairobi strategies was a resolution in 1986 that the future work of the CSW would fully integrate the Forward Looking Strategies into both economic and social development programmes throughout all UN activities.

The concept of gender integration was advanced further and the decision of the CSW consolidated at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Here the strategy of gender mainstreaming was explicitly endorsed by the Platform for Action (1995), which was adopted at the end of the Conference. It states that:

> 'governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively' (UN, Platform for Action, 1995:116).

This statement has since informed DANIDA's (2000: 8) definition of gender mainstreaming, which stresses that gender is the *concept* whilst mainstreaming is the *strategy*. Gender mainstreaming is concerned with placing gender at the heart of policy formulation and implementation rather than allowing planners to 'bolt-on' gender dimensions after formalising policy or during project planning. Theoretically,

[3] Although I use the term 'women' generically, this is not to say that all women are oppressed in the same way, but rather a recognition that whilst oppression is common, the forms it takes are conditioned by race, ethnicity, age, sexuality and so forth. This will be discussed further *in Chapter One.*

then, a gender analysis[4] must be utilised throughout every stage of the planning process. Gender mainstreaming is concerned with promoting women in development and putting women's values at the centre of development work. Implicit in this strategy is the need for empowerment and participation[5] of both genders and moreover the permanent and continual 'taking into account' of a gender analysis.

Throughout the brief history of gender mainstreaming a number of contentions, internal and extraneous to it, have come to light, which have indicated that there is a potential paradox at the heart of the gender mainstreaming concept and strategy. These contentions are located in the frictions between critical components of gender mainstreaming and the wider development community. These include the universality presupposed in the conception of 'womanhood', the organisational constraints, which derive from the relationship between donors and NGOs as well as the preoccupation with managerialism as a means to effective development.

Aim of the Thesis

The starting point of this thesis is an exploration of these contentions and frictions in terms of the content of gender mainstreaming and the context of its practical application. This entails two parallel and mutually dependent objectives of the analysis set out over the following chapters of this thesis. The first concerns the nature, content and possibility of constructing and implementing a development praxis, which is gender mainstreamed. The second objective is to assess the extent to which a contemporary non-governmental organisation (NGO) the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) has managed to assimilate this contested concept and implement policies, which are informed by the theory. The two issues are mutually dependent because the possibility of gender mainstreaming is directly connected to its application. The concept alone can only add value to the development canon if it is efficacious in the context of substantial change. This thesis will analyse

[4] Gender analysis involves looking at the sexual division of labour, the access and control men and women have over inputs required for their labour and the outputs of their labour. Moreover, such an analysis refers to a systematic way of looking at the different impacts of development on women and men and requires separating data by sex and understanding how labour is divided and valued.

[5] Both notions of empowerment and participation will be discussed more fully in *Chapter One.*

the concept *in situ* as an organic toolset of theories and practices conceived to ensure development is robust and fair.

More generally this study aims at articulating the challenge for IPPF to conceptualise this increasingly popular strategy and absorb its ramifications into its organisational practices. There are extensive precedents of new and radical toolsets affecting the development canon; during the 1970s and 1980s insights from Western[6] women's movements were fed into development thinking and practice, first under the heading of WID (Women in Development) and later as GAD (Gender and Development). These notions did have an effect and were perceived by many as a 'success story' culminating in the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Yet, at Beijing it also became apparent that there was no clear evidence that progress had been made. Despite the fact that governments, inter-governmental organisations and NGOs had improved their stated goals and strategies, incorporating a commitment to improve women's conditions and to promote the empowerment of women, evidence showed that whilst women were presented with increased opportunities to bring their perspectives into the development arena, women world-wide were faced with challenges of greater hardship than seen earlier (Arnfred, 2000; Jahan, 1997; Rai, 2002).

As previously discussed, gender mainstreaming was adopted as the new global strategy to promote gender equality and became part of the Platform for Action outlined in Beijing in 1995 at the United Nation's World Conference on Women. This conference established that gender equality perspectives should be brought into all policies, procedures and institutional structures and systems (UN, 1995: paragraph 57). Whilst ambitious, this was the first systematic attempt to change international and domestic policy processes, in which gender equality became a core consideration. This strategy was not only aimed at specific departments or ministries dealing with women, but rather for all actors across a range of issue-areas and at all stages in the policy process from conception and legislation to implementation and evaluation.

[6] Within this thesis the notion of the West refers specifically to Europe and North America

Gender mainstreaming is now an official policy amongst international organisations such as the UNDP, the World Bank and the European Union. Yet, the origins of gender mainstreaming pre-date the Beijing Conference by at least a decade and lie in the efforts of women activists and entrepreneurs to increase the visibility of women and the importance of gender equality in the polices, programmes and projects of international development agencies. The gender mainstreaming strategy was initially a grassroots derived set of principles articulated and constructed to address particular issues in a new and radical way calling for a transformative agenda challenging the systematically unequal structural barriers in both organisational and development practices that prevent gender equality. Whilst the Beijing Platform for Action opened up a space for the women's movement to promote a transformative agenda, it is at this point that potential frictions emerged between the content of the theories that substantiate gender mainstreaming and the organisational structures, which compose the development sector at all levels.

These potential frictions have meant that gender mainstreaming continues to be a contested term. Gender mainstreaming has different meanings to different actors depending on the instrumental purpose of its usage. It is critical then within the context of the aims of this analysis to review all these considerations that have led to the contemporary articulation of gender mainstreaming. The theoretical and conceptual structure of the following chapters reflect this and will subsequently include a detailed analysis of gender mainstreaming as a set of dynamic narratives, which have come to constitute a distinct discourse advocating a practical and strategic vision for mainstreaming gender. The analysis will entail and feature an extensive discussion of gender strategy in terms of discourse and the relationship between discourse and power. This discussion will take as its starting point the post-structuralist argument that:

> 'the discourses that constitute women as subordinate are not localised in a single institution, but permeate every aspect of society - they are an element of every institution. The subordination of women, thus, cannot be eradicated by reforming the political or economic structures alone because elements of that subordination will not be eliminated by giving women the vote or equal pay' (Hekman, 1990: 186).

This is at the heart of gender mainstreaming, or at least my interpretation of it, and will form the backdrop for analysing how IPPF has conceptualised gender mainstreaming within its own organisational discourse.

Setting the Scene

The International Planned Parenthood Federation has specialised in the area of family planning and sexual and reproductive health since 1952. In order to understand IPPF's conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming it is essential to understand the many changing and competing discourses, which have taken place within IPPF throughout this period of fifty years. IPPF began as a small pioneering network, which has since grown into a globally recognised organisation. This movement from being a 'pioneer' to a 'world-player' has affected IPPF's internal discourses on gender, gender equality and gender equity[7]. Each stage can be characterised and has left an imprint on the modern IPPF, not least the significant changes derived from the women's movement over the last 30 years. The history of IPPF and the role this history has played in its knowledge and conceptualisation processes is central in understanding the NGO and moreover, how a concept and strategy like gender mainstreaming can take root, who champions it and where its radical agenda can flounder.

To explore these issues it is critical to understand and appreciate fully the power relations that substantiate the production of knowledge in IPPF and its changing content. This will entail looking at organisations as sites of 'power struggles'. Foucault's work in this area will assist in gaining this understanding and will be used as a framework for my analysis of IPPF and the way in which the organisation has conceptualised gender mainstreaming. Foucault's conceptulisations

[7] Throughout the thesis I use IPPF's definition of gender equity and equality. Thus, in this context gender equality connotes an equal number or percentage of women and men. In contrast gender equity implies a sense of fairness or justice and should be applied to all gender-related issues, whether with regard to the number or proportion of women and men in a board or committee, or with regard to the social division of labour. *Chapter Five* provides a further discussion of these concepts.

of power are apposite in this context as they will assist in tracking the contours of change within IPPF that have affected and been effected by the wider gender debates. The point of this approach is to identify the various internal and external points of contention and conflict, which shapes IPPF's contemporary articulation of its gender aims and the programmes and actions, which flow from it.

Notwithstanding the importance of Foucault's argument, one should recognise that organisations do play a key role in contemporary society and moreover that organisational structures are often reflections of society itself (Goetz, 1997; Itzin and Newman, 1995; Rao, Stuart, and Kelleher, 1999). One starting point in the analysis of IPPF's conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming is to understand to what extent organisations are effective agents of change, with specific reference to changing existing gender relations, which will influence any organisation's narrative. NGOs have historically been considered to be catalysts of social change (Edwards and Hulme, 1997; Green & Matthias, 1997; Helmich and Smillie, 1999). For those who consider social change as a crucial feature for development to be a successful strategy, NGOs offer a potential alternative to governments, which may not be as efficient as their NGO counterparts.

The process of 'adaptation' will be subject to extensive analysis and this will take the form of a systematic analysis of IPPF as a deliverer of sexual and reproductive health services starting with the Central Office, the regional level and the constituent Family Planning Associations (FPAs). This process of adaptation for many NGOs has tended to revolve around adjustments within the language of their organisational discourse. The significance of this is the possibility of developing an analysis, which aims at exploring changes in organisational language, which are without substance in terms of complementary changes of power relations. This is illustrated by Baden and Goetz who argue that:

> 'outside of academia, within policy and activist arenas, the utility and relevance of 'gender' has come to lose its feminist political content'. (Baden and Goetz, 1998: 19)

According to Baden and Goetz, NGOs and other international development organisations adopt revised linguistic frameworks with the intention of mainstreaming gender, when in actual fact this may instead be a compromising strategy. This, in turn, potentially silences the importance of gender relations and may have a counter productive effect as it further promotes existing power structures and thereby does not challenge the *status quo*.

Locating Gender Mainstreaming within the Wider Literature

Whilst gender equality within Northern[8] organisations has already been discussed and debated by various scholars (Cockburn, 1991; Bacchi, 1996 and Forbes, 2002), the term gender mainstreaming has only recently emerged within the academic literature. Government agencies, intergovernmental organisations and NGOs have produced several documents highlighting the theoretical and practical implications of gender mainstreaming, but relatively few scholars have undertaken specific research on the theoretical implications of gender mainstreaming in a specific organisational context. Various studies have looked at the contested meaning of the term gender mainstreaming (see: Arnfred, 2000; Taylor, 2000 and Kabeer, 1997) and the way in which contests concerning meaning and categories are a dominant feature of both practitioner accounts and academic scholars' work (Breitenbach, Brown, Mackay and Webb, 2002: 12).

Arnfred (2000), in particular, illustrates how gender mainstreaming is defined and hence contested by different groups and how this neutralises the political dimension of gender mainstreaming. She argues that:

> 'at the level of the nation state, feminists got involved in government politics for gender equality – a collaboration, which in the Scandinavian context has been dubbed 'state feminism'. Similarly in the North a kind of 'development feminism' emerged, increasingly integrated in and with issues of investigation

[8] The terms North and South have been adopted within this thesis to indicate the belief that global economic rivalries and status are no longer defined on an East-West axis. Rather, these are increasingly defined around the less industrialised economies in the South and the more industrialised economies in both the North and South (Particularly the newly industrialising countries in Southeast Asia).

> defined by the big and powerful development institutions – the World Bank, the UN and donor governments – and not by feminist movements' (Arnfred, 2000: 78).

Central to Arnfred's argument is that as gender mainstreaming travelled from the feminist grassroots to development agencies, the notion of gender as a social construction was effectively neutralized by de-politicizing the gender mainstreaming project.

Most recent studies have been focused on specific aspects of gender mainstreaming in its widest sense, such as the concept itself, its relationship to other gender orientated change programmes or its relation to modernism[9] in general. Few of the studies have lined up gender mainstreaming in every aspect of its existence from theory to practical application and analysed it wholesale in a large NGO to see how it is interpreted, understood and applied. Jahan (1997) undertakes an analysis of four key donor agencies and the way in which these agencies have conceptualised gender mainstreaming. Yet, the aim of this analysis is to disseminate information about the donors' strategies to a wider audience, thus, bringing greater transparency to the donors' work (Jahan, 1997: xii). Whilst this is useful, in particular given that Jahan herself brings a Southern feminist perspective to the debate from her experiences working within Southern grassroots movements, this study tends to overlook the various power dynamics, which potentially underpin the wider discourse on gender mainstreaming.

In contrast to Jahan, Goetz has undertaken several studies (Goetz, 1994; 1997; 1998; 2001), which are both broader and more in depth with regard to the essence of gender mainstreaming. The prime focus of Goetz' work has been the undertaking of various gendered 'archaeologies of organisations' in order to illuminate any gendered sub-text of apparently neutral organising structures, practices, and ideologies. This, she argues, helps to explain why such structures prove so resistant to women and their

[9] Modernism (Modernity) within the context of this thesis is defined as the sociological and political perspectives, which advocate that there is a single rational, scientific objective account of reality and that, that account of reality determines a universalistic approach to explaining social change.

interests. Goetz goes much further in looking at the various discourses and narratives, which circumscribe organisational structures in order to understand the various systemic obstacles to gender orientated change. Goetz' analytical stance utilises a layered approach to deconstructing organisations. These layers incorporate the discursive level where women's interests and needs are constructed and contested, at the institutional level in defining the roles and procedures, which shape the practices of bureaucratic actors and finally at the level of resource allocation the struggle over the satisfaction of needs. In analysing gender in this way, Goetz undertook a similar and earlier analysis to the one I have set out over the following chapters as both focus on the relationship between organisations, actors and the negotiation and assimilation of difference.

The role of this thesis in the wider understanding of the relationship between gender and development is to illustrate the nature of gender mainstreaming within a sexual and reproductive health NGO context. The aim is to unlock the various potential problems and issues that the development community has to appreciate and address in order to advance a gender sensitive development framework, which accommodates difference, community and participation. The problems and issues, which arise through analysing IPPF specifically, illustrate the critical paradoxes within gender mainstreaming as a general theory of attaining social change. The most significant of these being the friction between gender as a concept and mainstreaming as a strategy. The latter potentially contradicts the former in so far as it presupposes a singular intervention orientated around organisational change, whilst gender, I would argue, is pluralistic in content. These potential paradoxes are further highlighted when seen in the context of an NGO, which is dominated by Northern notions of gender and change and the Southern context in which much of its activities take place.

Organisation of Chapters

The thesis has been divided into two parts; the purpose of this division is to capture both the theoretical approaches to gender mainstreaming and a wide-ranging analysis of the way in which IPPF has worked with the concept throughout its organisation. The first part of the thesis includes a theoretical analysis of gender mainstreaming, an historical overview of IPPF and finally an outline of the theoretical

and methodological approach used within the thesis. The second group of chapters is composed of a thorough analysis of the various organisational levels within IPPF and moreover, their individual contribution to IPPF's development project. The output from the first part of the thesis forms both an analytical backdrop and a theoretical justification for the following discursive chapters, which form the core of the research.

Part One – A Theoretical Discussion

Part One consists firstly of a discussion of the historical and theoretical development of gender mainstreaming. This focuses on the relationship between gender mainstreaming and its 'predecessors'; WID and GAD. The purpose is to show the degree of continuity as well as difference between gender mainstreaming and WID and GAD. The chapter also explores the relationship between elements of existing organisational practices such as Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunities in the North, which have potentially influenced the organisational aspect of the gender mainstreaming project in terms of an apparent synergy with desired outcomes.

Chapter One is followed by an analysis of IPPF, including aspects of its history, its objectives and its organisational structure. This chapter is aimed at giving the reader an understanding of IPPF as a global Federation in order to contextualise its efforts to utilise a gender perspective in the overall policies and projects in later chapters. *Chapter Three*, the final chapter in part one, outlines the theoretical framework as well as the methodological approach employed in Part Two of the thesis. The theoretical starting point of the thesis is the feminist post-modern and post-structural schools of thought, which are characterised by the departure from modernism's acceptance of universal truth as the basis for knowledge production. Instead, the key emphasis is that different realities exist, which are all internally valid and meaningful to those individuals, groups and societies, which inhabit these realities, and it is no longer possible to take established meanings, values and power relations for granted. This, in turn, recognises the importance of the subjective in constituting the meaning of women's experiences. The strength of a post-structuralist theoretical approach is that it addresses the question of how social power is exercised and how social relations of gender, class and ethnicity might be transformed. More

importantly such a theoretical approach asks whether and how a gender mainstreaming strategy can be absorbed into the discourses of a contemporary NGO.

Part 2 – Contextualising the Theoretical Discussion

This second part of the thesis consists of a systematic review of the various data collected during the research. *Chapter Four* is a discussion of the manner in which IPPF has produced knowledge on gender over the past fifty years of its existence. The role of this chapter is in understanding IPPF as an organisational entity that is composed of various discourses, which change over time. This discussion serves to illustrate how the Federation has and is changing and more importantly the way in which gender mainstreaming is currently being contextualised within the Federation's discourse. This is then taken further in *Chapter Five* where an analysis of IPPF's Gender Equity Policy is made. The Gender Equity Policy was adopted in 1995 at the Member's Assembly in Manila. The Federation considers the policy to be one of its strongest assets in putting gender equity at the forefront of its efforts to ensure that a gender perspective is 'institutionalised' through affirmative action.

Chapter Six consists of an analysis of IPPF's programmes. The projects chosen are predominantly found within the Federation's *Vision 2000* programmes. These are significant as they promote sexual and reproductive health as opposed to the more narrow and traditional focus of family planning, which initially characterised IPPF's approach. This analysis is also useful, as it will highlight the way in which policies and programmes interact together with regard to gender equity. The final chapter of the thesis is a discussion of the regional responses to gender mainstreaming. IPPF is a Federation and is divided into six regions and each of those regions consists of semi-autonomous FPAs. The aim of this chapter is to examine the various ways in which the FPAs have interpreted the Federation's Gender Equity Policy as well as the concept and strategy of gender mainstreaming and how these interpretations, in turn, have shaped their projects. The chapter focuses on two IPPF regions; the Western Hemisphere Region and the South Asia Region in order to illustrate the contrasting interpretations and the practical ramifications of their attempts to gender mainstream in their own particular contexts.

The final chapter within Part Two forms the summary and conclusion of the thesis as a whole. The focus of this chapter will be in drawing together the various chapter findings and articulating them in a coherent assessment of the aims of the thesis set out above.

Part 1

A Theoretical Discussion

Chapter 1

Gender Mainstreaming: A Theoretical Framework

This chapter has two main purposes; firstly, to contextualise the term gender mainstreaming and secondly to clarify the implications of gender mainstreaming as a concept and a strategy. The phenomenon of gender mainstreaming is best understood and appreciated against the recent historical backdrop of development thinking with regards to gender. The 1985 Nairobi World Conference on Women set out challenging goals and strategies to improve the status of women worldwide. Yet, ten years later when the Beijing Conference on Women took place there was clear evidence that little progress had been made, despite the fact that many NGOs had improved their stated goals and strategies, incorporating strategic steps to improve women's conditions and to promote the empowerment of women (Arnfred, 2000; Rai, 2002; Snyder, 1995).

The 1970s and 1980s saw the conceptualisation of the 'Women in Development' (WID) and 'Gender and Development' (GAD) approaches based on a strategy of 'integration' and 'efficiency'. This has since been enhanced and to a degree 'replaced' by the more recent concern of gender mainstreaming, which rests on the 'institutionalisation' of GAD.

The following discussion will attempt to plot various points on the theoretical 'landscape', which have led up to this contemporary articulation. The prime purpose of this chapter is to locate gender mainstreaming within theories of gender and development. Moreover, the discussion sets out to illustrate that gender mainstreaming cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon, rather it is an outcome of a complex and often tense discourse. The chapter begins with an outline of what gender mainstreaming is and follows with an analysis of the way in which women's roles have been contextualised within the development discourse over a period of thirty years. This analysis seeks to place these concepts historically within the wider social and political discussions of the time. The aim of this section is to illustrate the variability of gender as a concept in that its content is never neutral or constant; it is as much a consequence of social context as are other social concepts. Once

established, the notion of gender is then discussed in relation to the various schools of development thinking, which have led to gender mainstreaming. The purpose of the latter sections is to discern the essence of gender mainstreaming so as to provide an analytical foundation on which to base the thesis as a whole.

1.1 Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming, as a new concept, appeared for the first time in international texts after the United Nations' Third World Conference on Women, in Nairobi in 1985. It emerged in relation to the debate within the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) on the role of women in development. It was considered as a means of promoting the role of women in development and of integrating women's values into development work (European Commission, 1998: 5). A governmental commitment to implement the ideas of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women had as a precondition that the UN organisations dealt with these strategies in their ordinary work. A resolution on the future work of the CSW was adopted in 1986, which agreed to fully integrate the Forward Looking Strategies into both economic and social development programmes. In 1987 the CSW, on the basis of the decision taken in 1986, urged all bodies in the UN system, which had not yet done so, to formulate and put into effect a comprehensive policy on women's equality and to incorporate it into their medium-term plans, statements, objectives programmes and other important policy documents (Pietilä and Vickers, 1996: 5).

1.1.1 Institutionalising Gender Equality

At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995, the strategy of gender mainstreaming was explicitly endorsed by the *Platform for Action*, which was adopted at the end of the Conference. The *Platform for Action* calls for the promotion of the policy of gender mainstreaming and states that:

> 'governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes, so that,

before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively' (United Nations, 1995:116)

The term gender mainstreaming increasingly became part of the international language and in 1997 the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations defined gender mainstreaming as:

> 'the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in all areas and all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social policies and programmes so that women and men benefit equally and equality is not perpetuated.' (United Nations, 1997: 6).

Gender mainstreaming aims at putting women's and men's different needs at the heart of planning and policy-making – gender is considered to be the concept, whilst mainstreaming is the strategy (DANIDA, 2000: 8). This is clearly highlighted in a statement issued on gender mainstreaming by the UNDP claiming that:

> ''mainstream' comprises of decision-making processes of the organisation. Information gathered from socio-economic and policy analysis is what is being brought into the mainstream. Mainstreaming is done through analysis, in the first place, and then through advocacy, networking, teamwork, and other skills useful to influencing decision-making processes.' (UNDP, 1997: 1).

1.1.2 Negotiating Gender Mainstreaming

Since 1995, scholars and development practitioners have made attempts to conceptualise and to some extent negotiate the term gender mainstreaming as well as understanding its theoretical and practical implications. The term itself has been subject to much debate and alternative definitions of gender mainstreaming have been proposed; the following is a definition by Razavi and Miller who state that:

> 'mainstreaming signifies a push towards systematic procedures and mechanisms within organisations, explicitly taking account of gender issues at all stages of policy-making, programme design and implementation. It also represents a call for the diffusion of responsibility for gender issues beyond small and underfunded women's units to the range of sectoral and technical departments within institutions' (Razavi and Miller, 1995: 9).

Far from focusing exclusively on women's particularised needs by setting up units, which specifically target women, the aim is to 'institutionalise' gender sensitivity within the broader management and decision-making structures of any organisations, whether it be donor agencies, governments or NGOs themselves.

In order to understand the complexity of gender mainstreaming and its implications for development, it is crucial to understand that gender mainstreaming, both as a concept and as a strategy is grounded in long and complex discourses on women's involvement in the development process. As the concept and the strategy are two sides of the same theoretical coin, the following sections will attempt to highlight the social construction of gender and assess the context from which gender mainstreaming has emerged. Once these issues have been identified and contextualised further, a more detailed analysis and critique of gender mainstreaming will be given at the end of the chapter.

1.2 The Social Construction of Gender vis a vis Development

To understand social construction is to understand gender. This section is aimed at illustrating *that* connection and moreover the connection between social construction and gender within the development discourse. Development connects with gender in contemporary gender mainstreaming thinking through an understanding and appreciation of the various externalities, contexts and extraneous factors, which contribute to social construction. Gender is never abstract, nor is it ever fixed, its content is dynamic and to empower this dynamism is to sensitise the policy process to gender itself.

1.2.1 Male Bias in Development Practices

Development planners have historically ignored the needs of women and the place of women in the development process (Crewe and Harrison, 1998; Escobar, 1995; Marchand and Parpart, 1995). From the outset of development as a recognised political and social pursuit, there was little recognition of women's productive role; rather women were strictly viewed as reproducers in the sexual sense. Within the development process it was implicit that men were heads of households as well as productive agents, whereas women were primarily seen as wives, mothers and reproducers (Escobar, 1995: 177). Efforts and resources were aimed at the male population, whilst the female population became part of the marginalised 'welfare' sector. This was mainly due to a strong 'male-bias' within development planning and programmes where resources were very often directed to men (Elson, 1995, Moser, 1995; Kabeer, 1997).

According to Elson (1995) development is a concept that operates in favour of men as a gender. Such 'bias', she suggests is an asymmetry, which is ill-founded or unjustifiably based on incorrect assumptions and concepts. As Elson notes:

> 'part of the problem of male bias is that it tends to hamper women from forming well-defined notions of what they want; women submerge their own interests beneath those of men and children' (Elson, 1995: 5).

The male-bias became visible within development planning, through the stereotypical conception of 'the household', which according to this framework consisted of a nuclear family in which men retained their privileged status, within the model of the planners, as heads of households and more importantly as the principal decision-makers.

1.2.2 Gender-Blind Development Practices

At the outset, mainstream 'development' efforts were pointedly gender-blind and tended towards 'Eurocentric' principles and ideals, which rested upon the notion that women are natural beings whilst men are able to transcend nature and become

fully cultural beings (Parpart, 1995: 227). Boserup's (1970) groundbreaking work in particular highlighted this issue. She showed that development not only rendered women invisible within the development process, but more importantly it had in most cases a negative effect on women's economic and social status. As a result of development interventions, women's workloads tended to increase, their control over resources decreased and their marginalisation increased. Evidence also suggested that, although women were often the predominant contributors to the basic productivity of their communities, particularly in agriculture, their economic contribution was not included in national statistics nor in the planning and implementation of development processes (Boserup, 1970: 98).

Boserup's main critique of development planners was their tendency to see women as 'secondary earners'. In other words, the areas in which women worked were not recorded as full-time positions and were not considered as valid as the work carried out by men. Furthermore, she argued that colonial and post-colonial agricultural policies had facilitated men's monopoly over new technologies and cash crops and thereby undermined women's traditional roles in agriculture. This was a result of the dominant Western notion about what constituted 'appropriate' female tasks. This, in turn, was reinforced by the training women received, organised by development planners, who aimed at consolidating women's role as housewives rather than improving their ability to compete on equal terms with men in the labour market (Escobar, 1995; March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999; Moore, 1988). Development practice often rested on Eurocentric and gender-blind foundations, which were expressed in the 'neutral' language of planners. Often women entered projects 'passively rather than actively, as recipients rather than contributors, clients rather than agents, reproductive rather than productive' (Kabeer, 1997: 6). This point has further been interpreted by Escobar, who argues that a common feature of early development is that women's visibility has been organised by techniques that consider only their roles as reproducers. Up to the end of the 1960s, women appeared in the development apparatus only as mothers engaged in feeding babies, pregnant or lactating (Escobar, 1995: 172).

Boserup's work made several contributions to development thinking by challenging the assumption of the automatic accrual of modernisation's benefits to

women. She highlighted the importance of sex roles within the division of labour, showing that these were culturally constructed and not natural. Although Boserup's work has since been criticised for neglecting the systematic interconnectedness between social processes of capital accumulation, class formation and the changing situation of women (Beneria and Sen, 1981: 285), it served as a theoretical framework, which challenged the conventional notion that women were less productive than men and therefore not entitled to a share of development resources.

As development planners saw the failure of a large number of projects[10], which initially were set up to improve the quality of life within communities, early development strategies came under review (Tinker, 1990: 30). It was now evident to development practitioners and governments that for economic growth, human rights and sustainable development to occur it was essential to consider and include both genders in development planning (Jahan, 1997; Moser, 1995; Taylor, 2000). This new line of thought signified the new visibility of women and became the starting point for a new strategy within the development discourse. This became known as 'Women in Development'. Influenced in particular by the work of Boserup, feminist practitioners argued that:

> 'if, as Boserup suggested, women had in the past enjoyed a position of relative equality with men in agricultural production, then it was both appropriate and feasible for development assistance directed towards women to remove inequalities' (Razavi and Miller, 1995: 4).

1.3 Women in Development (WID)

The progression of development thinking in the early 1970s took its starting point to be the need to formulate a strategic praxis, wherein theoretical concepts and actions were combined. Enthused with the success of raising consciousness about women's unequal pay, unequal education and unequal work within the US, Irene Tinker remarks that:

[10] One example of such failure is that of a large NORAD-funded settlement scheme in a matrilineal region of Zambia in 1970. This project foundered at the implementation stage because it had discarded the views of local women. (NORAD, 1980)

'we wanted to take the second wave to the rest of the world and we knew economics was the way to get the power in this society' (Quoted in: Ramamurthy, 2000: 243)

In the 1970s the term 'Women in Development' was coined by the Women's Committee of the Washington DC, Chapter of the Society for International Development (Moser, 1995: 2). This was a network, which consisted of female development professionals who challenged the 'top-down' approach to development and argued that modernisation had different effects upon men and women. Once the issue of greater equality for women was linked to women as an under-utilised resource for development, the WID approach was rapidly taken up by international development agencies (Elson, 1995: 262). WID activities slowly started to increase within the UN in the early 1970s, leading to the 1975 World Conference in Mexico and the launching of the UN Decade for Women from 1975 to 1985.

1.3.1 The Theoretical Grounding of WID

The theoretical starting point of WID is to critique the tendency to present women in non-economic terms, fulfilling often stereotypical roles. This, it was argued was the cause of so many projects being unsustainable on a long-term basis and not having the desired effect of helping the whole of society (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 124). WID concentrated on women's productive roles and 'practical' gender needs[11], which involved organising 'special projects' directed at women in order to try and help them to 'catch up' with men' (IPPF, 1995: 11) and at the same time make them more visible in the process.

Although the WID approach focused more on women's productive roles, it has been argued, by critics of the WID approach (Barrios de la Chungara, 1983; Sen and Grown, 1987; White, 1992), that these are still considered within a stereotypical

[11] Meeting practical needs is a response to an immediate perceived necessity; interventions addressing these needs are typically concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment. The concepts of 'practical' and 'strategic' gender needs are discussed in greater detail in section 1.5

framework. To a large extent women were addressed mainly through welfare and home economic programmes, activities, which reinforced fundamental stereotypical gender behaviour. This did little to eliminate gender discrimination within project planning, employment and education. Income-generating activities for women were now promoted, but a re-definition of gender-roles to alleviating the resulting double-burden experienced by many women was often ignored. This facilitated the view that women as a general category could be added to an existing approach and that this would be sufficient to change development outcomes as well as improving women's position within society.

In many ways the WID approach remained rather vague in terms of its key tenets and principles. This is mainly due to the fact that it never took a 'uniform' approach. Moser (1995: 56) describes the different WID policy approaches as ranging from an *anti-poverty* position with attention to meeting basic 'strategic' needs, to an emphasis on *empowerment*.[12] The WID approach has often been perceived as a fluid concept with no fixed meaning, changing over time according to the changing emphasis of mainstream development. It is therefore implicit within the nature of WID that it is determined by the dominant theoretical externalities of mainstream development thinking. It could be argued that this prioritisation of aims could easily entail marginalisation of women, mainly because WID is driven by the predominant development discourse rather than its own aims and priorities.

1.3.2 Contesting the WID Strategy

Whilst WID has remained an influential conceptualisation and has put women's needs and roles firmly on the international agenda, it has also been subject to much criticism. Some scholars (Mohanty, 1988; Mueller, 1986; Escobar, 1995) have argued that the WID approach in conceptualising women in certain ways has meant that women are treated as 'victims' of their own culture and their agency is

[12] In her account of WID projects, Caroline Moser (1995) outlines five main approaches each associated with a distinct developmental philosophy, which clearly indicates the range of responses to gender issues within development practices. These are Welfare, Equity, Anti-poverty, Efficiency and Empowerment.

being undermined. Here, development discourse, whether mainstream or radical, for the most part continues to characterise women in developing countries as vulnerable victims, helplessly entangled in the tentacles of regressive 'third world' patriarchies. The possibility that females (and males) in developing countries may have skills and strategies to protect themselves is rarely taken into account (Marchand and Parpart, 1995: 16). Women from the South are often characterised as uniformly poor, inadequately prepared to cope with the current economic crisis and, thus, desperately in need of salvation through foreign expertise, which often takes the shape of a Northern donor agency or NGO.

The WID approach has, moreover, been accused of being ethnocentric (Chowdry, 1999; Escobar, 1995; Mohanty, 1988). Historically the whole notion of development has emerged out of, and been sustained by a dominant Western discourse. Since the inception of WID, there have been tensions between women in the South and women in the North as to how the problem of women in development was to be conceptualised. Women in the North tended to dominate the debate on the priorities that women in the South 'should pursue'. This domination stems from the then prevailing feminist tendency to homogenise and subsume all female life experiences under one all encompassing 'life-world'.

This was apparent in the discourse, which characterised the rise of the feminist movement in the 1970s, which was primarily dominated by Western middle class women. Their premises were founded on the essentiality of universal womanhood. On a practical level, their focus was towards demanding access to the labour market, recognition for their reproductive roles and the right to compete equally with men for leadership. The statement of 'universal womanhood' was central to the movement and this was based on the assumption that women shared a common position in their subordination to men. However, the concept of the 'Universal Woman' did not go unchallenged, both in mainstream politics but more importantly from within, by women whose self-awareness was not white, middle-class or necessarily educated. During the 1980s there was a strong reaction by black women arguing that they had been left out of this debate (Carby, 1997; hooks, 1991; Mirza, 1986; Mohanty, 1988). They argued that black and white women do not share the same social conditions of existence. White feminists had fallen into the trap of measuring the black female

experience against their own. This had to be recognised in order to move the debate on women's rights further. The notion of 'universal womanhood' and 'sisters in struggle' has since been challenged and has made way for an exploration of non-Western women's situation and interests, in their own terms, and not those of an agenda set elsewhere. As Friedmann points out:

> 'women's struggle for liberation must be waged from within the national culture; it can neither be grafted on as an exotic import from the West nor propose the wholesale destruction of a way of life that has deep historical roots' (Friedmann, 1992: 115).

1.3.3 Divisions between North and South

The different approaches taken by Northern and Southern women became apparent at the beginning of the UN Decade for Women. Here, many Northern women argued for more 'integration', which included greater visibility of women and more female participation as opposed to Southern women who argued that 'integration' should be made redundant in favour of a fundamental reorientation of existing development paradigms (Jahan, 1997: 9). These two very different starting points were clearly a symptom of Northern and Southern women's differing experiences. In the North the discourse was dominated by the issue of equal representation. This took the shape of lobbying for equal opportunities for women as well as affirmative action within the labour market. Women in the South, on the other hand, were increasingly experiencing the 'sour grapes' of the West's failed development efforts and consequently wanted to re-define the whole concept of 'development', which they perceived as ethnocentric (ibid.). Southern women pointed out that Northern women's key focus upon 'representation' was problematic as this approach ignored the structural features of social and political action. More importantly, Southern women argued that it was implicit that the prevailing power structures were considered to be legitimate (Jahan, 1997; Kabeer, 1997; Taylor, 2000).

These were two very different approaches. Although donors were more inclined towards the use of the 'integration' approach, there was a push from Southern

women not only to link gender with class and ethnicity-based inequalities, but also questioning the structures, which were already in place. Southern women argued that on the whole women did not want to be integrated into an unequal and exploitative system. Rather, they wanted to challenge and change the prevailing system (Jahan, 1997: 12). To some extent this new way of thinking pushed development planners to consider other strategies than the common approach of 'adding on women' and going beyond 'just' making women visible in the development process.

The inclusion of women in development theory and practice took a foot-hold through a realisation that gender analysis in development had tended to reinforce the male/female bias, focusing on gender in relation only to women, which in turn sidelined women from 'mainstream' affairs. The WID approach saw women as an isolated category and in many cases:

> 'looked for solutions that were not holistic, resulting often in women's interests being addressed by women's components in larger programmes and projects, which were largely within 'traditional' approaches, supporting women in their traditional roles without necessarily questioning the sexual division of labour' (MacDonald, 1994: 15).

Within an operational context, WID offices were set up in agencies and national governments in order to comply with the UN resolutions. However, there was a clear gap between formal institutionalisation and the actual practice, mainly as a consequence of the fact that the goals of WID policies were usually not stated in measurable terms and no target or timetable was set, which in turn made it difficult to review and measure the WID performance of staff (Jahan, 1997: 46). The other problem was that in the majority of cases only women were recruited for WID posts, which to some extent reinforced a very negative image suggesting that this particular job was only done by women and therefore was considered less professional by their male counterparts. Moreover, it could be argued that within such a context, men could deny any responsibility for issues of gender on the basis that they were already meeting their obligations by giving women the political space they were entitled to. This did to some extent effectively divert the attention away from the real issue

namely that of gender equality, and instead transformed the debate into a discussion of 'ability' (Cockburn, 1991; Lee Bacchi, 1996).

In response to these critical questions and challenges there was, during the mid-1980s, a shift in approach, which led many donors, intergovernmental organisations and NGOs to rethink the gender dimension within their work. Rather than focusing on women in isolation, they recognised the need to look at the interrelationship between men and women considering other variables such as class, sexuality, age and ethnicity. This was influenced by feminist scholars (MacCormack, and Strathern, 1980, Oakley, 1972; Rubin, 1975) who argued that there was a real problem with the manner in which women were perceived in terms of their sex, rather than in terms of their gender. More importantly there was, as seen earlier, a push from Southern women who argued that there was a need to assess the relationship between men and women in the context of class and ethnicity as there was no such thing as 'universal womanhood'. So far the data on women's role in development, which had shown that men and women do not benefit equally from development planning, had largely been conceptualised within the narrow discourse of WID. Southern women increasingly called for a more embracing strategy, which later materialised as that of Gender and Development (GAD).

1.4 Gender and Development (GAD)

As seen in the previous section, the WID approach saw women's lack of access to resources as the key issue in their subordination to men. However, few questions were raised about the significance of gender roles and relations in restricting women's access to resources in the first place. Thus, more than a change in terminology, GAD represented a 'reassessment of concepts, analysis and approaches in gender equity policies' (Goetz, 1997: 3). The main objective of GAD was to ensure that both men and women were integrated into the development process and this required a closer look at the different groups which made up 'communities', 'beneficiaries', 'consumers' and 'households' (Hannan-Andersson, 1992, Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau, 2000; Razavi and Miller, 1995). The GAD framework stressed that women and men are not homogeneous categories, but rather have different needs according to sexuality, class, age and ethnicity and more importantly

that men and women play a variety of overlapping roles, which complement each other.

1.4.1 The Theoretical Framework of GAD

The issue of 'the household' became a significant influence within the GAD framework. Anthropologists and feminists (Kuhn, 1986; Moore, 1988; Wolf, 1997) drew attention to the fact that households are not universal. Staudt's study (1978) showed how development projects had failed due to the assumption by planners that households functioned as corporate decision-making units under the control of the patriarch. Analysis of the household provided an inquiry into men's and women's activities, which in turn made an attempt to overcome the ideologies and stereotypes, which rendered women's work invisible. In looking at these 'givens', GAD unlike WID, attempted to deconstruct the various discourses, which surround gender as opposed to an exclusive focus upon women.

The use of 'gender' as a category of analysis shifted the focus away from 'women' perceived as 'the problem' within social relations. This is articulated clearly by Østergaard, who states that:

> 'the concept of *women in development* is concrete and may lead to marginalising women as a particular species with inherited handicaps. The concept of *gender and development* is abstract and opens up for the realisation of women's productive potential in development' (Østergaard, 1992: 7)[13].

Rather than focusing on women in isolation, which is characteristic of WID, the GAD approach maintains that this is to ignore the real problem, which remains - namely women's subordinate status to men.

GAD activists wanted to understand why women are consistently assigned secondary or inferior roles to men within society. GAD proponents argued that the main problem was that women have been incorporated into the development process

[13] The emphasis is mine.

in subordinate positions to men. Women were not measured in their own rights. The essential goal according to GAD advocates was therefore to challenge male social and economic privilege in the sense that women should gain equal access and opportunity to social and economic profit. Although GAD activists considered women's status vis á vis men, they focused primarily on women, because of the discrimination they experienced. At the same time, much of the GAD activism involved mobilising constituency support to press for change from the outside. There was also a focus on external strategies such as encouraging the hiring of more women within NGOs as well as the collection of data on the situation and well-being of women world-wide in order to promote change. The thematics, which characterised GAD, rested on the following objectives and perceptions. Firstly, women were not just passive objects of assistance or policies, but rather active subjects in social processes and should be treated so. Secondly, development planners needed to take into account the totality of women's and men's lives, including their productive, reproductive and community roles, which in turn should not be treated separately, but rather as a whole. GAD then was unlike WID in that it attempted to construct a different discourse, which orientated around gender sensitivity and difference and at the same time acknowledged the influence of social construction on gender roles.

1.4.2 Contesting the GAD Framework

Whilst GAD places women in a proactive and necessary relation to development, the essential conceptualisations of GAD still rest on a binary opposition between men and women. Women's relationship to development is defined in terms of women's relationship to men, where development is essentially 'male' and women stand outside the development process. Gender, is still to an extent characterised in terms of 'women' in their opposition to men; as a consequence, rather than seeing development as a means to improve the circumstances of all it is still circumscribed by a view of women as outside the mainstream of development. GAD is implicitly curtailed by the status quo rather than it trying to challenge the standard patriarchies. Feminist scholars (Arnfred, 2000; Goetz 1995; Marchand and Parpart 1995; Taylor, 2000) continue to challenge these premises and question the terms on which development organisations seek to use the GAD framework. Their key concern is that, by focusing on 'gender' within the terms outlined above, that is in terms of

universality, there is a risk of misunderstanding the actual fundamental nature of women's role in development and more broadly, their contribution to the development process.

This highlights one of the main criticisms of the GAD approach. One of the key concerns has been that, by focusing on GAD rather than on WID, women will once again become marginalised and this will in turn depoliticise the concept of gender and neutralise GAD's contribution to a new discourse. GAD has often been blamed for 'buying off' committed feminist activists and at the same time ignoring the real issue, namely men's oppression of women. Yet again, others (Menon-Sen, 1999; Zaodee and Sandler, 2001) have argued that by using the term 'gender' it is implied that on the whole, development practices have managed to overcome the inequality, which exists between men and women. This shift in discourse has in turn, within policy circles, created a focus away from women and towards 'men at risk'[14]. As a response to this critique, Hannan-Anderson (1992:14) suggests that rather than being a 'sell-out' for women, the gender approach often attempts to deal with women in development in a more direct 'head-on' manner. The WID approach often inadvertently came to deal with the symptoms of women's problems rather than their causes. According to Hannan-Anderson (1992) it is in fact, the causes that the GAD proponents wish to identify.

1.4.3 WID and GAD – Two Peas in a Pod?

Clearly, then, there are some very fundamental differences between WID and GAD. WID is less confrontational, in the sense that women are treated as a separate category, unlike the GAD approach, which is much more fluid, as it is orientated towards restructuring embedded culture rather than creating separate 'gender' units. GAD has therefore been more complicated to integrate; governments, NGOs and other organisations have had to make more efforts to absorb its implications. Simply 'adding' women into the development process, implicit within the WID approach, blocks off key areas of analysis, such as the interaction between gender, social class

[14] The issue of male participation has become one of many NGOs priorities and include projects such as 'Men, the Forgotten 50%' and 'Responsible Reproductive and Sexual Behaviour in Young Men'.

and ethnicity, which are concepts used within the framework of GAD. Whilst these theoretical advances did represent significant efforts to absorb women into development they were not, regardless of how much GAD activists tried to avoid it, without problems. In particular the overarching concept of both approaches is that of 'integrating women into development programmes, not that of rethinking development strategies' (Elson, 1995: 263). Little emphasis was put on the actual implementation of WID and GAD 'mechanisms' within NGOs and governments. This later became one of the key issues within the thinking of gender mainstreaming.

Yet, a significant change did occur in the discourse, as GAD started to assimilate the lexicon of the development establishment. This to a large extent neutralised women's roles and needs in development even further. This was mainly because planners tended to shy away from the radical language of structural transformation. Whilst GAD's central philosophy had an impact on development thinking, it did not become formalised within development practices due to its transformative nature. It was more appropriate to accept a WID approach, which argued on the grounds of efficiency and equity for female access to resources and decision-making. A relational approach to gender was in fact replaced by a focus on women, whilst male identities still lay unexamined in the background. One of the main problems with the GAD approach has been that 'gender' as opposed to 'women' has within an institutional context become a neutral term. This has in many cases implied a de-politicisation of women's issues in development, turning gender into a matter of planning and monitoring as opposed to that of a struggle (Arnfred, 2000: 75). Although there was a shift in language and the term 'gender' had now been adopted by the majority of development agencies, there was not much of a shift in practice per se. The strategy was still based upon a quantitative approach where women were 'measured' in terms of their participation.

Over two decades development agency discourse had been embracing evidence from research and action projects about women's actual and economic contributions, but it appeared that the policy debates and prescriptions had not yet given commensurate weight to removing gender specific barriers to women's equal participation (Jahan, 1997: 96). Rather, planners still shied away from the language of

'transformation' and continued to promote macro-policies that exacerbated inequalities between classes and nations.

1.5 The Centrality of Empowerment

Another key term, which appeared in the WID discourse and eventually, became very central to that of the GAD strategy was 'empowerment'. The centrality of empowerment as a key concept within the GAD framework cannot be understated.

1.5.1 Understanding Empowerment

The notion of empowerment first emerged from the South, where women were calling for an alternative kind of development, which would give people control over their own lives by expanding choices, increasing self-reliance and developing internal strength (Kardam, 1995:148). It was initially a call for a different kind of development, which proposed empowerment as an alternative to modernisation. An example of the increasing focus on empowerment would be Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), a group of Southern activists, whom called for participation and sought to create self-reliance. Empowerment has since become something of a 'catchword' amongst feminist writers, academics and within society at large. Its popularity is located within the individuated micro-structure of narratives and personal experiences, which increasingly seem to circumscribe contemporary existence and form the basis of political action and social change. Furthermore, it mirrors the shift away from the top-down approach towards a more participatory form of development.

Yet, the term 'empowerment' has different meanings across different interpretations of it. For some, it is associated with social mobilisation around women's needs (Andreas, 1985) and, for others, it is a change of the state of mind of women (Logan, 1989). Bunch and Carillo (1990: 77) state that:

> 'power is critical for women, and one of the paramount goals of a feminist vision of development is the empowerment of women. Such a vision considers

women as subjects or 'agents of development' rather than 'development problems' targeted by planners and agencies'.

Whilst meanings may differ, these differences are in many ways circumstantial. The core concern of each interpretation is that in order to sustain fair and equitable development, power needs to be shared amongst all members of society.

Central to the notion of empowerment is Molyneux's (1985) distinction between *practical* and *strategic* gender interests. Molyneux characterises practical gender interests as constituting a response to conditions that make it difficult for women to carry out the rights and obligations prescribed for them by the traditional gendered division of labour. Strategic gender interests are those arising from a desire to challenge women's subordination and existing gender relations. Kabeer (1997: 296) argues that this distinction is useful in looking at policies within development organisations, as it highlights the real tension between policies that seek to distribute resources in ways that preserve and reinforce inequalities and policies that use women's everyday practical needs as a starting point for challenging these inequalities.

Molyneux's distinction between women's basic and strategic needs have, however, also been subject to some criticism. It has been argued that women's 'basic needs' are separate from their 'strategic needs'. A 'practical' or a 'survival strategy' cannot simultaneously be a political strategy that challenges the social order (Lind, 1992: 144). Lind also argues that implicit in Molyneux's work is that poor women do not develop critical perspectives of their experiences and it thereby reinforces the notion that they are passive victims rather than active change agents.

1.5.2 Organisations and Empowerment

As empowerment emerged from the South, it has been a plausible response to charges of cultural imperialism, which is something many donors wish to avoid. The term soon travelled from the grassroots to major development agencies. This had some severe implications, in particular from the view of feminist scholars and practitioners. Increasingly it appears that when the term 'empowerment' is used within

international donor agencies it usually refers to the individual capacity to act rather than to a collective challenging of structural inequality. As Kabeer (1997: 261) points out, such an interpretation allows an evasion of the problem of ascertaining people's interests and is a very different re-construction of its original meaning. Instead, empowerment has to a large extent turned into a 'glossy' management term, where its meaning is very rarely explored. This is highlighted by James (1999: 13) who argues that although discourses on 'community participation', 'empowerment', a 'people-orientated approach' and 'listening to the voices of the poor' are now very fashionable amongst donors, governments and NGOs, the development discourse rarely engages with the human realities of the situations in which they are applied.

The organisational conceptualisation of empowerment is problematic because it is implicit that it is about 'giving power to someone'. This has been challenged by Southern feminists (Mohanty, 1988; Rahnema, 1997) arguing that it reinforces a neo-colonial discourse, which often portrays women in the South as passive and powerless in need of their Northern counterparts. The fact that women in the South may have their own survival strategies is rarely taken into account. Another important aspect of this kind of critique is that whilst a person may feel a sense of empowerment, this does not always equate with an actual increase in their power (Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000: 128). Empowerment will therefore not necessarily solve the power relations, which characterise the whole development project. Giving power to an individual may ignore the broader social and political structures in which power relations are rooted.

The notion of empowerment is clearly not without its problems, in particular as it is to a large extent circumscribed within a post-modern context[15], that is predicated on the believe that social change is not sustainable through universalising individuals into classes or similar groupings. In contrast, it is a concept, which celebrates diversity and not universality. Yet it is often used in a strictly modernist

[15] Post-modernism is a movement, which originated within the arts and architecture. It is now a term, which encompasses various approaches, including discourse analysis, genealogy, de-constructionism and textuality. What is characteristic of post-modernism is its rejection of modernity. Thus, Western knowledge systems, the social construction of dominant interpretations and rationality are all notions, which are questioned by post-modernists. The notion of post-modernism will be discussed further in *Chapter Three*.

manner by development planners, donors and NGOs where change is believed to be most efficient when it is implemented from the top. Implicit in the early strategy of WID and later GAD is that change can happen by adding on a post-modern term such as empowerment onto existing modernist and bureaucratic structures. Often these attempts have failed to 'take account' of gender and in particular women's varying experiences in a way, which truly delivers an empowering set of programmes and in this context the empowerment addendum could be construed as conservative rather than radical.

1.6 Contextualising Gender Mainstreaming

So far I have tried to illustrate some of the complex factors, which have comprised and affected the discourses on women's role in development. In spite of some of the inadequacies of WID and GAD outlined above, these strategies did serve as an important purpose in increasing women's visibility within the international arena. They created a language and a vocabulary and moreover a discourse of gender in the development context. However, at Beijing it became increasingly apparent that there was no clear evidence that progress had been made despite the fact that many governments and NGOs had improved their stated goals and strategies, incorporating a commitment to improve women's conditions and to promote the empowerment of women. (Arnfred, 2000; Rai, 2002; Snyder, 1995). Improvements in women's conditions had been registered with regard to their legal status as well as access to goods and services such as education. However, for the first time in decades, an increase in maternal and infant mortality had been observed as social services had been cut as part of adjustment packages (United Nations, 1995a).

Women were still not benefiting from economic progress and women's well-being had in many cases deteriorated. WID and GAD had moved the agenda in terms of symbolic politics, but little had changed in terms of political achievements. Subsequently, feminist grassroots activists called for new strategies, which could effectively promote the objectives of GAD and this materialised into gender mainstreaming; a strategy, which will be discussed in the next section.

1.6.1 From WID to GAD to Gender Mainstreaming

The genealogy of gender mainstreaming is, thus, readily discernible against the backdrop of WID and GAD. Gender mainstreaming attempts to pick up where its predecessors faltered. Their 'failings' are inextricably linked to the general reappraisal of perspectival and conceptual frameworks throughout the social sciences, whereby the essence of modernism was rejected in favour of a pluralistic and more culturally relative mode of perception. This revised mode of perception entails a re-working of the nature of gender throughout development issues and is directly linked to the effect that social sciences such as anthropology and sociology have had on development thinking. Rather than viewing women as a 'value-added' contingent within the development process, the 'lifeworlds' of all members of the community are viewed as possessing the same value. This has meant looking for development strategies, which more effectively 'fitted the task' - or at least more so than the WID and GAD approaches.

As seen in the very beginning of this chapter gender mainstreaming is concerned with placing gender and more specifically women at the heart of policy formulation and implementation rather than allowing planners to 'bolt-on' gender dimensions after formalising policy. Women represent a strategic and 'real' group, which is entitled to have an impact on the development process and the only way for this to happen is to place gender at the heart of all policy priorities. This is not about placing women within the development debate and incorporating them into development, but rather understanding their needs and empowering them to make a difference for themselves and their communities.

1.6.2 Different Actors – Different Interpretations

From a feminist perspective, gender mainstreaming is a political process that requires fundamental changes in the hierarchies of power within organisations. It is a process of transforming organisational goals, cultures and ways of operating (Goetz, 1997; Kardam, 1997; Rao, Stuart and Kelleher, 1999). Whilst these were also the goals of WID and GAD, gender mainstreaming seeks to develop a distinct strategy, which is orientated around sensitising the whole development process to gender

differences and gender needs. It is implicit that there is a need to scrutinize and if necessary change the organisational structures, which are already in place. During the 1990s it was acknowledged that efforts to integrate women into development had failed partly due to the 'gendered' nature of many organisations. Thus, many feminists have asked to what extent organisations can mainstream gender when it is these very structures, which have historically prevented gender equality (Taylor, 2000: 95).

In practice gender mainstreaming often appears less of a political issue than a technical and managerial problem, involving the development of new structures and systems for policy making, agenda setting, planning, implementation and evaluation. This pre-occupation with bureaucratic procedures may, as Baden and Goetz (1997: 22) point out, mask the ultimate aim of gender mainstreaming. Although gender mainstreaming is supposedly more of a holistic approach than WID and GAD, it has not been without its critics. As is argued by Menon-Sen (1999:2)

> 'the use of blanket terms like 'empowerment' and 'mainstreaming' may well conceal a process of transformation of radical feminist agendas into policies with a conservative or neo-liberal flavour'.

This once again illustrates that, although many of the conceptual methodological innovations in WID, GAD and gender mainstreaming have emerged out of grassroots innovations, they often tend to become systematised primarily in Western academic organisations, donor agencies and to a large extent within the English language.

This struggle over interpretation has often caused friction between different interest groups and clear evidence of this was observed first-hand at two recent conferences addressing gender theory and practice. The first conference 'Mainstreaming Gender in Policy and Planning' organised by the Development Planning Unit, University College London in 1999, aimed at sharing lessons learnt from mainstreaming gender equality in policy and planning amongst practitioners, activists and researchers. The second conference 'Power, Resources and Culture in a Gender Perspective: Towards a Dialogue between Gender, Research and Development Practice' organised by Uppsala University in cooperation with SIDA in October, 2000, brought together 100 international researchers and practitioners in

order to stimulate dialogue and future cooperation between these groups. At both conferences it was clear that there were differences in the perception of gender mainstreaming, which in turn contributed to a discernible friction between those working within the formal establishment development community and those working closer to the grassroots movements. One specific example of this was the discontent clearly expressed by one government official concerning a critique made of the way in which bilateral donors interpreted gender mainstreaming and translated this into practice. The presenter who made this critique claimed that there would be little room for dialogue on this matter given their view that the gap in the perception and consequently the practice of gender mainstreaming was far too wide to be bridged (Uppsala, 2000).

This illustrates the point that firstly interpretation is contentious and secondly that women working closer to the grassroots believe that gender mainstreaming involves reinterpreting the role of government, development planners and NGOs and the assumptions made by these actors. There is a considerable need to assess and question gender roles within development organisations themselves, because:

> 'it is a lot easier and less painful to press Southern counterparts, from our powerful position, to take gender issues on board than to press for the same things in our own organisations' (MacDonald, Sprebger, Dubel; 1997:73).

1.6.3 Gender Mainstreaming - An International Success Story?

So far there is little evidence that the gender mainstreaming strategy has been successful. Although NGOs and inter-governmental organisations claim that they are now gender mainstreaming, the reality of the practical methodology is often grounded in earlier strategies of both WID and GAD, which include gender training, collecting quantitative data on women's participation, as well as developing guidelines for gender sensitive practices (Goetz, 1998; WIDE, 2002). Although this would suggest that development organisations are reinforcing the gender mainstreaming agenda, the methodology remains the same as the earlier strategies and consequently the energy and resources allocated to this work still most frequently remain an 'add-on' to mainstream policy and practice.

Several reasons may explain why the strategy of gender mainstreaming has not necessarily been a successful approach so far. Firstly, the efficiency approach still plays a key role in the philosophy and objectives of many organisations. This is evident in a recent publication by the World Bank assessing its own activities since Beijing. The World Bank states that:

> 'studies show that spending on health care for women in the 15-44 age group offers bigger returns than similar spending on any other adult group' (The World Bank 2000: 5).

This would suggest that the voices of grassroots who are aiming for an agenda, which does not put economic efficiency at the forefront, are still to a large extent being ignored and that economic process is still a key priority within the planning of many development agencies. It is more 'comfortable' in that development agencies may tend to resist the transformative agenda implied by gender mainstreaming as opposed to the strategy of WID, which argues on the grounds of efficiency and equity. This, some scholars have argued (Commins, 1997; Crewe and Harrison, 1998; Gardner and Lewis, 1996; Kabeer, 1997), is due to the way in which Western planners tend to operate where concrete targets are considered as the most appropriate measure of success. Whilst the WID strategy and to some extent the GAD strategy operated according to this framework, advocates for gender mainstreaming demand a greater appreciation of capacity-building as relevant qualitative indicators of success. Yet, like the earlier strategies used, gender mainstreaming has been implemented in terms of checklists and numbers as well as ensuring that the organisation is meeting the objectives set out by policy documents, which still favour gender mainstreaming as a technical term.

1.6.4 Controversies over Meaning - Defining Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming has its roots in a variety of theoretical positions and traditions; the two most critical are modernism and feminism. These roots are also critical in understanding the controversy within gender mainstreaming over meaning and definitions. The controversy surrounds the importing of a strategic perspective, which developed in very different circumstances to the context in which it is being

imparted. The contemporary articulations of a gender mainstreamed inspired strategy in the West have been equal opportunities policies and more recently the focus of affirmative action. Both these strategies are particular to the West in so far as they are modernist responses to certain social inequalities. Both, are also predicted on certain key themes; universality, consensus and material conditions, each of which, whilst contested, are culturally specific to the West.

Gender mainstreaming, then, when articulated as a development strategy, which is rooted in this backdrop, has certain implications, which create both a paradox for development theorists and also a highly problematic implementation for development organisations. The paradox is contained within the terms; gender and mainstreaming, the former is interpreted as a concept which accounts for difference, both between sexes but more importantly between cultures and groups, whilst the latter implies a singular approach to change, which involves systemic and one-dimensional organisational re-structuring rather than bottom-up narrative sensitivity.

Taylor (2000: 116) argues that to abandon the institutionalisation of gender is not an option if women want to make a change. Yet, this statement is in itself somewhat problematic for various reasons. One question that needs to be raised is whether development organisations can in fact promote women's interests. Several scholars (Goetz, 1995; Itzin and Newman, 1995; Rao, Stuart and Kelleher, 1999) have pointed to the fact that organisations often reproduce and contribute to gender inequality through their assumptions, working procedures and activities. Vertical control and excessive focus on the generation of procedures often foster a hierarchical atmosphere, which reflects the values of corporate Western culture (Helzner and Ortiz-Ortega, 2000: 23) where power and gender relations are rarely challenged.

The attempt to institutionalise gender equality has been a common feature of Western equal opportunity policies since the 1970s. Often such programmes have failed, because they were limited in duration, fragmentary and marginal to overall policies: an overall strategy was not used for implementation (Rossilli, 1999; Lee Bacchi, 1996; Cockburn, 1991). Thus, the attempt to institutionalise equal opportunities in Europe has not reduced occupational segregation or decreased

women's unemployment fully[16] (Bagilhole, 1997; Hakim, 1996; Pilcher, 1998; Spencer and Podmore, 1987). What is significant, about the way in which gender mainstreaming is used as a strategy, is that it has partly emerged from the Western conceptualisation of equality.

During the 1980s social democratic Western governments in North America and Europe, promoted policies on affirmative action and equal opportunities where the issue of representation was put at the heart of this strategy. This is significant as the whole notion of institutionalisation is grounded within a modernist bureaucratic top-down framework based upon Western organisational practices. This would suggest that it is an approach similar to the earlier framework of WID in the sense that it focuses on the quantitative elements of representation rather than the qualitative aspects of bottom-up change. Gender mainstreaming construed in this way is a strategy similar to earlier strategies, which uses key elements from the integration approach, such as adding on gender to existing bureaucratic structures.

As seen earlier, Danida's (2000: 8) definition of gender mainstreaming stresses that gender is the concept whilst mainstreaming is the strategy. Yet, I would argue that the contemporary notion of gender is essentially post-modern; it celebrates diversity and pluralism recognising that there is no such thing as universal womanhood. This sits in opposition to mainstreaming, which is an essentially modernist unitary strategic framework. Put together gender and mainstreaming call for a reconciliation of a concept predicated on plurality and difference and a strategy, which is founded on unification rather than diversification. This paradox is reflected in the wider debate on development through a feminist lens and Redclift suggests that:

> 'rather than try and resolve or dissolve them we should embrace them as a genuine reflection of the tension between the essentially *modernist* project of

[16] Bagilhole (1997: 15) shows that whilst one of the most outstanding changes in the labour market has been the dramatic increase in the number of women working in the UK, increased participation rates for women in the labour market have not reduced segregation. Bagilhole demonstrates that it is not the quantity of women in the labour force, but in which occupations and grades they are found. Moreover, she illustrates that women are concentrated at the lower end of the distribution of earnings. On average women still earn only 72% of men's wages per week and in some sectors it is as low as 60%.

development, and the subversive *deconstructing* tendencies of feminist analysis' (Quoted in Jackson and Pearson, 1998: 13).

The key question here then is, as put by England whether we can 'incorporate the voices of 'others' without colonizing them in a manner that reinforces patterns of domination?' (England, 1994: 81).

The above point raises another central aspect in the discussion of the issue of pluralism and diversity. Postmodernist theorising about the subject has eroded many of the modernist claims that the modern state absorbs and dissolves all differences in the name of development and modernisation. Identity politics requires the celebration of diversity, yet the question is to what extent this can be institutionalised in the name of 'shared solidarity' (Leonard, 1997: 29). This highlights the difficulty of gender mainstreaming, its internal contradictions between contemporary notions of gender and its emphasis on modernist notions of change through institutionalisation entail a very problematic and complex approach to development. The gender mainstreaming strategy makes an attempt to absorb different experiences into a large and often rigid bureaucratic structure where there is little room in terms of organisational flexibility for acknowledging difference.

1.7 Gender and Organisations

The discussion set out above has at its centre the various organisations, which are the context and location of the exercising and establishment of these various theoretical positions. Moreover, the nature of these organisations plays a key role in determining the possibility of absorbing or adopting these strategies. This next section will focus firstly on the nature of organisations as 'sites' for gender discourse and secondly, as 'spaces' for the possibility of exercising a gender mainstreaming strategy or any other gender orientated strategy.

1.7.1 Contesting Gendered Organisational Space

Gender relations are socially constructed. They are subject to change and are influenced by other factors of differentiation (Harris, 1981; MacCormack and Strathern, 1980; Ortner, 1974). The way in which gender has been conceptualised

within organisations is therefore a central dimension in the debate on gender mainstreaming. Development organisations consistently produce unequal 'gendered' outcomes in spite of the fact that they have adopted GAD policy objectives (Goetz, 1997:1). Gendered preference systems are often more than discriminatory attitudes on the part of individuals and they are not necessarily deliberate policy outcomes. They are embedded in the norms, structures and practices of organisations (Ibid.). An understanding of these organisational structures is therefore crucial in conceptualising the successes or failures of gender mainstreaming within international development organisations and practices.

If international organisations are expected to mainstream gender within their own activities, one needs to identify how the practices and struggles around gender have been located and contextualised within the organisations themselves as well as to what extent organisational structures allow gender to be a feature of its organisational make-up. Gender depends on more than the actual material conditions of people's lives, for it is not merely material reality, but the meaning given to that reality, which constitutes gender. This would suggest that gender also refers to the ideas men and women have about their relationship to each other as well as the way in which they create organisations (Whitworth, 1997: 69).

This is evident in Cockburn's study of four British organisations, which have been renowned for their implementation of policies on equal opportunities. Cockburn (1991: 216) found that 'the majority of men were unmistakably engaged in damage limitation exercises, holding 'equal opps' to its shortest possible agenda'. Her study showed that whilst some men often made attempts to retain women's loyalty to men and the status quo, in order to prevent women moving up the hierarchical ladder, other men supporting positive discrimination would put energy into limiting any extension of the agenda beyond bias-removal and 'opening of doors' for women (Cockburn, 1991). This highlights the way men have let women 'in' to specific and often marginalised areas of the power hierarchy, but simultaneously making attempts to exclude them from other important areas.

An organisation can be strong on paper with regard to its mission and strategies on gender, but the reality of organisational practices and behaviour may be

very different. Analysis of power relations by early feminists researching organisations have often taken the structures of power as a given rather than scrutinising and deconstructing it. Thus, contemporary research has made attempts to analyse and develop the concept of power in order to assist women in explaining and struggling against processes, which consistently reproduce inequality in organisations. This is seen in Cockburn's study, which aims at identifying male and female experiences as well as making a thorough analysis of femininity and masculinity in order to illustrate that such issues need to be addressed as a whole in order to tackle gender inequality within organisations. By taking such an approach Cockburn highlights the complexities of gender relations within organisations and makes the case that organisations are not just of casual interest to men as a gender; in fact they are crucial to the production, retention and reproduction of power.

Organisations are social constructs; constructed by agents, but these agents themselves are bound by culture, values, race and class (Scott, 1992: 28). This has had a significant impact on organisational life, as there appears to be very little diversity amongst agents constructing organisations both in terms of gender and ethnicity.

1.7.2 The Equal Opportunities Agenda

Throughout the preceding three decades there have been a variety of governmental, institutional and political responses to both the lack of certain groups in organisations and the absence of certain groups at critical levels within organisations. These responses have varied in some key respects, some have focused on equality of access whilst others have focused on actively managing recruitment numbers. The efficacy of the programmes and the fundamentals on which they have been based have always been contentious not least because many of the policies have involved widening access to certain spaces, which have historically been dominated by certain groups or individuals.

During the 1970s many European governments adopted equal opportunities polices, which made it illegal to discriminate in employment on grounds of sex or marital status. They legislated for equality in recruitment, promotion, dismissal, redundancy and fringe benefits. The notion of equal opportunities involves women

sharing the same privileges as men and more importantly that they should be spared gender-specific sufferings. Furthermore, equal opportunities calls for women to have access to equal pay as well as equal access to positions of formal power and freedom from sexual harassment and other kinds of degrading behaviour (Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997: 197).

Equal opportunities has its roots in a combination of first-wave feminism and the modernist project, which dominated political thinking in the second part of the last century. Modernism was founded upon universalising certain social characteristics into a set of wholesale explanations for change and social conflict. First-wave feminism's main concerns were the inequities between men and women throughout society particularly in terms of opportunity and in a working environment, remuneration. Equal opportunities represents modernism's first response to these concerns and seeks to overlook the fundamental reasons for these disparities and attempts to redress them through policy initiatives, which force organisations to consciously change some key institutional practices such as rates of pay. At the heart of this instrument for change are two things: firstly, a manifest unfairness and secondly a universal experience of unfairness. The reaction to it is to reverse the unfairness through a single mechanism, which should effectively treat all people equally regardless of gender.

Whilst it has been necessary to implement equal opportunities policies in order to address the inequality, which thrives in many organisations and in society as a whole, they have also been subject to much criticism. Cockburn points out that:

> 'the workplace movement is essentially contradictory. On the one hand sex equality is a demand women make on their own behalf: the right to paid work, to the chance of an occupation with fair pay, training and prospects, and to support with child care. On the other hand it is a policy introduced into organisations by owners and managers 'on behalf of women'. (Cockburn, 1991: 16)

This reinforces the notion of women as 'the other' in that someone else has to be proactive on their part, thus, implying a political passivity on the part of women.

Whilst equal opportunities seeks to empower women it can have the opposite effect in disempowering their autonomy and making them a focus for exceptions and legislative favours.

Some feminist scholars have argued that an equal opportunities policy gives opportunities to individual women, but not to women as a group (MacDonald, Sprenger and Dubel, 1997: 128). This argument takes its starting point from the idea that only a few educated, white middle-class women benefit from such policies and therefore this reinforces the exclusion of women who may not have the same privileged background. Not only does equal opportunities appear to benefit those with sufficient cultural capital to enable them to negotiate the legislation, but also equal opportunities are also often implemented in a haphazard way and generally 'on the cheap'. In Cockburn's study (1991) it was found that organisations chose high profile and cost-free measures, whilst neglecting more expensive changes, which would enforce equal opportunities on a long-term basis.

The issue of equal opportunities is a crucial component within this discussion as it has been one of the most notorious organisational discourses in the West and more importantly considered as a site in which gender has been articulated within 'public space' during the last decade (Itzin and Newman, 1995: 2). Equal opportunities are also critical for understanding the underlying strategic content of gender mainstreaming in so far as it represents one practical manifestation of the notion of mainstreaming. The explicit focus within equal opportunities on quantitative factors, at the time appeared to be radical, but this needs to be seen against this particular context where the qualitative aspects of gender such as difference were less relevant because there was an 'accepted' consensus on what constituted a universal womanhood in the West. This is important and although it has clearly been challenged in the West by groups who have argued that the implicit notion of womanhood did not include sufficient diversity, it illustrates the juxtaposition concerning the meaning of gender, which characterised the problematic efforts to 'export' equal opportunities to the South.

1.7.3 Affirmative Action

Another similar strategy, which has gained prominence, is the notion of *affirmative action*. Affirmative action carries with it certain notoriety within contemporary debate in the United States where this policy has proved particularly contentious. Contention apart, affirmative action is a serious and widely used practical means, which attempts to redress some of the imbalances, which characterise contemporary organisations, particularly public services and private corporations.

One of the key strategies to create gender sensitive organisations has been to recruit more women into positions, which involve decision-making and in particular management positions as well as into positions, which are often dominated by males. As seen earlier it is often thought that an equal opportunity policy is not enough and subsequently it has been argued that affirmative action is the only guarantee of achieving a better numerical balance of women and men, particularly in management structures. Affirmative action, thus, implies that special efforts should be made to recruit women for management positions as well as positions, which involve decision-making. Lee Bacchi has proposed the following definition of affirmative action:

> 'The stated goals of most labour market affirmative action programmes, are to encourage 'women' into non-traditional jobs, that is jobs traditionally performed by men, and to increase their access to positions of higher pay and higher status. The means to these ends can include training courses, review of personnel procedures to remove obvious and / or indirectly discriminatory practices, the setting of goals to increase the representation of targeted groups and, most controversially, targeted hiring, promoting or appointing, sometimes with quotas applied.' (Lee Bacchi, 1996: 16)

The current scope of affirmative action programmes is best understood as a culmination of national efforts to resolve the subjugation of racial, ethnic and female minorities. Affirmative action originated in the United States during the 1960s where it had become apparent that anti-discrimination statutes alone were not enough to break long-standing patterns of discrimination. Furthermore, affirmative action was a

response to civil rights programmes, which were enacted to help African Americans to become 'full citizens' of the United States. Sykes (1995: 1) points out that the actual term 'affirmative action' was first proposed in 1965 by President Lyndon Johnson whose Executive Order 11246 required federal contractors to:

> 'take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, colour or national origin'. (Sykes, 1995: 1)

The starting point of affirmative action was grounded upon racial discrimination, but two years after the Executive Order was first adopted; it was amended to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex. This was in response to the recognition that women were excluded from certain positions, which were traditionally regarded as exclusively male and moreover a recognition that women's contribution to the economy was not maximised.

One of the key arguments against affirmative action is that it is generally at odds with notions of equal opportunity as it undermines procedures designed to appoint the best person for the job. It has been argued that affirmative action has a contradictory and negative effect as it stigmatises women and ethnic minorities by calling into question their effectiveness. This is a common feature in the debate on affirmative action as opponents consider affirmative action to be a tool, which promotes staff on the grounds of their gender or ethnic identity as opposed to their professional skills and abilities. As Lee Bacchi (1996: 31) puts it 'affirmative action has struggled against accusations that it undermines 'fair play' and that it sits uncomfortably with the American way of doing things'. As a response to such criticism, it has been pointed out that stigmatisation of both women and ethnic minorities is already deeply embedded within contemporary society and has been so institutionalised that by introducing affirmative action, women and ethnic minorities will be in a position to defy both stigmas and stereotyping. This is highlighted by William Yates who suggests that 'it is important to educate people to understand that we cannot afford the potential waste of talent that prejudice and other negatives have caused for so long' (Yates, 2001: 2). Whilst there clearly is a case as Yates says for releasing the potential

of marginalised workers, affirmative action can be interpreted as undermining the agent's autonomy and, thus, can have a contradictory effect.

In summary then like equal opportunity legislation, affirmative action policies whilst well meaning can have contradictory effects in that they undermine the autonomy of women and in practice they often benefit those who least need them in order to advance. However, whilst affirmative action differentiates itself from equal opportunities in terms of its pro-activity, it, like equal opportunities, is predicated on an essentially modernist interpretation of the problem and, thus, arrives at a modernist solution, which explicitly refers to a set of universals as descriptions of reality. Both affirmative action and equal opportunities have three core assumptions, which are based on the modernist account of gender inequality – universalism, consensus and material equality (Forbes, 2002: 34). Put together these three core assumptions reify different experiences, different expectations and different causes into single, homogenous and universal reasons and causes.

1.7.4 Organising for Change

The analysis of equal opportunities and affirmative action through a modern sociological perspective illustrates some discernible theoretical landmarks on which gender mainstreaming is founded. By analysing the way in which gender equality has been conceptualised and moreover applied within organisations in a Western context, several parallels between equal opportunities and affirmative action as organisational tools and gender mainstreaming are apparent. The theoretical premises have in the main been quantitative in terms of representation and equal pay as opposed to qualitative, challenging the existing organisational structures, which have often been characterised by a male bias. This way of dealing with equality has therefore to a large extent undermined women's agency, by not questioning and challenging why gender inequalities persist.

This therefore raises serious questions as to the way in which Western practices have been 'transferred' to other regions of the world. The point here is that the way in which gender has been conceptualised by some sections of the development apparatus has to some extent characterised development practices itself and is firmly rooted in a

modernist tradition, where change was concerned with parity in economic conditions. The development response to these strategies has, I would argue, been flawed on the same basis that the Western strategies are flawed and this contradicts the alternative ways of practising development proposed by Southern women.

Feminist influenced 'development' has rested on a rejection of the modernist principles e.g. qualitative rather than quantitative criteria, which appeals to replacing the existing universal and imposed discourses with a new and more 'embracive' discourse addressing structural inequality. This would involve a bottom-up approach, which seeks to analyse and harness existing gender configuration to effect change. They have called for a re-emphasis of the experiences of the situated society as opposed to the universal Western image of Southern culture. This means building on existing networks and shared meanings to sustain managed change.

1.8 Concluding Comments

The notion of gender mainstreaming is the outcome of a long and complex discourse on gender and development, which has been shaped by often conflicting discourses between Northern and Southern women. From the very beginning it was the insights from Western women's movements, which were 'fed' into the thinking and practice of development aid. The development discourse on women's roles has been fraught by the dichotomy of 'universality' versus 'diversity' as well as 'the South' versus 'the North'. Moreover, the debate has not been straightforward in the sense that discourses on WID, GAD and gender mainstreaming have been fluid, changing and overlapping one another. I have argued throughout this chapter that the commitment to gender analysis rarely becomes gender-sensitive practices due to the fact that these different terms and strategies have been more about managing the meaning of language than delivering tangible and substantive change.

From its very inception, there has been a paradox at the very heart of the gender mainstreaming strategy – 'institutionalising' gender into both donor and NGO practice is far from straightforward. Promoting the role of women in development and putting women's values at the centre of development work means reaching into the 'heart' of the development discourse and reconstructing from the bottom, the very

concepts that shape that same discourse. By using gender mainstreaming as a strategy there has appeared to be a tendency to build upon the overtly modernist theses of WID and GAD, through the adoption of a logical, technical and top-down methodology. Implicit in this strategy is that change can happen by adding on post-modern terms such as 'empowerment' and 'participation' onto existing modernist and bureaucratic structures. Often these attempts have failed to 'take account' of gender in a way, which delivers an empowering set of programmes.

The chapter also highlighted specific organisational strategies; affirmative action and equal opportunities, which have predominantly been used in the West in order to give voice to women's concerns and issues. These strategies have still been influential in the shaping of gender mainstreaming in terms of 'representation' and 'integration' of women. Their transferability to the South and continued use in the North is at the heart of the paradox within gender mainstreaming. Both these strategies are related to gender mainstreaming in so far as they contribute to the strategic element within it. The emphasis on mainstreaming is rooted in these two strategies and this is one of the reasons why gender mainstreaming as a whole remains a paradox and therefore a challenge for any organisation aspiring to utilise this strategy in a development context. The challenge of the following analysis is to assess how IPPF has approached the need and desire to place gender at the heart of their practices given some of the structural barriers, which have been identified so far.

Chapter 2

The International Planned Parenthood Federation

This chapter explores the simultaneous expansion of Non Governmental Organisations' (NGOs) provision in the development sector and the parallel transformation of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) as an important and critical organisation within that sector. The aim of this chapter is firstly to briefly contextualise the history and nature of NGOs and secondly to locate IPPF within that historical context. The first part of the chapter is a discussion of the emergence of the NGO sector and the contribution and significance of NGOs working in the field of development. The second part of the chapter provides a comprehensive basis for understanding the nature of IPPF, which, in totality, will provide a foundation for further discussions within the following chapters detailing the practical workings of the Federation.

On the scale of today's development provision, NGOs are a relatively new global phenomena. There are several critical reasons for this contemporary augmentation, which are central to understanding the NGO landscape in which IPPF flourishes. The genealogy of NGOs is rooted in two sometimes contradictory counter-points; firstly the post-war conscience of the world and in contrast the 'buffer' between the North and the South. IPPF's inception as a 'global player' is circumscribed by this dichotomy and to understand its latter-day policy and programme preferences it is essential to firstly contextualise it, deconstruct its history and analyse its organisational structure. This chapter will start this process by addressing and outlining the first two challenges, whilst providing a backdrop for further analysis.

The chapter incorporates a discussion of IPPF's history in terms of the Federation's conceptual and prioritisation concerns, its governance structure and its Strategic Plan *Vision 2000*, adopted in 1992. Approaching IPPF in this way allows a thorough analysis of the organisation to develop, which is both temporally ordered as well as issue/constraint centred. The history of IPPF has many significant contours, not least the decision to configure the organisation on federal lines - this factor alone

provides significant constraints and opportunities for any group of individuals wishing to effect change. The second part of the chapter, then, deals specifically with the history and structure of IPPF particularly in terms of the various phases of IPPF's 'intellectual' development and the organisational ramifications of this development.

2.1 The Emergence of Non Governmental Organisations

In order to understand and appreciate the specific role and history of IPPF it is important to have an appreciation of the wider history of NGOs in general. This will allow us to locate IPPF in the wider NGO context and, thus, illustrates its particularities and its contrasts with those NGOs. The growth in the number of NGOs has been a function of the considerable changes in both the growth of overseas aid and the way that aid has been expended. NGOs have been recognised as having a central role to play in development efforts due to their unique circumstances and organisational features. As a consequence of these features, increasing amounts of aid from various donors have been channelled through NGOs, enabling them to expand their overseas programmes (Edwards and Hulmes, 1997a: 5). This change in the role and significance of NGOs has led to them being seen as critical for the aims of the UN and other inter-governmental organisations.

NGOs' enhanced role is predicated on the assumption that they have specific advantages over public and commercial sector organisations in the context of development. Their ability to be innovative, cost effective, flexible and responsive in programme design and implementation are key features of their comparative advantage. Their relationships with and proximity to the grassroots level through their partnerships with Southern organisations has also been a key factor in NGOs' ascendancy. During the last decade the ability of NGOs to deliver and focus on sustainability has also further enhanced their role within the development effort particularly in terms of their policies concerning empowering poverty stricken communities.

The following statement characterises this on-going reliance on NGOs as facilitators and implementers of change:

> 'NGOs have become a major instrument of development planning and implementation for socio-economic development projects and programmes. They work closely with people's organisations and take on social mobilisation tasks where governments fail' (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, 2002: 4)

However, despite this growing reliance on NGOs, their efforts and status within the development community continues to be the focus of contention. Their role in development is bringing them into various conflicts which, have led to considerable debate over their identity and 'true role'. This issue over their role derives from the conflicting challenges from both donors in the North and also their counterparts in the South.

Differentiation of NGOs is usually along the lines of how they function and to what ends they are geared towards. Many organisations are termed 'delivery NGOs' since their main activity is to provide services to the poor, refugees and displaced people. Others are referred to as 'enabling NGOs' as their focus is on non-material assistance to developing countries, such as training, information and advice. Policy advocacy is another form of activity in which NGOs are engaged, here, they seek to influence and change governmental policy in certain spheres and areas of significance. This type of activity often includes multilateral lobbying, where NGOs seek to influence organisations such as the UN through to local communities. Other NGOs play a role in co-ordinating the NGO sector as a whole, their added value is in ensuring NGO efforts are co-ordinated and have maximum impact.

Some NGOs are multi-faceted with regard to the categorisation set out above. Many of the larger NGOs will seek to deliver, influence and co-ordinate. Having as wide as possible sphere of influence and relevance is often seen as beneficial for an NGO. According to Green & Matthias (1997: 49) the service delivery base of an NGO can provide the legitimacy to act as a policy advocate, since the organisation can speak from its own experience. There are several pitfalls associated with being such an extensive organisation, not least the risk of being 'spread too thin' so that resources are not used effectively and the net effect of the NGO is restricted by being overstretched. As Edwards and Hulme state:

'By their very nature, NGOs are problematic organisations: raising money in one country and spending it in others, responsible to multiple stakeholders and constituencies, and working simultaneously in different (and sometimes conflicting) sectors and activities.' (Edwards and Hulme, 1997: 281).

2.1.1 The History and Expansion of the NGO Movement

Whilst the history of overseas charitable aid is extensive, the modern secular agencies involved in development are thought to have started in the mid-nineteenth century with the creation of the Red Cross (Smillie, 1999: 8). Most contemporary NGOs were conceived in response to wars. The Save the Children Fund (SCF) was founded in 1919 by Eglantyne Jebb as a response to famine, spreading through post-war Europe. The aim was to provide children in need with aid regardless of their race, religion or nationality (The Save the Children Fund, 1994: 4). In 1924 Jebb drafted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which forms the basis of SCF's work today. This eventually led the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959 and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991. These declarations had a significant impact on SCF as an organisation and from then on the organisation became more than just an emergency relief agency (Ibid.). Similarly, Oxfam was started in 1942 when a few concerned people in Oxford wanted to send help to starving children in Nazi-occupied Greece (Poulton & Harris, 1988). Oxfam's activities then extended to include broader developmental concerns on a global basis (Green & Matthias, 1997: 7).

Following the Second World War and the dismantling of European empires, NGOs saw their role as fulfilling the demand created by the vacuum left by the withdrawal of foreign governments from various countries. Invariably, this entailed the movement of goods into such countries. The 1960s saw the emphasis on goods slowly converted into programmes matching the new concerns of development, funded by the post-war economies, which were growing rapidly (Pratt, 1997).

However, the influences for the existence of new NGOs were not universal; some have developed as extensions of services provided to their own country's citizens. In fact The International Planned Parenthood Federation is an example of this. The

Federation was formed in response to the recognition of the need and greater acceptability for family planning in a number of countries, and has since developed into the largest family planning NGO in the world (Green & Matthias, 1997: 18). As Fowler notes, it is difficult to generalise about the origins of NGOs:

> 'Northern NGOs are as diverse as the contexts in which they have grown, they cannot be easily labelled by type: they are heterogeneous, no two are the same and all strive to maintain their individual identities.' (Fowler, 1992: 17)

Most NGOs, at least up until the 1970s were viewed and used as means of emergency relief. This changed by the late 1970s, when NGOs began to be seen as experts in their field and also the means to effect development on a more efficient basis than direct government intervention. This change in perception was underpinned by two factors; firstly NGOs innovative approach to development and secondly, the local knowledge and connections NGOs have, especially in the South.

These two factors underpinned the massive expansion of NGOs and, thus, NGO activity during the 1980s and 1990s. Their numbers increased considerably – the number of development NGOs registered in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries (OECD) grew from 1,600 in 1980 to 2,970 in 1993 (Edwards & Hulme, 1995: 3). This increase was mirrored by the significant increase in the size of individual organisations – many of the small, voluntary agencies consisting of a small number of staff, became large professional organisations with specialised staff. NGOs were being offered unparalleled opportunities, access and resources. NGO funding doubled between 1980 and 1993; the total spending of OECD NGOs had risen from US$ 2.8 billion to US$ 5.7 billion (Edwards & Hulme, 1995). Much of this money came as Official Development Assistance (ODA) from both bilateral and multilateral agencies.

According to some commentators much of the growth of NGOs appeared to occur with little public scrutiny (Pratt, 1997). Notwithstanding debate concerning high costs and the percentage of donations reaching service users, detailed debate and analysis was absent. The trend towards larger NGOs with extensive influence and intervention capacity has meant that NGOs, at least more recently, have attracted a lot

more scrutiny. There are various reasons why NGOs have prospered, each of which have contributed in some way to the reasons why NGOs are now highly 'analysed' both inside and outside academia. Analysis and criticism covers areas such as NGOs' political roles, the effectiveness of their interventions and the long-term ramifications of having NGOs undertaking this kind of work. The claims that NGOs are effective in reaching the poor, in participation, in cost effectiveness and innovation have, thus, been open to debate and critique. Critics claim that NGOs supposed 'comparative advantages' are balanced by their 'comparative disadvantages'.

This backdrop helps to illustrate the context in which IPPF emerged and continues to grow. In a similar way to other NGOs, its period of major expansion was during the post-war years and it too specialised in terms of sector provision by focusing on family planning and population matters. The next section will illustrate these points more fully in particular, it will focus on IPPF's history, organisational structure and its inter-relationship with the donor community.

2.2 The History of the International Planned Parenthood Federation

IPPF is a registered charity in the United Kingdom and is the largest voluntary organisation in the world working in the field of family planning and sexual and reproductive health. IPPF and its affiliates are currently operating in more than 180 countries with an annual budget of approximately $80 million (IPPF, 2001: 16). In 1992 the Federation revised its mission statement, to state that:

> 'IPPF and its member associations PROMOTE and DEFEND the right of women and men, including young people, to decide freely the number and spacing of their children, and the right to the highest possible level of sexual and reproductive health. STRIVE in particular, to advance the family planning movement among the under-served by addressing, through information, advocacy and services, their growing unmet need and demand for sexual and reproductive health, and to work co-operatively in this endeavour, with all interested governmental and non-governmental parties. GIVE special emphasis to maternal and child health and notably to the elimination of unsafe abortion, through information, advocacy and access to family planning and

safe abortion services. ARE COMMITTED to obtaining equal rights for women, and to their empowerment in obtaining full participation in, and benefit from, social and economic development. URGE the involvement of committed, competent, skilled volunteers and staff as a decisive prerequisite for providing leadership in the execution of their mandates. RESPECT the autonomy of member associations, but require all adherence to the Federation's mission and commitment to quality, effectiveness and accountability' (IPPF, 1999: 1).

The broad aims of IPPF are to provide and promote safe contraceptive services and information and advice concerning sexual and reproductive health matters. These aims have changed over time to reflect the changing priorities of the development sector, not least the recent re-focusing away from 'population' orientated concerns such as size and growth. This shift has had a significant impact on the Federation as an organisation. IPPF has had to re-define its role as well as re-create its organisational structure to accommodate sexual and reproductive health from a rights-based perspective. One of the central characteristics of IPPF is the fact that it is constantly changing. Its activities and policies are organic in two critical ways; the first concerns the nature of the organisation itself and the second concerns the domain in which IPPF works - both factors impact and shape what IPPF looks like and what it stands for.

As a registered NGO, IPPF has existed for over half a century and in 2002 the Federation celebrated its 50th anniversary. However, IPPF's history has been far from unproblematic and today's IPPF is an organisation, which has transformed itself from a marginal grassroots network into an established international NGO affecting and influencing the lives of millions of individuals globally. The genealogy of the Federation is set out below.

2.2.1 The Early Birth Control Movement

The social movement of family planning began with a small group of individuals who fought for the freedom to have access to contraceptive services. They

worked against the law, regulations and social pressures within their own countries. One of the main founders of the birth control movement and of what later came to be known as IPPF was Margaret Sanger, an American whose primary concern was to provide birth control for poor women. As a young social activist, she had radical contacts and when she started up her own paper 'The Woman Rebel', which amongst other issues dealt with birth control, she was supported by the US Socialist Party and various anarchists. Turning to direct action along with her sister, Sanger set up the first family planning clinic in Brooklyn in 1916 for which she was arrested and went to prison (Suitter, 1973: 5).

It was during her time in prison that Sanger realised there was a need for a new and what came to be a very different strategy to promote birth control. Sanger increasingly began to distance herself from the left in order to gain recognition as well as resources for the cause of family planning. During the 1920s, Sanger started to forge alliances with physicians, academics and social engineers. The initial strong links with the radicals faded and eventually professionals and eugenicists took the place of radical supporters (Hartmann, 1995: 97). The scientific community was never comfortable with Sanger's early activities linked to the feminist movement. As a consequence her involvement with the feminist cause decreased rapidly in her quest for scientific acceptance of family planning. Through her co-operation with scientists, Sanger gave birth control an aura of scientific and medical respectability (Helzner and Ortiz-Ortega, 2000: 3). By dissociating it from radical philosophies it was transformed into a more middle-class issue. Sanger began to solicit professional participation in the birth control movement and physicians, eugenic-minded academics and administrators of the social welfare bureaucracy were all invited to take part in order to reinforce a medical discourse (Whitworth, 1997: 83). The early feminist influences, which initially characterised the birth control movement, soon weakened and gave way to a period in which inclusion into the medical and scientific mainstream were paramount.

2.2.2 The Emergence of a Federation

Increasingly, the birth control advocates worldwide called for family planning to become more than national and local activities based on individual efforts. There

was a growing consensus to create a common and institutionalised structure, which could promote family planning on an international scale.

The momentum towards establishing an organisational focus for family planning efforts culminated in 1952 when a conference was organised in Bombay, where advocates from different parts of the world came together to establish whether there were grounds for co-operation (Wadia, 2001: 138). The conference in Bombay was significant in the sense that it illustrated the varied agendas of different nations. The Dutch delegation saw the need to establish an organisation promoting sex education. The Americans, on the other hand, had a wish to slow down population growth and the Swedes were mostly concerned to provide women with access to services, which in turn, they argued, would give women autonomy over their own bodies (Suitter, 1973: 38).

Yet, despite these various views, the Conference held in Bombay became a starting point for an international and global movement promoting the cause of family planning. Largely due to the efforts of Sanger who travelled extensively to gain support for the cause of family planning, the International Planned Parenthood Federation was proposed in Bombay in 1952. The decision was ratified in Stockholm a year later by representatives of eight FPAs: Holland, Hong Kong, India, Singapore, Sweden, Great Britain, the United States and West Germany (IPPF, 1979: 1). The IPPF was led, through the joint presidency of Margaret Sanger and Lady Rama Rau of India and the objectives of the newly formed Federation was to set up through an international structure, which would provide technical support for other countries wishing to promote family planning (Wadia, 2001: 148).

The newly organised international movement soon moved into offices in London, which were provided by the Eugenic Society free of charge (Suitter, 1973: 57). Moreover, the headquarters received two annual grants; $3,000 a year from the US based Brush Foundation for Race Betterment and £250 from the Eugenic Society in the UK (IPPF, 1953: 18). The Eugenic movement advocated fertility control amongst the poor and disabled, as a way of 'perfecting' society and Eugenicists joined the birth control movement in growing numbers, providing it with a new direction to

replace the discarded one of women's rights (Hartmann, 1995: 98). The Eugenic Movement, thus, played a key role in the initial phase of IPPF.

At this point in IPPF's chronology it had passed from being an essentially localised radical movement to one that placed mainstream acceptance as a priority. The rationale for this was simple, but far from uncontentious. In order to impact as many lives as possible, it was necessary to gain mainstream acceptance for IPPF's activities, given their 'quasi-medical' activities, they needed to align themselves with the medical and scientific community (Back, 1989; Helzner and Ortiz-Ortega, 2000; Huston, 1992).

Whilst a Federation was established, some of its members still faced opposition from both churches and various governments. Yet, as time went by, an increased belief in international institution-building in the post-war period coupled with a growing concern about 'the population explosion' gave IPPF new strength as an NGO on the international stage. Growing fear of increasing population growth and its impact on the physical environment made governments worldwide more supportive of the work of IPPF and its family planning associations.

2.2.3 'Globalising' the International Planned Parenthood Federation

IPPF grew dramatically during the 1960s and a whole series of financial changes took place, which firmly established IPPF's status as a global organisation. This was a period of growing international support for family planning and population control and IPPF received, as a consequence, considerable financial support for its activities. As various public and private bodies produced research indicating the potentially 'disastrous' consequences of unchecked population growth, governments and private organisations began to channel funds into the Federation (Whitworth, 1997: 95). In 1966 IPPF received grants from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and from the United States (Suitter, 1973: 92). This marked the first time that governments became directly involved in funding and other governments soon followed suit.

The changes in the financial circumstances of the Federation since it was established, illustrate the extent of its growth. The Federation initially operated on a shoestring budget, with small grants and emergency donations keeping the organisation together. In contrast by 1967 IPPF operated on a $3.3 million budget and six years later the budget had grown from $3.3 million to $30 million (Suitter, 1973: 374). Governments were now working with IPPF as opposed to against them and IPPF's position was reinforced in other key areas such as its co-operation with the United Nations (UN).

2.2.4 The International Planned Parenthood Federation and the United Nations

The Federation's early relationship with the UN characterises the many tensions both internal and external, which IPPF has had to deal with. The partnership was initially characterised by tension. In many ways IPPF's initiation into global politics was via their struggle with the UN in gaining recognition for their work. It took IPPF twelve years from the time of initially applying for consultative status to gaining this on a Roster basis[17], this was achieved in 1964. Suitter (1973: 392) illustrates how the initial suspicion of many national delegates at the UN, in particular those representing Catholic governments, diminished over time. The status of the Federation was raised in 1969 to Category II and in May 1973, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) granted IPPF the highest level of status, which was in recognition of IPPF's concerns with the majority of the activities of the Council. This was a significant achievement for the Federation as it served to enhance not only IPPF's profile at an international level, but also because it raised the issue of population growth more generally, which gave the Federation international credibility (IPPF, 1989: 2).

The Federation's relationship with the UN was further strengthened during the 1960s when the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) was set up in 1969. This UN programme was set up to work in the field of family planning and with NGOs working on similar issues. As IPPF was renowned for its strong grassroots network

17 In UN terms NGOs are divided into three categories. Category I characterises NGOs which have a basic interest in most of the activities of the Council; Category II include NGOs with a special competence and the Roster include those organisations which are primarily concerned with the development of public opinion and with the dissemination of information' (Willetts, 1996: 32).

the Federation could provide its expertise to the UNFPA. This link was crucial, as, rather than being a remote body providing services, IPPF's family planning associations were often trusted by local people and therefore had the ability to establish direct contact with local populations. This characteristic is reflected in the way in which IPPF has conceptualised its relationship with the UN. In a document assessing IPPF's partnership with the UN, the Federation states that:

> 'IPPF recognises that it is important to work with the UN and its agencies. The UN, as an inter-governmental body, both reflects and influences the policies of its member-states; it gains the commitment of governments through international charters and declarations; and, as the main channel of official multi-lateral funds for development programmes, it establishes priorities through the consensus of its members. Through the established consultative process and its informal contact, IPPF brings to the UN the expression of public views and concerns and the benefit of its experiences, standards and practices.' (IPPF, 1983: 1)

This statement clearly illustrates the way in which the UN and IPPF have an inter-dependent relationship, whereby the Federation acknowledges that the UN offers political 'authority', whilst IPPF provides 'the voices of the people'. These two factors make up the perfect 'marriage' from the perspective of IPPF.

This point is further reflected in the way in which the two organisations operate. The UNFPA may at times, like some governments, wish to carry out activities, which are considered to be too sensitive for it as an organisation and in such cases IPPF may be asked for assistance as they have a more established relationship with local populations. The FPAs in Colombia and Brazil literally run the national family planning programmes as both governments consider the FPAs as having more expertise and knowledge on this matter (Correa, 1994: 38). The above two points are further highlighted by Salas, the director of UNFPA during 1970, who states that:

> 'UNFPA intends to fund projects through IPPF. This, I think, will be particularly true in areas, as in Latin America, where the governments wish family planning activities to take place, but sometimes do not wish to have

official policies or programmes supporting such activities. In such cases the work of IPPF may be, and in many instances has been, an indispensable bridge on the road to official governmental policies and programmes of the sort which the UN system can support through its own agencies. IPPF and its member organisations, moreover, have first hand knowledge of population problems throughout the developing world. It can thus be invaluable to UNFPA as a source of information and advice' (Salas, 1971: 34).

IPPF's close co-operation with the UNFPA consolidated the Federation's status on the international stage as well as its new role as an international 'world-player' within the field of family planning and population matters. It was through its co-operation with the UN that the Federation started to network with other organisations, and this is reflected in a statement made by IPPF on the Federation's position within the UN:

'Enjoying Category I consultative status at the United Nations, IPPF works closely with other voluntary, inter-governmental and UN agencies which share its concerns for reproductive health in general, the health and well-being of women and children and the role of population in socio-economic development. These include the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Bank and many others.' (IPPF, 1998: 1)

IPPF moved from being marginalised towards a position whereby they have now become part of a global network. The organisations to which IPPF relates, namely UNFPA, UNICEF, WHO and the World Bank, all play a powerful role within world politics and have a strong presence on the international stage.

2.2.5 The International Planned Parenthood Federation during the 1970s and 1980s

By the 1970s, IPPF was an international organisation that commanded considerable financial resources. In 1972 IPPF had 83 member FPAs and a budget of US$19 million provided largely by twelve governments (IPPF, 2001: 1). The

Federation held a respectable position within the international community and saw increasing numbers of professionals drawn not only to leadership positions, but also to the management of the organisation. In IPPF's Annual Report in 1973, Julia Henderson, the then Secretary General stated that:

> 'Our international staff, at central and regional levels, is growing in professional strength as well as in numbers and we have been fortunate to recruit into the top leadership a number of people who had already distinguished themselves in to the fields and who have brought their experience, competence and wide contacts to our work' (IPPF: 1973: 6).

IPPF had consolidated its international status by capitalising on recognised professionals who could promote the message of the Federation.

Throughout the 1970s, the Federation was committed to making the administration of population control policies as 'scientific' as possible through developing objectives and verifiable measurement techniques in order to determine both population growth rates and the impact of different programmes on those growth rates (Whitworth, 1997: 98). Fears of a population explosion and its disruptive potential dominated thinking within IPPF and other population agencies throughout the mid-1970s.

The first challenge to this view emerged at the 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest. This challenge was not aimed at the population controllers' emphasis on family stability or its Eugenicist orientation, but rather at its understanding of the relationship between development and population control. During the conference representatives of the South argued that 'development is the best contraceptive', and claimed that it would be higher standards of living, not merely the development of more efficient contraceptive methods and family planning programmes that would influence population levels (Jeffery and Jeffery, 1998: 239).

The culmination of the post-Bucharest decade came with the International Conference on Population, held in Mexico City in 1984. It was during this conference, that a dispute over funds for family planning organisations, which advocated and

provided abortions, began. The Reagan administration announced that the US would no longer donate funding to family planning groups promoting abortion (Johnson, 1995: 21). The requirements of the policy signed by the administration dictated that 'foreign, non-governmental organisations receiving US international family planning funds could not use the funds to offer a pregnant woman information about abortion in countries where legal, unless asked directly, perform abortions for the physical or mental health of the woman, other than in cases of rape, incest or to save the life of a woman; lobby their own government to maintain the legal status of abortion, to legalise abortion or even to decriminalise abortion and finally provide information to the public about the availability of abortion' (IPPF, 2001a: 1). Organisations like IPPF who had been a major USAID contractor for 17 years suffered immensely financially (IPPF, 1985: 3). IPPF was targeted because it used a small proportion of some of its private funds for abortion services in some countries and in December 1984 the USAID funding stopped and IPPF lost a US$ 17 million grant (Wadia, 2001: 366).

Whilst IPPF suffered a financial set-back as a result of the Mexico City policy, other governments such as Sweden, Japan and the United Kingdom as well as private organisations including Rockefeller, Mellon, Hewlett and Packard, ensured that IPPF survived financially. In fact as Wadia points out 'eventually the Federation ended 1985 with a tiny surplus of money – income totaled US$ 44.8 million and expenditure US$ 44.6 million' (Ibid.). Moreover, 1985 proved to be a successful year for IPPF as international recognition was given to the Federation that same year, when it was awarded the UN Population Award (IPPF, 1986: 3).

2.2.6 *Vision 2000* – The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Strategic Plan

In 1992, under the leadership of Halfdan Mahler[18], a strategic plan called *Vision 2000* was set up as a new policy agenda for IPPF. During the 40 years of the Federation's existence, the global and political environment had changed dramatically. The number of HIV/AIDS cases had increased significantly, the number of unsafe abortions were also on the rise and evidence showed that there was a

18 Halfdan Mahler was the Director General of IPPF from 1989 to 1995.

growing number of young people who had limited access to information and services (IPPF, 1996: 7). Moreover, IPPF was increasingly facing competition from other NGOs working in the field of sexual and reproductive health and subsequently experienced a decrease in their funding from donors.

There was a recognition that family planning could not be isolated from comprehensive health interventions and as Wilson (1995: 2) points out 'a new perspective on family planning was evolving, one that deliberately linked it to the right of individuals and couples to a state of sexual and reproductive health'. It was within this international climate that IPPF recognised that its member associations had been playing an essential role for many years in matters of family planning, but at the same time they were in danger of loosing touch with the new global developments, which were occurring (IPPF, 1991: 2). Subsequently, IPPF set out to plan strategically for the future by proposing far-reaching goals for the Federation as a whole.

IPPF's Strategic Plan, *Vision 2000,* was a response to the increasing need for IPPF to expand its services beyond the demographically orientated family planning services and broaden its focus on areas of sexual and reproductive health. The Federation's Strategic Plan emphasises six key challenges, which are sexual and reproductive health, empowerment of women, unsafe abortion youth, family planning- the demand and unmet need and finally quality of care (IPPF, 1999a: 4). Moreover, the Strategic Plan consists of three main goals, each with a number of objectives and these have been outlined in the table underneath.

Goals and Objectives of IPPF's Vision 2000 Plan
Goal 1: Advance human rights regarding sexual and reproductive health.
Objective 1: To increase efforts to safeguard the individual's right to make free and informed choices in regard to reproductive and sexual health and advocate sound government policy in support of this right.
Objective 2: To bring about the removal of political, legal and administrative barriers to the provision of sexual and reproductive health care services.
Objective 3: To actively work for the establishment of equal rights for women to enable them to exercise control over their own reproductive and sexual health choices.
Objective 4: To eliminate the high incidence of unsafe abortion, and increase the right of access to safe, legal abortions.

Objective 5: To increase men's commitment and joint responsibility in all areas of sexual and reproductive health and sensitise men to gender issues, as an essential element in ensuring women's equality and an enriched couple relationship for both men and women.
Objective 6: To promote family life education as a means of preparing youth for responsible parenthood in the future and increase the access of young people to appropriate information, education and services in addressing their sexual and reproductive health care needs.
Goal 2: Respond to unmet needs for family planning and sexual and reproductive health services.
Objective 1: To provide an authoritative source of information on family planning and sexual and reproductive health issues, trends, policies and services.
Objective 2: To expand the number of available, accessible and appropriate reproductive/sexual health services, including family planning, to all those who need and want them.
Objective 3: To develop and maintain high quality, sustainable programmes in reproductive health.
Goal 3: Operate a democratic Federation, ensure adequate funding for it, provide leadership in planned parenthood and maintain accountability.
Objective 1: To increase the representation of under-represented constituent groups on the decision-making bodies of IPPF, and to secure compliance with IPPF aims and objectives by Member Associations.
Objective 2: To strengthen the leadership and governance potential of volunteers and increase management proficiency throughout the Federation.
Objective 3: To seek new sources of government funding, increase contributions of existing donors and expand non-governmental support of IPPF.
Objective 4: To improve planning/reporting procedures, and expand the evaluation capacity and capabilities of the Federation.

Table 2.1 – Source: IPPF, 1999a.

The Vision 2000 Strategic Plan emphasised the need 'to provide services to women, men and adolescents within a broader sexual and reproductive health and human rights framework' (IPPF, 1999a: 6) and moreover *Vision 2000*, which was adopted by FPAs in over 140 countries, charged the Federation with the task of developing 'an IPPF Bill of Rights as an ethical framework for the right to sexual and reproductive health' (IPPF, 1995a: 4). Thus, many IPPF staff and management would argue that IPPF's Strategic Plan *Vision 2000* was a forerunner for the decisions made at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994. Through the adoption of the *Vision 2000* Strategic Plan, IPPF once again found a purpose, which reinforced its initial image of being a pioneer in the field of family

planning. The Federation played a key role at the conference in Cairo - advising governments and other NGOs on matters of sexual and reproductive health as opposed to the more narrow approach of family planning[19]. IPPF had found a new identity and this was acknowledged by the present Director General, Ingar Brueggemann who in 1999 stated that in adopting *Vision 2000*:

> 'it reinforced IPPF's organisational culture by refusing to rest on the laurels of its past success and once again become a pioneer organisation, adopting causes which others are shy to espouse, seizing opportunities to be innovative, and persevering in its capacity as the voice of the voiceless' (IPPF, 1999b: 5).

IPPF's focus shifted from family planning to sexual and reproductive health. It now embraced a more holistic focus, whereby a human rights language became part of the Federation's agenda. The rhetoric of human rights was a popular mobilising tool and at the International Conference on Population and Development, a consensus was forged on a rights-based and empowerment approach to programming in support of women and girls (UN, 1994). Whilst IPPF had previously managed to get this concept into the 1968 Tehran Declaration (IPPF, 1995a: 10), it was not until the formalisation of the *Vision 2000* Strategic Plan that IPPF itself wholly adopted this concept internally.

As a response to these new global trends IPPF developed a framework addressing what they perceived as the strong link between sexual and reproductive rights and human rights. The IPPF charter was developed in 1995 in response to the ICPD Platform for Action. In order to reinforce the Federation's Vision 2000 strategy. The Charter's three principal objectives were to raise awareness of the extent to which sexual and reproductive rights have been recognised as basic human rights. Secondly to make clear the connection between the human rights language and key programme issues and finally to increase the capacity of non-governmental organisations to interact with human rights processes (Newman and Helzner, 1999: 460).

---

19 A more detailed analysis of the implications for IPPF of changing its focus from family planning to that of sexual and reproductive health will be given in Chapter 4 'IPPF's Production of Knowledge on Development and Gender'.

2.2.7 *The Vision 2000 Fund*

IPPF's *Vision 2000* programme represents a significant departure from its traditional thinking on sexual and reproductive health. This departure, whilst not immediate in terms of FPA internal procedures did begin to take effect relatively quickly. By 1994, and more so in 1995, the message of IPPF's *Vision 2000* began to find clear expression in some FPA strategic plans, annual work plans and field activities. The *Vision 2000 Fund* was established to support innovative projects that would help to implement the Federation's Strategic Plan. The Fund's key objective was primarily to fund projects with a component of sexual and reproductive health; that is to assist FPAs with the transition from family planning to sexual and reproductive health.

Since its inception, the *Fund* has attracted $19.8 million in restricted funding. In addition, IPPF contributes about 7% of its unrestricted (core) income to the Vision 2000 Fund (IPPF, 2000: 2). However, this contribution varies according to the financial circumstances of the Federation. The Fund has come to be based on earmarked funding and continues to prioritise the pursuit of restricted funding. By January 1998, commitments of more than $42 million had been made for 31 multi-year projects and 13 pre-project activities in 25 countries (Ibid.).

While the *Vision 2000 Fund* was first and foremost an instrument that enabled FPAs to expand their programmes, it also fulfilled the following objectives: firstly, to serve as a strong incentive for FPAs within the highest need group[20], to engage in strategic planning, and to think beyond the confines of their traditional activities by year 2001. Secondly, to improve management capacity from project conceptualisation to development and implementation. Thirdly, it aimed at helping the Federation shift

[20] IPPF has divided their FPAs into the following groups: Group A has the highest need; Group B has a high need; Group C has a low need and Group T represents countries in Transition. Projects in Group A countries are eligible for a maximum of $500,000 per year; In Group B countries, the limit is $250,000 per year; Projects located in Group C Countries, Transition Countries, or Other Countries are limited to support of $125,000 per year. The resource allocation system has been based upon the UNFPA classification system. (Source: IPPF, Vision 2000 User's Guide)

resources to high need groups and finally to attract additional donor support of at least US$ 8.0 million per year for new and deserving IPPF projects. (IPPF, 1998a: 3).

IPPF's 50 years of existence have seen some significant internal and external changes, which have impacted it dramatically. From being a small network of informal individuals working together on the basis of minimal funding, it is now a $80 million year NGO, which has a presence at the UN and influence in over 180 countries.

2.3 The Organisational Structure of the International Planned Parenthood Federation

In conjunction with the historical development of IPPF, its organisational structure has similarly changed through time. It is notable that IPPF has a federal structure and this is one of its most remarkable organisational features. The federal nature of IPPF is critical in understanding IPPF's decision-making and project activities. The importance of this section is paramount in understanding the organisational nature of IPPF.

IPPF is unique in the sense that it consists of a collection of national family planning associations (FPAs) responding to local needs within different national contexts, being part of a global organisation. As Wadia puts it:

> 'While many international and national agencies dealing with similar objectives have arisen, no other international NGO has anything like the FPAs. It may have zone or country offices, but not full functioning national, autonomous associations with a grassroots base which, while subscribing to the policies of IPPF, have their own individual ethos' (Wadia, 1996: 7).

The organisational diagram below illustrates the overall management structure of the Federation:

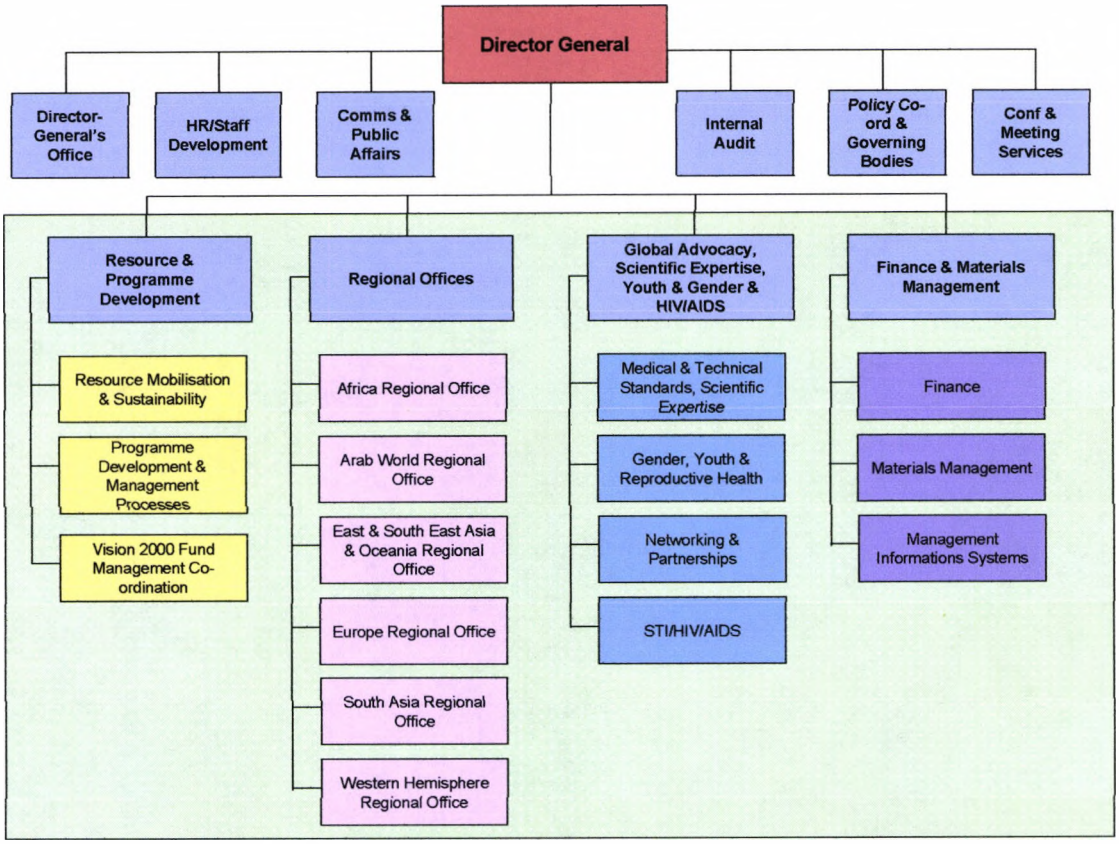

Table 2.2 – Source: IPPF, 2001b

A key characteristic of the Federation is that it consists of three relatively autonomous levels working together; the central, the regional and the local level.

2.3.1 The Central Level

The role of the office at the central level consists of several components. For instance technical assistance is provided to IPPF's member affiliates from a specialist department and the Central Office also provides supplies of contraceptives[21], equipment and audio-visual materials to its FPAs. Furthermore, FPAs are kept informed by the Central Office on worldwide developments in the field of sexual and reproductive health. Staff at the central level plays a key role in advocacy by promoting the cause of sexual and reproductive health at the international level as well as seeking funding from potential donors. As a Federation, the primary mission of the IPPF Central Office has been to assist in creating and sustaining a global

21 Contraceptives which are offered are those which have been approved by the International Medical Advisory Panel (IMAP) as safe and effective, and which meet national or international standards of quality. The role of IMAP will be explored further in the next sub-chapter.

network of Family Planning Associations. One of the responsibilities of the Central Office is to sponsor new applications for IPPF membership and submit reports and accounts to the IPPF governing body.

Another significant aspect of IPPF's Central Office's role has been to provide financial, technical and material assistance to the FPAs, which reinforces its institution-building role (IPPF, 1987: 18). The Central Office has increasingly taken on a leadership role within IPPF as a whole. In a review of the role of the Central Office in 1986, it was suggested that this leadership role was encouraged by local FPAs as they viewed the Central Office as having a more centralised control of available information, resources and organisational structures. It was suggested that due to the Central Office's role with regard to advocacy and its close relation to the donor community, it is able to represent IPPF with a stronger and unified voice (IPPF, 1986a: 21).

2.3.2 The Regional Level

For administrative purposes as well as the recognition that the problems faced worldwide by the different family planning associations vary according to their cultural context, IPPF has divided its associations into six different regions. These currently consist of the Africa region, the Arab World region, the Europe region, the South Asia region, the East and Southeast Asia and Oceania region and the Western Hemisphere region (IPPF, 2001c: 17). Councils, consisting of representatives from the constituent associations administer the regional offices and they elect representatives to the Governing Body and its committees. The key responsibilities of the regional offices include the organisations of regional conferences and common services, the promotion of new associations, advising the Governing Body on financial matters as well as the distribution of contraceptives and literature (Deverell, 1969: 256).

Whilst FPAs are autonomous at the national level, the regional offices provide financial and technical assistance and also act as the FPAs' representatives in negotiations amongst the other regional offices and governing bodies. Each region has a Regional Council and a Regional Executive Committee to assist in the initiation and

development of IPPF's policies (IPPF, 1998b: 3). The Regional Councils act as regional Governing Bodies, where affiliate volunteer board members vote to regulate regional policies and planning. More importantly, the Regional Council as well as the Regional Office is considered by many FPAs as a channel to make local views and the regional voices heard at the international level as well as influencing IPPF policies and activities (Ibid.).

2.3.3 The Local Level

IPPF currently consists of 189 member affiliates worldwide (IPPF, 2001: 2). One NGO in each country is eligible for the full membership if it is recognised officially in its own country, has a position in its own country as either the only or leading organisation and that it has been an associate member for at least two years (IPPF, 1977: 10). On joining IPPF, an FPA:

> 'becomes entitled to certain privileges, but at the same time, voluntarily accepts the standards and responsibilities of membership as defined by the Governing Council from time to time, and agrees to abide by the constitution and policies of IPPF' (IPPF, 2001b: 1).

It is within these basic principles that member FPAs are considered as autonomous and formulate their policies in accordance with local laws and established priorities. The role of the FPA is often a reflection of the national context in which they work including the needs of the local population, the involvement of the government in the field and national policies on sexual and reproductive health.

Each FPA may have very specific and unique issues according to its location. Some FPAs are working in countries where governments are reluctant to implement policies that promote family planning and the FPA's role is primarily to influence and lobby key government officials who are in a position to make decisions. Others lobby their government to achieve information and services on family planning and others provide full clinical services. However, FPAs working in countries where governments are actively promoting family planning still take on an advocacy role as they frequently need to ensure that governments are putting theory into practice as

well as ensuring that good contraceptive services are available. This is, in particular, evident in Scandinavia and Holland where the FPAs are working in close co-operation with their governments in order to ensure that sex education is promoted within schools as well as ensuring that their governments are meeting the requirements set out at the International Conference on Population and Development. The other key role of FPAs working with governments who are open to family planning policies is to complement or supplement the government's family planning programme in order to ensure better quality of services and provisions for the service users.

A study published by IPPF in 1977, which assessed the future roles and the missions of the Federation stated that:

> 'IPPF's concern to see development of vigorous indigenous national organisations has led it to neglect its corporate image to the extent that some FPAs regard it only as a funding agency and fail, therefore, to get real benefits from membership in terms of both opportunities for interchange and transfer of experience and technical back-up and international support in times of experiment and controversy' (IPPF, 1977a: v).

Ten years later the same study was reviewed and this issue seemed to have remained. It was observed that there was a distinct divide between 'we' and 'the other', meaning we the FPAs and 'the other' being the Central Office. The study concluded that the central office should assist in creating a collective identity or corporate image in which the FPAs vital work is evident. (IPPF, 1987: 47).

2.3.4 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Volunteers

Voluntary activity has its roots in philanthropy, based upon the acceptance of a duty owed by the rich to the poor. Philanthropy and altruism are still, to a large extent, key features of voluntary activity, but increasingly over the past two decades these have been combined with principles of social justice, solidarity, empowerment and self-help (Smith, 1996: 188). Voluntary activity is a key feature of IPPF and the way in which it operates. Volunteers are the main 'work force' of the Federation, as well as its main policy makers.

Throughout the history of IPPF, the notion of voluntarism has been an essential feature as the Federation became a reality through the efforts of volunteers who used their own private time and resources to promote its work and principles. In a report prepared by a Task Force on the IPPF Governance and Volunteer Structure in 1998 one of the conclusions was that:

> 'Volunteers, in partnership with staff, are the key to success of the Federation as a movement and that FPAs derive enormous benefit from the inside contribution of volunteers. Volunteers give IPPF its credibility as a grassroots organisation because they represent the civil society of their country' (IPPF, 1998c: 19).

Today the Federation relies heavily upon volunteers, who donate an estimated 80,000 person days of effort per year throughout the Federation (Whitworth, 1998: 90). A 1988 IPPF Report stated that the cost of volunteers came to 1.95% of the gross expenditure of IPPF; 1.09% of its total income and 6.60% of gross Secretariat expenses and staff man-hours (quoted in Wadia, 1997: 5). This illustrates the benefit that IPPF derives from volunteers compared with the very minimal cost associated with their involvement with the Federation.

IPPF makes a clear distinction between the policy-making volunteers and the grassroots volunteers (IPPF, 1998c: 4). The policy-making volunteers are those who have technical skills and are well connected to their national governments. They spend the majority of their time on advocacy and policy work and are involved in the different decision-making bodies at IPPF. The grassroots volunteers, on the other hand, are involved at the community level distributing contraceptives and information to members of their community.

IPPF's recruitment process for volunteers and the expectations of volunteers has changed significantly since the Federation was initiated. Now there is an increasing need for professional skills. Whereas in the past IPPF needed advocates promoting their cause, today's volunteers are increasingly expected to have valuable skills, which can benefit the Federation. This is reflected in one of IPPF's resolutions in 1998, which states that:

'In the next decade IPPF must continue to distinguish itself by the excellence and relevance of its programmes if it is to retain its leading edge in an increasingly competitive field. To accomplish this IPPF will need high quality volunteers with specialised skills and expertise to provide the required professionalism and leadership' (IPPF, 1998c: 27)

IPPF's volunteers are increasingly being drawn from the professional classes with important connections to government decision-makers. The type of volunteer needed for governance is, as Wadia, (1997: 19) points out, very different from the volunteer needed 45 years ago, as the institutional bodies have become more sophisticated. The skills expected from a volunteer are highlighted further in Wadia's document stating that a volunteer has to be somebody who can:

'Bring total quality of care concepts into the process and procedures of governing bodies and ensure their forward thinking, efficiency, effectiveness and smooth working. They have to partake of elements of the professionalism of the corporate director, the people's representative approach of the politician and relationship to that of the permanent civil servant, and above all, the fiduciary responsibility of a Trustee of a Trust. To that must be added the fourth requirement that such a volunteer should not be dissociated from the hands-on experience of advocacy, education and service to the people' (Wadia, 1997: 19).

2.3.5 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Member's Assembly and Central Council

At the international level, a Member's Assembly, composed of a volunteer representative from each FPA, officers of IPPF, the founder president, the immediate past president and other members of the Central Council (who do not have a vote) met every three-years to oversee overall policy and planning (IPPF, 1977: 1). Its main function was to:

> 'review and adopt IPPF's Strategic Plan, ratify amendments to the IPPF Regulations or make recommendations about those Regulations to Central Council, act on the recommendation of Central Council on various membership matters, provide a forum for exchange of experience and to elect the president of IPPF' (IPPF, 1998c: 9).

The Member's Assembly would then report back to the Central Council (CC), which until 1999 used to be the central policy-making body of IPPF. The CC initially consisted of 48 members from around the world holding annual sessions to exercise governance responsibilities (Helzner, 2000: 4). When the CC was not in session, the Central Executive Committee, comprised of representatives of the CC and the Treasurer, was empowered to make decisions in the CC's stead (Ibid)

Due to the lengthy procedures for passing polices, involving three decision-making levels namely the Member's Assembly, the Central Council and the Regional Council, crucial decisions were dealt with slowly. At the Member's Assembly in 1995, the former President of IPPF, Fred Sai, requested a review of the governance and volunteer structure in order to create a more cost-effective and less bureaucratic Federation (IPPF, 1998c: 1). In other words, there was a call for a structure, which would be effective, flexible and responsive to service users as well as donors and thereby allow the allocation of more funds to national programmes rather than to bureaucratic structures.

Subsequently the Member's Assembly passed the following resolution:

> 'The IPPF Member's Assembly meeting in Manila in November 1995 called for a review of the governance and committee structure of the International Planned Parenthood Federation.' (IPPF, 1998c: 1).

A Task Force was set up to evaluate the current governance and volunteer structure. In 1998 a report prepared by the Task Force was presented to the Member's Assembly where a new governing structure was proposed. This was eventually adopted and by 1999 IPPF's new governing structure was established and became a reality.

2.3.6 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Governing Council

Whereas the former structure of the Federation was considered by Fred Sai to be a costly bureaucracy, the new structure of IPPF is currently leaner and more cost-effective.[22] The newly established IPPF governance structure consists of a single decision-making body at the central level, which is named the Governing Council and assumes the functions of the Central Council and the Member's Assembly. The Governing Council, which is smaller than the previous Central Council and Member's Assembly, consists of thirty FPA representatives, that is five representatives per region with at least one representative from each region being under the age of twenty-five years old. (IPPF, 1999c: 3).

Two standing committees support the new Governing Council: an Audit Committee and a newly established Membership Committee, which aims at strengthening accountability to both the membership and the donors. The Audit Committee enables the Governing Council to have the confidence that essential financial matters are being independently reviewed. The new structure involves strengthening the independence of this Audit committee by having four 'outside' members to be elected from the Council from a list of nominated FPA/IPPF candidates who are not members of the Governing Council. The Membership Committee, on the other hand, is responsible for important membership issues. These include the review of constitutions and recommendations for FPA membership, and overseeing the monitoring of member's adherence to technical, financial and managerial membership standards including the periodic re-certification of all IPPF members (IPPF, 1999c: 17).

The first Governing Council meeting took place in 1999 following the adoption of IPPF's new governance structure at the Members Assembly in November 1998. IPPF's new streamlined structure was still based on the basic principle of voluntarism, but provided a governance structure, which was expected to be more responsive to the needs of FPAs and at the same time speed up decision-making

22 It is estimated that by abolishing the Member's Assembly, the Federation will have an annual saving of approximately $US650, 000 (Source: IPPF Resolution, 1998).

processes (Ibid). The diagram below illustrates both the current governance structure of the Federation:

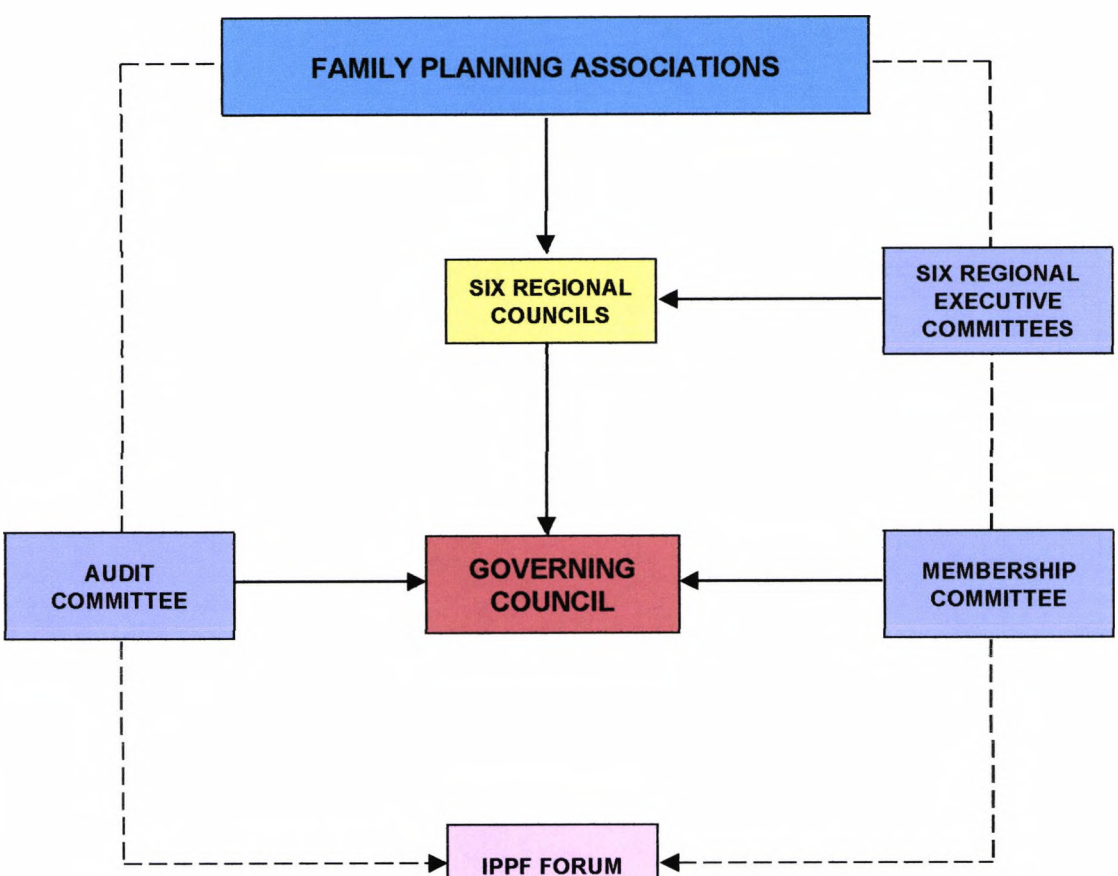

Table 2.3 – Source IPPF, 1998b

2.3.7 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's International Panels

IPPF's old governing structure included various panels giving expert advice on issues, which were relevant to sexual and reproductive health. New programme areas and directions would emerge from the consultations of the International Medical Advisory Panel (IMAP), the International Programme Advisory Panel (IPAP) and the International Women's Advisory Panel (IWAP). Through these three panels, IPPF worked to set standards in crucial and relevant areas of the Federation's programmes such as the safety of contraception, service provision, programme management and gender equity.

IMAP, which is a principal committee of the new Governing Council, was established in 1979 and is an internationally recognised body, which advises on the safety and acceptability of contraceptive products and clinical procedures. The key role of IMAP is to monitor and consolidate new scientific evidence and when appropriate develop statements, guidelines and recommendations as well as making recommendations on contraceptive supplies and storage (IPPF, 1998d: 12). The panel advises IPPF's Governing Body on all medical matters and is responsible for establishing contraceptive standards and organising the medical sections in international conferences. Furthermore, the panel responds to questions from IPPF and its member associations and other key stakeholders on critical sexual and reproductive health questions, which may impact on programmes. Members of the panel are drawn from all over the world and a system of membership rotation ensures regular infusions of varied experience and expertise. The panel consists of international experts, who have access to the latest medical findings and who in turn provide advise to IPPF on contraceptive methods. (IPPF, 1998d: 10)

IPAP was first formed in 1989 and was subsequently disbanded in 1998. The panel consisted of international experts providing advice and guidance to IPPF on appropriate programme directions and practices in general with specific regards to the work of IPPF. The purpose of IPAP was to review international developments in family planning programmes and research as well as provide expert advice on areas related to IPPF's long and medium-term plans. IPAP would give advice to IPPF through the Central Council or direct to the regions or the FPAs under a memo from the Director General. The panel would cover issues such as youth, unsafe abortion and reproductive health services for refugees (IPPF, 1994: 10)

In 1993 IWAP was established under the leadership of Halfdan Mahler. Like the IPAP, it was subsequently dissolved in 1998. The panel was set up to add strength to IPPF's *Vision 2000* Strategic Plan, which promoted women's empowerment and male involvement. The panel consisted of international 'experts' on gender who provided advice and guidance to the IPPF on issues of women's perspectives in the design of programmes, on increasing the number of female participants within the organisation and on the implementation and evaluation of programmes, which addressed gender issues (IPPF, 1994a: 1). The mandate of IWAP was to review and

assess IPPF's status with regard to the involvement of women in decision-making processes. Moreover, to provide expert advice on mechanisms for ensuring gender sensitivity in programmes and recommend ways in which the women's perspective could be incorporated into the design, implementation and evaluation of IPPF's programmes (IPPF, 1998e: 10).

A review of the old governance structure, which was written up in 1998, suggested that the work of the panels were often too far removed from the work of the FPAs and the closure of the International Women's Advisory Panel as well as the International Programme Advisory Panel was proposed. In a survey carried out by the central office, less than a quarter of FPAs considered the work of IPAP and IWAP as very relevant. One FPA commented that although IWAP's role was a catalyst and agent for change, its work was of little relevance not because of the quality of the panel's work, but because IPPF was often reluctant to implement the panel's recommendations (IPPF, 1998c: 16). It was also pointed out by some FPAs that as regional and country situations differ, some of the recommendations made by the panels may be difficult to implement and therefore only made 'good theory and reports for filing' (Ibid).

It was suggested that the medical panel plays a significant role in determining safety of contraception on a worldwide scale. Thus, this was the only panel, which survived and today it still plays a significant role advising the Federation on medical matters.

2.4 The International Planned Parenthood Federation and the Donor Community

Any non-governmental organisation (NGO) must take into account its role as a 'broker'. The NGO itself acts as an intermediary between givers of money or other resources and receivers of services who are often far removed from the charity, in terms of time and space (Butler and Wilson 1990: 2). IPPF is critically involved in this kind of relationship due to its status as an NGO. In order to illustrate the significance of this issue, it is worth noting that IPPF's turnover in 2000 was

approximately US $80 million (IPPF, 2001: 16) and in NGO terms this is an extremely significant amount[23].

Whereas some organisations are reluctant to receive funding from governments, approximately 80% of IPPF's funding is donated by national governments (IPPF, 1998a:111). IPPF receives the majority of its funding from national governments with whom they work closely in order to promote their cause. The Swedish government is IPPF 'oldest' donor and has contributed core funding to IPPF since 1965 (IPPF, 1997: 46). Currently the largest donor is the Japanese government, who contributes more than US $18.2m a year (IPPF, 1998a: 111).

Whilst IPPF has in the past gained from generous funding from many national governments, the Federation is increasingly facing financial difficulties as there has been a significant decline in government funding. Some governments who initially prioritised the area of sexual and reproductive health in terms of funding have had to re-allocate resources to emergency and relief work, as a result of various ethnic conflicts as well as natural disasters, which have occurred during the past decade. This was seen during the Kosovo crisis when the Danish government re-allocated resources, which were meant to be for sexual and reproductive health towards re-building Kosovo (Conly and De Silva, 1998: 22). This re-allocation of funds has had a significant impact on IPPF's financial well-being and they no longer feel as secure as they did twenty years ago. This is evident in a speech made by the Federation's Director General at a Central Council Meeting in 1997, Ingar Brueggemann stated that:

> 'Ten or fifteen years ago IPPF knew exactly what is was about – family planning – and was the acknowledged international leader in that specific field. Family planning was high on the international agenda, and IPPF had no serious rivals, so the Federation attracted a stable of loyal governments ready

[23] This can be compared to Action Aid whose annual income in 2000 was £62 million (2000: 16), Save the Children's income in 2000 was approximately £106 million (Save the Children Fund, 2001: 8) and Population Concern was an estimated £3.3 million (Population Concern, 2001:7).

to provide steadily increasing core donations with each passing year' (IPPF, 1997a: 50)

IPPF is no longer the only 'player' in the field as other NGOs specialising in sexual and reproductive health have sprung up over the last two decades. These include Marie Stopes International, Population Concern and Family Health International, which all compete for funding for sexual and reproductive health.

Other sources of funding into IPPF include private donors such as the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation and inter-governmental organisations like the European Commission, World Bank and World Health Organisation. However, this represents only a small proportion of their overall funding. A very small proportion of IPPF's funding is received from private individuals and in fact the IPPF Annual Report supplement published in 1998 showed that a mere 5% was donated to IPPF in this way (IPPF, 1998a: 1). This illustrates that unlike many other NGOs such as the Save the Children Fund, Oxfam and Amnesty International who all make a significant attempt to lobby the general public in order to increase their funding, IPPF has done very little to catch the attention of this financial resource pool.

2.4.1 A Changing International Environment

Access to funding has become increasingly acute mainly because IPPF is now facing significant competition, but also because there has been a change in donor priorities. Short-term relief projects have been a priority as opposed to projects, which may lead to fundamental and long-term change. This highlights the transitory and insecure nature of charity funding. The increasingly difficult climate, which IPPF is facing is evident when recent income trends are analysed, over the last four years, this decreased from US$ 127 million in 1995 to US$ 92 million in 1997 and US$ 77 million in 1998 (IPPF, 1998a: 1). It has recovered slightly from a low of US $73m in 2000 to US$ 80m in 2001 (IPPF, 2001d: 16).

Another significant issue in terms of funding is that many donors have begun to decentralise the distribution of their budgets to their local agencies in recipient countries. Donors who have adopted such strategies include the Department for

International Development (DFID), which are currently setting up more Development Co-operation Offices in the field with grant making powers; Japan which has initiated in-country assistance as well as USAID, which increasingly are making substantial grants direct to FPAs from their in country missions (IPPF, 1999b: 93). Thus, IPPF's affiliates are now gaining an opportunity for direct funding, which in turn has left the Central Office in a position where they have to co-operate more closely with their FPAs as the affiliates so far have had little experience working with international donors.

IPPF's response to the challenges of funding led to it setting up Resource Mobilisation. IPPF's Resource Mobilisation section's key responsibility is the negotiation of funding with donors. This unit concentrates on two types of funding; unrestricted funding[24], which is funding mostly gained from government donors and restricted funding[25], which are donations for specific programmes and projects sought from major foundations such as The MacArthur Foundation, the Ford Foundation and the McKnight Foundation (Ibid: 195). The majority of the restricted funding, about eighty seven per cent, derives from governments. IPPF therefore liases closely with government donors from across the world including the Australian, Canadian, Swiss, Finnish, Japanese, Swedish and Danish government.

Increasing competition for resources has led IPPF to seek out other donors such as the National Lottery Charities Board and Comic Relief. Each donor will have different agendas and priorities and IPPF's section of Resource Mobilisation's responsibility is to develop and design and initiate programmes, which fit each donor

[24] Unrestricted funds are not designated and can be spent as determined by the Federation, acting in its capacity as a corporate entity. Thus, by definition, funds whose use is determined by the Federation are unrestricted funds.

[25] Restricted funding is provided separately from the IPPF's unrestricted core budget. Restricted funding includes donor directed funding (core funds allocated by the donor to specific activities) and project-specific grants. The donor designates restricted funds and these restrictions can be programme-specific and/or use-specific. The Federation has a legal and fiduciary responsibility to disburse funds in accordance with donor restrictions.

profile. Each year the division updates a donor profile outlining the exact criteria as well as the priorities set out by the donor. Donors may wish to support projects in certain areas of the world with a specific focus on women and girls or they may have a more general concern with addressing the causes of poverty and inequality. IPPF's objective is to tailor projects to match local needs through their wide network of FPAs and this helps to explain how they receive so much of their core funding from governments.

The Federation is renowned for its well defined distribution channels that have a proven track record of service delivery and the Federation's extensive network gives it the ability to be flexible in responding to donor's various and often changing preferences. However, it does mean that in many ways donors determine or drive both the choice of project and moreover the shape of that project.

2.5 Concluding Comments

The nature, history and organisational features of NGOs vary widely. IPPF has changed significantly as a Federation since its inception both in terms of its size and objectives, its governing structures and in relation to the donor community. At its inception IPPF functioned as a dynamic network of dedicated volunteers who travelled around the world, often at their own expense or with funds raised from friends, to help other committed individuals from local FPAs. Yet, with time IPPF established itself at a global level through the medicalisation of its practices gaining recognition for its work and establishing strong links with governments worldwide. Today IPPF is an international organisation that commands considerable financial resources, holds a respected position within the international community and has a large number of professional volunteers.

As an organisational entity IPPF is extremely complex. This complexity stems from its federal structure and the relationship between the FPAs, the centre and the governance structures, which circumscribe the organisation. This complexity is exacerbated by the horizontal cross-cutting impact of the national and local context in which it operates as well as the network of inter-governmental organisations, which affect it, such as the UN. The effects of these horizontal and vertical impacts on IPPF

are difficult to discern, but are undoubtedly critical in understanding how the Federation conceptualises and implements change.

The shift from family planning to sexual and reproductive health has been one of the most significant organisational changes for IPPF and this has involved a shift in the traditional organisational way of conceptualising service users and service users' needs. IPPF faces many challenges in their attempts to define, agree and implement gender sensitive practices. The next stage of this analysis will focus on an examination of how IPPF has attempted to reconcile its history and structure with the various challenges posed by gender and development theory. In terms of structure and history, IPPF manifests itself as a locus of power in terms of creating policy and implementing policies through programmes and objectives. To unlock and understand the relations within IPPF between power and change, it is necessary to analyse the way IPPF constructs its thinking throughout its organisation and between itself and other significant influences. Its production of knowledge processes and how these contribute to the organisation's contemporary conceptualisation of its purpose is central to this analysis.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework and Methodological Way Forward

The preceding two chapters have served to illustrate the core question, which I want to address concerning the relationship between IPPF as an international NGO and the theoretical and practical strategy of promoting gender equality, which is increasingly referred to as gender mainstreaming. This chapter is, in a sense, the most critical not least because it will be argued that researching such a complex issue as gender mainstreaming calls for a very specific type of methodology. So far I have outlined what gender mainstreaming is and how gender has been conceptualised within NGOs, intergovernmental organisations and governments as opposed to the grassroots. I set out to illustrate the very different and often conflicting discourses surrounding gender mainstreaming within these disparate contexts and now I need to bring these together through a sophisticated methodology, which will address the core question as thoroughly as possible. The first part of this chapter will focus on the circumstances of the research and will seek to tease out a suitable methodology via an extensive discussion of certain theoretical and conceptual considerations.

In order to evaluate the extent to which IPPF is entitled to claim a commitment to gender mainstreaming, it is important to not only examine what IPPF does and how it does it, but also how IPPF functions as an organisation itself. In *Chapter One*, I discussed what has become known as gender mainstreaming; the key elements are a commitment to understanding, working with and empowering females and males. On the basis of this description I need to put forward a methodological strategy, which will explore these features of gender mainstreaming within IPPF.

There is a contention over meaning within gender mainstreaming as a strategy and a theory. The dispute concerns the dichotomous interpretation of gender as pluralistic and mainstreaming, which is predicated on modernist theories of change. The challenge here, then is to examine to what extent IPPF approaches female and male experiences and attempts to empower these experiences through a fundamental

and long lasting development programme, which reaches beyond the superficial and into the empowered and real changes associated with substantive development and progress. Here we have, in general terms, the gender mainstreaming approach and the context for this analysis of the IPPF. Bringing the two together involves shaping a very particular methodology, which is sensitive to certain key concerns. The first is the nature of IPPF, not in a descriptive sense, but in an analytical sense, thus, 'What is IPPF as an organisation?'. This analytical exploration will take some very specific features of IPPF and look for the conceptual substance of those features and try to relate them to the question of methodology. In the context of this chapter, conceptual substance pertains to aspects of an organisation such as power, plurality, conflict and discourse. Understanding how these aspects are configured is critical in understanding how IPPF relates to change. The second concern is to understand, on the basis of the analytical discussion, how we can examine and understand those particular conceptual features. The picture I intend to build should point to a particular set of methodological tools, which theoretically 'fit' the analytical and the central question of gender mainstreaming.

This approach to methodology, whilst being extensive, is thorough and will provide a theoretical justification for the chosen methodology in terms, which are consistent with both the central question and the organisation being studied. To spend some time looking at IPPF in terms of its conceptual composition will partially direct us towards a methodology, which best suits both the subject and the question. I will begin this discussion then with an outline of IPPF - this is intended to provide a 'conceptual map', which will highlight IPPF's organisational landscape and will illuminate the key concepts on which to build a methodology.

3.1 Contextualising the Methodology

This section is aimed at contextualising the methodological and theoretical discussion. I would argue that what IPPF is and represents as an NGO may restrict my choice of methodology due to the complexity and conceptual configuration of the organisation. IPPF is at once a Federation and at the same time a unitary organisation in terms of policy. The formulation of policy is constantly questioned and moreover

legitimately questioned, within the context of a federal structure, by various players. This complexity is further problematised in that IPPF operates internationally and thus, is subject to a variety of competing and often mutually exclusive cultural demands and norms. IPPF then, may be subject to both external and internal pressures and influences. Context is critical for the effectiveness of any organisation, but this is compounded when one takes into account the variety of forces, which exert themselves on IPPF, from governments, international agencies to local and community organisations.

To understand the content of gender mainstreaming one must understand the context in order to highlight the connection between the nature of IPPF and the nature of the Federation's efforts to gender mainstream its own activities. It could be argued that if IPPF were an isolated organisation, then the internal composition would be sufficient in order to analyse it. Yet, as outlined in *Chapter Two*, IPPF has central, regional and local perspectives, which suggests that there are many narratives and points of view to consider in the analysis. It is therefore critical to undertake some kind of deconstruction of IPPF in order to construct a conceptual analysis. The stress here is on breaking down IPPF as an organisation, in order to illuminate its core rationality and on what that rationality is built, not least understanding the various points of conflict and conflict resolution.

The focus for this analysis is IPPF and its various contexts and externalities such as its donors, its member associations and other NGOs. IPPF seems to consist of interplays of different power sources, some of which are external, whilst others are internal: the former are the donors, other large NGOs, governments and businesses, whereas the internal power points are the FPAs, the regions and the Central Office. Each one of these power points carries its own narrative, which is often in competition, although not necessarily mutually exclusive of each other. This can be illustrated by comparing IPPF's Family Planning Associations (FPAs) with the UN. It could be argued that the UN has an 'interfering or influencing' narrative as it operates as an inter-governmental institution, making an attempt to reach a consensus on economic and social issues worldwide. IPPF's affiliates, on the other hand, have a particularised and region specific narrative, which in turn will reflect the outcome of

their discourse(s). This point serves to highlight the very real discursive conflicts, which affect IPPF, but more importantly compose IPPF.

At the very heart of IPPF there are some very powerful and often mutually exclusive narratives, which are vying with each other to dominate the overall policy narratives and, thus, the general policies of IPPF. Even on the basis of this brief examination of some of the key conceptual aspects of IPPF, certain critical issues are coming to light particularly the picture of IPPF as a group of conflict points for a variety of extremely powerful influences, which have to be channelled into various and often disparate contexts in order to meet their mandate. IPPF has a set of key concerns and policy commitments, which, when set against the motivations of their donors and the various areas of the world in which they operate, produce some very deep and critical cleavages between policy and practice.

What we have so far within this sketch of IPPF is an organisation, which is characterised by a multiplicity of 'power points' existing within certain functions and between the various levels and interests within the Federation. The complexity of IPPF, therefore, calls for a discussion of theory, particularly a discussion, which focuses primarily on power. In order to gain knowledge of the issue we need to understand where power and knowledge reside. Is this with the organisation, its members, its documentation or its various narratives or all of them? The following discussion will take as its starting point these findings and further analyse the various analytical aspects of power in contemporary social and organisational theory. In summary then, the discussion so far has illuminated an organisation, which appears to be composed by various power relations, acting between different key interests and priorities. In the next section I will look more closely at the issue of power in general in order to lead into a discussion of methodology, which is focused on delivering a suitable means of analysis to underpin and drive the wider analysis of IPPF.

3.2 Power as a Fundamental Concept

Within this context the notion of power is a central issue as it may open doors to understand the nature of the various discourses, which deliver a set of organisational narratives. Power has been the subject of much debate and many

scholars have, in their analysis of power, consistently proposed that it is an exclusively repressive phenomenon (Althusser, 1969; Lukes, 1974; Marcuse, 1964). Both liberal and Marxist political theorists have tended to conceptualise power as possessional, that is belonging to either an individual or a group, and conflictional, suggesting that it is exercised as a result of conflicting interests. From a Marxist point of view all power within class societies is considered to be domination, held by one group to dominate and exploit another group that lacks power. The state, for instance, is viewed as a mechanism for exercising the power of the ruling class (Squires, 1999: 34).

Foucault challenges these traditional interpretations of power by arguing that power is 'productive' rather than prohibitive. Moreover Foucault claims that modern power is unlike earlier powers in that it is local, continuous, productive, capillary and exhaustive, which in turn is an outcome of the circumstances of which it initially arose (Foucault, 1980: 158). Foucault rules out the notion that power is exclusively repressive and argues that it is capillary as it does not emanate from some central source, but circulates throughout the entire social body down to even the tiniest and apparently most trivial extremities. Foucault argues that the difference between power of the *ancient regime* and modern power is that the latter continually increases its own forces in the course of its exercise. It does not do so by negating opposite forces, but rather by utilizing them, by linking them up as transfer points within its own circularity (Ibid.).

Secondly, Foucault suggests that power touches people's lives more fundamentally through their social practices rather than through their beliefs. He highlights this by claiming that power is in our bodies, not in our head; thus practices are more fundamental than belief systems when analysing the effect that power has on us (Foucault, 1990: 93). Foucault's theory illustrates that power is everywhere as well as in everyone, which in turn suggests that power is present in the most apparently trivial details and relations of everyday life as it is in every existing institution (Foucault, 1980: 39). As a consequence, Foucault rules out that any transformation initiated by the state would be sufficient to dismantle or transform modern power regimes (Ibid. 22). Fraser argues that this is one of the key issues within Foucault's theory as he provides the empirical and conceptual basis for treating such phenomena

as sexuality, the family, schools, medicine and social sciences as political phenomena (Fraser, 1989: 26).

In the context of this discussion Foucault's points regarding power are apposite in that he connects the micro-practices (gender mainstreaming) with the macro-context (IPPF). The micro-practices are significant in that they substantiate, legitimate and challenge power relations through actions and communications, whilst the macro-level is typified and characterised by the 'sum of the micro'. Within IPPF, the priorities and activities of the individuals in the often disparate FPAs can clash through their autonomous exercise of power. Understanding the impact of gender mainstreaming within IPPF involves analysing the various micro-power-relations and discourses of the FPAs vis a vis the larger entity 'IPPF'.

Connecting the micro- and the macro- in terms of practices and their substantiation of power appears to underpin Foucault's theory, Fraser (1989: 24) argues that Foucault enables us to understand power very broadly, and yet very finely, as anchored in the multiplicity of what he calls 'micro-practices'; the social practices that constitute everyday life in modern societies. Foucault's method involves, among other things, the suspension of the standard modern liberal normative framework, which distinguishes between the legitimate and the illegitimate exercise of power. Whether legitimate or otherwise, the exercise of power for Foucault is meaningful and understanding the rationality for the exercise of power is critical in deconstructing the motivations and reasons for change and social activity.

Foucault's theory of power has several implications. Critics (Fraser, 1989; Hartsock, 1990; Ramazanoglu, 1993) have argued that he concentrates on power from the perspective of those who dominate rather than those who are subjected to power. By dismissing that power is repressive, it could be argued that Foucault at the same time dismisses groups whose social reality is indeed characterised by subordination. It is Foucault's 'ignorance' of those subjected to power, which has encouraged some scholars (Barrett, 1991; Habermas 1981; Fraser 1989), to classify Foucault as a 'conservative' theorist. Moreover, it has been argued by Fraser (1989: 19) that Foucault sometimes does not appear to have suspended the liberal norms after all, but rather to be presupposing them. This suggests that Foucault does not make an attempt

to analyse the context from which the discourses, which he maintains are crucial in our understanding of the nature of power, occur and emanate.

Both these criticisms are based on a general perception of Foucault as abstracting his description of power from the context in which it gains its full meaning. In abstracting out particular power relations and not giving due considerations to the historical, political and moral instantiations of these relations he provides only a partial picture of social reality. That said within the context of this discussion, Foucault does provide some valuable pointers in terms of methodology, most notably he gives us an insight into power, discourse and the practical ramifications of these concepts.

Throughout this thesis, I argue that Foucault's notion of power is essential in the analysis of IPPF, because the very organisation itself, like many other organisations, is inevitably a site of constant political negotiations. It could be argued that IPPF is undergoing continual power discourses. These in turn have an impact on gender relations within the Federation itself and more importantly the way the Federation conceptualises gender mainstreaming both at a theoretical level and at a practical level. Following Foucault, who dismisses the power of states and institutions, it is essential to understand how individuals within IPPF negotiate and constantly develop new discourses on power and moreover how this influences their narratives, which in turn will reflect upon the way the institutional narrative operates. In addition it is essential to ensure that the discussion is not reduced to the negotiation of individuated or local narratives and discourses – consideration will also be given to acknowledging the effect of wider normative frameworks for rationalising and understanding change.

3.3 The Theoretical Foundation

Foucault focuses on the way that knowledge and the increase of the power of the state over the individual has developed in the modern era. In his 'History of Sexuality', Foucault (1990) argues that the rise of medical and psychiatric science has created a discourse of sexuality as deep, instinctual and mysterious. This discourse became accepted as the dominant explanation, and its assumptions began to seep into

the discourse of the everyday. In this way the human subject's experience of his or her own sexuality is shaped and controlled by the discourses that purport to explain it. Foucault's point is that the search for knowledge does not simply uncover pre-existing 'objects'; it actively shapes and creates them.

Foucault does not offer any all-embracing theory of human nature. He is critical of 'meta-theory': beliefs that claim to give a universal objective explanation of reality. For Foucault there is no ultimate answer waiting to be uncovered. The 'discursive practices' of knowledge are not independent of the objects that are studied, and must be understood in their social and political context. His rejection of Grand Theories and his focus on the micro-execution of power and the nature of discourse entails a particular emphasis on the production of knowledge through the production of power. This emphasis provides both a theoretical standpoint and a methodological framework for analysing contemporary societies. This view of the world has also developed into a more extended and rounded school of social theory called post-structuralism, which has its roots firmly within Foucault's work.

Within contemporary social theory, post-structuralism provides a foundation for a theory of knowledge, which attempts to combine Foucauldian notions of power with social practices and social institutions. For example patriarchal relations are both structural in that they exist in social institutions and that they persist through individual narratives and conscious thought. Central to post-structuralist theory is that it attempts to bridge the gap between structuralism and agent-orientated phenomenology and provides a theory of subjectivity, which can account for the relationship between the individual and the social (Alvesson and Due-Billing, 1997: 39).

The nature of discourse is the 'engine' within post-structuralism. It is discourse and the narratives that comprise discourses, which are at the heart of the various power relations that, facilitates knowledge and power (Weedon, 1999: 103). There have been many interpretations of discourse, including the focus on language, but central to this discussion is Foucault's understanding of discourse. Discourses may be written or oral. They are inherent in all social and cultural practices and institutions. Although discourses are impersonal, they require the agency of individuals in order to

operate effectively. Subjectivity (as in Lacanian theory) is discursively constructed: the individual identifies with or reacts against various subject positions as offered by a range of discourses at any given time. Those individuals who try to think or speak outside the parameters of the dominant discourses, risk being defined as insane or are suppressed into silence.

In his work on madness, punishment and sexuality[26], Foucault examines the changing discursive fields in which these issues have been constituted at specific stages in history. Discourses exert power, but are not immune to challenge or change from within. They are the sites for conflict and struggle and have the potential to create as well as suppress resistance. As Foucault states, 'discourse ... reinforces (power), but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it' (Foucault, 1990: 101). His analysis reveals that there are no 'true' discourses, only more or less dominant ones at any period of time. This can equally be applied to all interpretations of texts (Ibid. 102). The theory of discourse proposes that individuality itself is the site, as it were, on which socially produced and historically established discourses are reproduced and regulated. In Barret's words Foucault's notion of discourse 'enables us to understand how *what* is said fits into a network that has its own history and conditions of existence' (Barrett, 1991: 126).

Discourses are structured and interrelated; some are more prestigious, legitimated and hence 'more obvious' than others, while there are discourses that have an uphill struggle to win any recognition at all (perhaps, it may be argued that they include gender mainstreaming). Discourses express power relations. It follows that much of the social sense-making we are subjected to - in the media, at school, in conversation - is the working through of ideological struggle between discourses. A good contemporary example is that between the discourses of (legitimated, naturalized) patriarchy and (emergent, marginalised) feminism. With Foucault's notion of discourse we have a foundation at least for exploring various gender mainstreaming themes operating within IPPF. In choosing to highlight power and then

[26] See Michel Foucault's The Birth of the Clinic (1973). Discipline and Punish (1979). The History of Sexuality, Volume 1 (1979) and The History of Sexuality, Volume 2 (1986).

deconstructing it into component discourses, the possibility of a useful methodology begins to take shape.

Contemporary post-structuralism continues the development of focusing on Foucauldian discourse and attempts to 'complete' his theory by contextualising it within the dynamics of social institutions. This theory attempts to connect the disparate elements of previous social theories, whilst maintaining the dichotomies that transcribe society. These dichotomies are institutional discourses, which circumscribe individual and subjective discourses, but are themselves affected by them. In doing this post-structuralism connects history, society and individuals and binds them in mutual discourse. Agency exists and impacts institutional discourse but does so within the context of the impact of institutions upon the agents. Weedon articulates this connectivity by saying that:

> 'social meanings are produced within social institutions and practices, in which individuals, who are shaped by these institutions, are agents of change, rather than its authors, change which may either serve hegemonic interests or challenge existing power relations' (Weedon, 1987: 25).

Discourses, then, affect individual narratives and circumscribe lifestyles and expectations and also exist as individuals' articulations and negotiations of institutions. In this way individuals both reflect and negotiate the various narratives, which both particularise and universalise their specific existence. Amongst these discourses are 'super-narratives', such as patriarchy, which legitimise certain social actions and are legitimised by those agents whom internalise these discourses. Whilst the term 'super-narrative' is not one found in post-structuralism, it does describe and differentiate certain institutionalised narratives from 'micro-' or personal narratives, which are agent located. However, clearly these micro-narratives are a reflection of the super-narratives in the same way that the super-narratives legitimise and reflect the subjective narratives.

For post-structuralism, discourse is both the medium for communicating norms, ideas and expectations and also the medium for challenging them. The exact medium is language in its very broadest sense, that is spoken dialogue, written word

and the content of the mass media in general. All these forms of communication consist of narratives and together provide extremely complex and diverse discourses. The discourses, which are conveyed by these modes of communication legitimise and challenge sources of power and knowledge. It is within discourse that power relations are constituted and perpetuated. Discourse, then, appears to hold the key to unlocking the 'secrets' of legitimacy, change and power. Discourse connects the social with the individual and vice versa, in order to understand what binds agents and structures it is essential to deconstruct these discourses and analyse the various narratives, which are the contents of discourse.

So far we have a theoretical framework, which consists of some key post-structural elements; power, institutions, discourse and narratives. Narratives compose discourse and to understand the intentions and motivations of specific discourses we need to understand the various narratives, which compose them. These narratives are consequences of subject and circumstance. Both subject and circumstance are a product of previous discourses and the dominant institutions, which circumscribe these institutions and their discourses.

3.4 Foucault and Feminist Theory

Foucault's rejection of the modernist notion of ideology has serious implications for feminist theory, as he suggests that feminist political practices are based on a misunderstanding of the power relations, which feminists set out to transform. From a feminist perspective Foucault's theory of power has its limitations as it denies feminists the security and guarantees of centered models of power, which see it as something that can be escaped (Weedon, 1999: 119).

However, in spite of feminism's unease with Foucault's rejection of 'universal patriarchy', Flax (1987: 625) points out that feminist notions of the self, knowledge and truth contradict Enlightenment thinking. This suggests that feminists cannot afford to ignore Foucault's theory. In fact Foucault's rejection of the modernist notion of ideology can be seen as useful for feminism, as it opens up a window for change, which focuses on the constantly changing nature of gender relations. Foucault does not reject the fact that there are power issues between men and women, only that these

are universal and trans-historical and he would claim that they are best understood in terms of discourses, which pertain to particular points in time and particular social circumstances, which are not static and, thus, not universally true. Although feminists have made extensive criticisms of Foucault, there is no doubt that there is some common ground. As Hekman (1990: 187) points out feminism is a radical movement, which challenges the fundamental assumptions of the modernist legacy and both Foucault and feminists challenge the traditional definition of knowledge and epistemology.

Post-structural feminism questions the categories of gender, which have so far been taken to be universal and proposes that these are in fact social constructions. Post-structural feminists emphasise plurality, arguing that categories such as male/female and men/women are often used as if they were static. They do not represent the plural meanings, which such categories have to different groups of people, according to their gender, age, class and ethnicity. Categories such as these are, according to post- structural feminists, no longer valid as they consider them to be unstable and attributing a false unity. Key to this approach is that it challenges the notion of universality whilst emphasising the importance of difference and plurality. Post-structuralism places the notion of discourse as a centrepiece within the concepts of difference and plurality. Discourse, then, is the 'oil' that fuels the post-structural engine.

Modernist grand theory has increasingly been called into question and universal claims of truth have come under fire, not least from feminists themselves (Marchand and Parpart, 1995: 1). The writings in the post-modern and post-structural traditions cover a broad area and, as seen earlier, are very complex. The emphasis on plurality and power, I have argued, should accommodate the many narratives, which make up IPPF as a Federation and goes towards constructing an appropriate methodology, which with further exposition can be utilised in analysing the notion of gender mainstreaming. A methodological picture is now taking shape, which connects the analysis of gender mainstreaming outlined in *Chapter One*, in terms of challenging and mainstreaming key narratives with a means of exploring both how this can happen and whether it is happening in the context of IPPF.

The characteristics of the diverse body of post-modern and post-structural texts are that their starting point is a critique of universal truth as the basis for knowledge production. Instead historicity, context, dependency, pluralism and differences are emphasised and it is within this tradition that we find the discussions on the historicized-embodied subject from which situated knowledge originates (Braidotti, 1991; Hekman, 1990; Haraway 1988; Nicholson 1990; Tong, 1989). This is highlighted by Alcoff and Potter who claim that:

> 'gender identity cannot be adequately understood - or even perceived - except as a component of complex interrelationships with other systems of identification and hierarchy' (Alcoff and Potter, 1992: 3).

The key emphasis is that different realities exist, which are all internally valid and meaningful, and it is no longer possible to take established meanings, values and power relations for granted. This in turn recognises the importance of the subjective in constituting the meaning of women's realities.

Some feminists (Braidotti 1991; Haraway, 1988; Tong, 1989) have pointed out that all knowledge is situated and limited by its positioning; i.e. it reflects our social experience, our values, understanding and interests. Weedon (1987: 174), for one, argues that feminist post-structuralism is a mode of knowledge production, using theories of language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions, which will enable us to appreciate existing power relations and identify areas and strategies for change. My main argument is that the strength of a post-structuralist theoretical approach is that it enables us to appreciate the practical implications of particular ways of theorising women's oppression, to recognise that feminist politics are crucial in determining, which existing theories might be useful in the substantiation for change. Moreover, this particular theoretical framework for analysis addresses the questions of how social power is exercised and how social relations of gender, class and race might be transformed and more importantly whether and how gender is or can be absorbed into the mainstream narrative of an NGO such as IPPF. A methodology based on these foundations brings together the core problems and issues in a sensible manner in order to explore them in a meaningful way.

Given the set of power discourses deriving from internal and external sources, analysing these discourses appears to be the best way to understand the way in which IPPF interacts with gender. Whilst there are obviously a multiplicity of narratives, which circumscribe IPPF as an organisation, gender is a continuing issue throughout the activities of IPPF as reproductive health ostensibly is presented and articulated in 'female' terms. In order to get inside this narrative it is essential to deconstruct these particular discourses, specifically their internal relations to the individuals in positions of power and their relations to other external discourses. It is becoming clear that the most effective methodologies to employ in uncovering the central thesis of this discussion need to focus on the external and internal discourses that comprise and influence IPPF.

Accessing discourses in order to deconstruct narratives is far from unproblematic. Like any research methodology, it is prone to criticisms concerning objectivity, the existence of social facts and general problems of knowledge. That said, it is appropriate to employ a methodology that is founded on the same discursive principles as the subject matter itself. If gender mainstreaming involves, as I have argued, a set of critical narratives, which seek to influence and challenge discourses, then the best way to understand this strategy and its impact upon IPPF's organisational practices, is to uncover and deconstruct the ingredients i.e. the narratives. The key challenge now is to transform this epistemology based on narrative and discourse deconstruction into a workable and hopefully rewarding set of methodological tools. The following section describes four key tools for doing just this. The choice is intended to focus on discourse, but at the same time be eclectic in terms of different narrative points.

3.5 Research Methods

The methods used within the research need to reflect the conceptual framework discussed above. As Burgess points out:

> 'methodology is the point where method, theory and epistemology unite in an overt way in the process of directly investigating specific instances within the social world.' (Burgess, 1984: 1)

The task here is to set out specific tools, which provide a critical appraisal of the way in which IPPF interacts with the gender mainstreaming narrative.

In order to carry out the analysis of IPPF, I chose to focus on two groups from the IPPF staff and from the Federation's volunteers. The volunteers play a crucial role in IPPF both as contributors to policy-making through the Governing Council and as one of the key resource pools. IPPF's paid staff's role is primarily to ensure that the policies are implemented, monitored and evaluated as well as liaising with donors. These two groups may have very different experiences in IPPF and moreover take different views on what gender sensitive practices entail. I set out to understand the relationship between the two groups in order to investigate whether the key characteristics of a Federation and its organisational set-up may affect the way in which gender sensitive practices are conceptualised and implemented. My aim has been to collect a set of individual narratives, which I anticipated would reflect the multiple voices, which in turn may mirror IPPF and its organisational discourse on gender.

This overview of research methods will be divided into several sections, which make up the overall research model, these are:

1. Observation - non-participatory and participatory.
2. Interview - structured and unstructured.
3. Questionnaires.
4. Documentary analysis.

3.5.1 Observation

Non-participatory Observation

In addition to exploring the various discourses within and between the two groups, I also chose to analyse both specific IPPF events and a variety of documentation produced within the organisation. Observation can be undertaken in two different ways - either non-participatory or participatory. In this context the former included being attached to a senior member of staff and observing her daily work and interactions. The senior member of staff holds the title Gender and Youth

Technical Officer and is a member of the Global Advocacy Division (GLAD) at the Central Office. This division is concerned with, amongst other issues, gender and has therefore been an ideal research point to gather data. My intention has been to observe the various interactions between different sections of the organisation and this division in order to understand how power and decisions are made within IPPF. Whilst staff were aware that I was present in the organisation as a researcher some of the interactions I observed appeared to be unaffected by my presence and, thus, delivered additional material, which would otherwise not be discernible from participating directly or through interviews. Undoubtedly my presence has affected my interactions, in particular with IPPF's staff at the central level, but this I found became less of an issue over time as my role as an observer became less obvious within the landscape of the 'office'.

Alongside observing members of staff within the main office environment, I also had the opportunity to be an observer at key IPPF events, specifically their Member's Assembly, which used to be the central authority within the organisation[27]. In November 1998 I attended the Assembly as a 'guest' and was able to observe both the election of a new president and the various discussions that took place on the 'fringe' of the Assembly itself. This meeting was followed up by various visits to several FPAs around the world, including the Western Hemisphere Regional Office in New York and a less official visit to the South Asia Regional Office, which resides in IPPF's head office complex.

The second form of observation focused on direct participation in the organisation both in day to day terms and through official representations at meetings. The implications of such an approach in gathering data for research is discussed in the next section.

Participant Observation

Participant observation has increasingly become a useful method for sociologists. Those who use it as a way of collecting data (DeWalt and DeWalt, 1998;

[27] As outlined in *Chapter Two*, IPPF's Governing structure has now changed and the Member's Assembly has been replaced by a Governing Council.

Elly, 2000; Silverman, 1993; Silverman 2000) argue that as the social world is not objective, but rather consists of subjective meanings and experiences constructed by participants in social situations, the task of the social scientist is to interpret the meanings and experiences of those social actors. The only way of gaining access to interpreting such meanings and experiences is through the participation with the actors involved. This is clearly highlighted by McCall and Simmons who suggest that:

> 'the accumulated and conventional wisdom of these collections was that participant observation, while not 'objective' in the sense used in discussing the reliability and validity of the social survey, was a set of methods directed towards an unbiased and accurate 'analytical' description of a complex social organisation' (Quoted in Burgess, 1984: 9).

One of the significant characteristics of participant observation is that the researcher becomes one of the main instruments of social investigation.

If we take seriously Burgess' claim that the researcher is one of the main instruments of social investigation, then the social reality of the researcher cannot be ignored, as this will ultimately affect the outcome of the analysis. This is taken further by Harding (1987) who argues that the class, race, culture and gender assumptions of the researcher must be placed within the frame of the picture that the researcher is painting, which in turn will reflect upon how the project has been shaped. This kind of approach, Harding argues, will not project an invisible and anonymous authority, but rather an individual arguing for change according to his or her specific social reality (Harding, 1987: 9). Notwithstanding Harding's comment, the utilisation of participant observation is central to aligning my epistemology with the thesis questions. Only through direct interaction whether formal or informal, have I been able to gain thorough access to various narratives. This cannot be overstated, as time spent with key participants has illuminated key issues surrounding gender mainstreaming and IPPF[28].

[28] The observational research extended over 3 years and included extended periods within the Central Level undertaking formal responsibilities as well as informally observing activities within the various teams and units. Shorter periods of time were spent with the regional and local levels, again some of this time involved direct participatory activity and a lesser period in a non-participatory capacity.

Participant observation is a useful tool to gain data, but such an approach also has several implications as the observer may become co-opted within the social setting and consequently may loose sight of the principles of the research (Silverman, 1993: 49). I had the opportunity to observe IPPF's approach in promoting gender equality within its organisational practices both as an 'insider' (practitioner) and as an 'outsider' (researcher). As Hannan points out both perspectives have potential and constraints – 'outsiders' often lack adequate understanding of organisational contexts whilst 'insiders' may be too close to the issues involved to be objective (Hannan, 2000: 14). However, I will argue that an issue such as the possibility of lack of objectivity is negated by the added granularity, which familiarity and trust engender.

3.5.2 Records of Interaction

These have consisted of:

- Recorded interviews
- Transcripted conversations
- Questionnaires
- Meeting minutes
- Agendas
- Diary notes
- Circulars
- Briefing papers

It is imperative to maintain a full record of all interactions, mostly to analyse and build the thesis and secondly in order to plot the variation and effects the interviewer or participant has on group dynamics or the interviewee.

3.5.3 Interviews

Interviews were designed as structured and semi-structured. These sources of data allowed me to gain more pointed access to individual's perception of the key thesis issues. It also gave them the opportunity to address various views privately and give their own account of 'how they see things'. Together with the observational research these have made up the bulk of the research material.

Structured and semi-structured interviews are a critical form of researching a complex issue such as gender mainstreaming within an extremely diverse environment such as IPPF. My intention was to try to select a cross-section of participants for structured interview interactions focusing on open-ended questions, which were small in number but very pointed and allowed the interviewee the opportunity to give as much information as they felt comfortable with[29]. Using a cross-section of employees from across the organisation was useful in contrasting cross-country and cross-sector opinion on the central themes. Interviewing in several countries facilitated a relativisation of the various themes and prioritised these themes in a way, which unlocked and illuminated the nature of gender mainstreaming, within the Federation.

This issue of relativising priorities was also possible by analysing the various divisions' attitude to the core issue - particularly comparing the perceptions of gender between the central policy makers and the various staff within the head office and FPAs. Assessing and understanding priorities is essential in understanding what an organisation's aims are, particularly with regard to the various pressures it faces in terms of affecting change. The semi-structured interviews were led by myself within very open contexts in order to precipitate a general discussion concerning IPPF, which was intended to move towards a more focused discussion relating to the key issue. Whilst the core aim of these interactions was the same as those for the structured interviews, the situation was less formal and interviewees were allowed to bring their own specific concerns forward, which may not have found a voice in other interviews.

In summary, then the interviews were opportunities to further build on the granularity gained through other means and were aimed at further exploring the various views and priorities within the organisation itself.

[29] Over the period of the research in the region of 75 interviews were carried out, the majority of which were with staff at the central level. A smaller number were conducted with staff at the regional and local level throughout the Federation. Whilst the interviews varied in length from 30 minutes to 2 hours, the majority lasted an hour.

3.5.4 Questionnaires

Whilst questionnaires did not form a central role within this analysis, they can be useful in collecting large amounts of data very quickly and using this to direct further research. In collecting data based on specific questions, general tendencies can be discerned, which will aid in focusing either observation or interviews. This form of research was particularly useful when I initially began the research in 1998 as I gained an analytical overview of the general perceptions and tendencies within the organisation. A questionnaire was distributed at the Member's Assembly in Prague, in November 1998 and the results were used to gain a clearer picture of the profile of the volunteers attending the Assembly[30]. In general, the questionnaire was an 'enabler' allowing me to direct my international research more pointedly in order to gain the level of detail needed to build the kind of analytical picture described in the preceding discussions concerning epistemology.

A second questionnaire was developed in collaboration with the Youth and Gender Technical Officer at IPPF's Central Office. The aim of this questionnaire was to gather information on the regions' and FPAs' attempt to implement the Federation's Gender Equity Policy. This questionnaire which was aimed at gathering specific data on the gender activities within the Federation, was sent out to all the FPAs as well as the six regional offices. The results of this survey were presented with a policy recommendation to the Federation's Governing Council in May 2001 (IPPF, 2001e) and has since been written up in a report reviewing the Federation's efforts to mainstream its gender activities over a period of six years (IPPF, 2001f). As I was involved in this process of designing the questionnaire as well as gathering the data, these served to illustrate some of the issues that occur when a Federation with so many different cultural and local contexts takes on board a 'uniform' gender strategy.

3.5.5 Documentary Analysis

This research tool is extremely useful in gaining access to the various changes, which have taken place within the official output of the organisation particularly the

[30] 180 questionnaires were prepared for this survey – the response rate was >60%.

development of gender sensitivity as it appears within policies and directives. Understanding the narratives within these various texts has enabled me to deconstruct the various discourses that are affecting policy and direction, particularly those, which are in the ascendancy and those, which are less influential. The various texts will also reflect the way the organisation wants the world to see it and the way it intends to form discourses with the outside world.

Key documentation has been analysed as a means to plot a textual map of both IPPF's 'gender-journey' and as an insight into the various power points within the organisation itself. In contrasting outputs from various FPAs, I was hoping to be able to illuminate the internal debates within the organisation and see the various external pressures, which are baring down on the organisation.

3.6 Limitations of the Research

There are three key limitations of the research, which should be highlighted and illustrated more fully. Firstly, conducting research in a Federation is complex and access to all the FPAs as well as the six regional offices was not achievable due to logistic, financial and time limitations. Data was primarily gathered in the Central Office, as this was the agreed 'field' site from the beginning of the research process. The second limitation also derives from this issue of limited access. As most of the research was carried out in the Central Office, it was difficult to thoroughly observe, first hand, the impact of efforts to mainstream a gender strategy on the ground throughout the Federation as a whole. Although I did meet beneficiaries and service users on a few occasions, they were not my research focus given the limits mentioned above. Finally, it is important to bear in mind that the research was carried out over a period of three years. Organisations are dynamic and discourses change all the time and consequently the research represents a specific period of time in IPPF's history.

3.7 Concluding Comments

As stated earlier, this chapter is undoubtedly the most pivotal in being able to position my efforts towards providing and maximising understanding of the central issue of gender mainstreaming within IPPF. In this chapter then I have attempted to connect the key conceptual components of both IPPF and gender mainstreaming and

understand what constitutes both. In doing this I was able to provide some theoretical basis for constructing a methodology. This theoretical basis rests on exploring the various power issues within IPPF through deconstructing key narratives and measuring and assessing the content of those narratives against the key narratives of gender mainstreaming.

This deconstruction is set against a sensitivity and appreciation of the dynamics of social institutions and the impact they have on discourse within organisations. In practical terms the methodology set out above aims to interact with various points within the organisation as a means to discovering their motives and narratives concerning key gender issues.

Part II

Contextualising the Theoretical Discussion

Chapter 4

The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Production of Knowledge on Development and Gender

This chapter will analyse a historically specific genealogy of knowledge production within IPPF and plot the development of knowledge production in the context of key elements; donors, governments and inter-governmental organisations, the NGO world in general and the culture and constituents of IPPF. I argue that these elements have impacted IPPF's knowledge production process and content in different ways at different points in IPPF's chronology. The first 'phase' of IPPF's development was characterised by the initiation of IPPF as an NGO. This 'pioneer' phase was closely followed and in effect ran contemporaneously alongside a phase, which was characterised by the 'medicalisation' of IPPF's efforts and status as an NGO. During the following period, IPPF became established and accepted as an 'authority' on family planning issues. This then gave way to a contemporary period wherein IPPF is both challenging and accommodating. In the context of this chapter this is referred to as the 'empowerer' phase, because of the Federation's attempts to assimilate gender sensitivity within their practical arsenal. The following discussion serves to elaborate the genealogy of IPPF's knowledge production and examines the different forces, which shaped the various phases and have given the phases discursive content.

The production of knowledge lies at the heart of any organisation or culture. For IPPF this process has both external and internal influences. The focus on knowledge in this chapter is essential in opening up the dynamic discursive core at the heart of IPPF. Knowledge should not be restricted to the narrow positivist's view of information and scientific understanding of the empirical world. It also includes the wider subjective experiences, value preferences and policy positions through which people and organisations locate themselves in relation to the empirical world. The nature of knowledge is rooted in philosophy where the possibility of knowing the nature of existence is a central thematic. Knowledge in the context of IPPF is directly connected to this consideration of reason and truth. The knowledge processes, which

are of interest to social scientists today, are also concerned with asking questions about truth and reason. Both reason and truth are for many social scientists[31] a consequence of context, just as context is also a consequence of rationality and reason. To describe the derivation and process of knowledge creation also enlightens the nature of the changing influences on knowledge, which are at the heart of the dynamics of discourse and truth. Whilst, not wishing to dwell on the purely philosophical, it is important to understand the imperative of understanding the knowledge creation process in terms of influences on it and its outward influences.

In order to understand the potential and the background for building a commitment to gender orientated development within IPPF through the adoption of gender mainstreaming strategies it is critical to 'unpack' the history of knowledge production in general. This will serve to deepen the understanding of the key challenges of this thesis, namely the possibility of a gender mainstreamed development project in general. Understanding the way IPPF came into existence, its continued survival and its ideological responses to changing pressures from within and without add significant value to appraising both the attempts of IPPF to gender mainstream.

4.1 Discourses on Sexuality

One critical external influence on knowledge production in IPPF is the continually changing concept of sexuality. IPPF is unavoidably concerned with the 'sexual' in the sense that its central activities are predicated on the circumstance, content and practices, which compose sexuality. The manner in which 'sexuality' has been perceived has inevitably had an impact on the shaping of IPPF and its organisational discourse. The notion of 'sexuality' has been the subject of considerable debate; according to Foucault it:

> 'must not be thought of as a kind of natural given, which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge gradually tries to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct' (Foucault, 1979:152).

[31] Social theories from Marx through to Foucault have claimed that social knowledge is determined and is a function of wider social and economic phenomena.

Following Foucault's argument, the notion of 'sexuality' has been a permanent, but changing feature of modernity. The deployment of discourses on sex have been shaped and determined by a multiplicity of forces across cultures. Foucault points out that this ever-expanding discursive explosion is part of a complex growth of control over individuals through the apparatus of sexuality. In his work on 'The History of Sexuality', Foucault (1990) builds an argument grounded in a historical analysis of the word 'sexuality' against the common thesis that sexuality has always been repressed in societies. Foucault argues that since the 17th century, there has been a fixation with sexuality creating a discourse around it. The secrecy and silence of sexuality were in fact promoting it and putting it at the very heart of discourse (Foucault, 1990: 35). Throughout the modernist period, the concept of sex and sexuality has been highly contested. According to Foucault the concept is multi-faceted in that it functions to hold together wider and more critical social concepts such as patriarchy, that is the power-relationship between men and women (Ibid.).

4.1.1 The History and Discourse of Sexuality

To understand Foucault's point it is critical to plot the genealogy of the concept of sexuality. Within Enlightenment thinking, sexuality was viewed as something sinful and thus, to be confessed mutated into a distinctly different notion of the concept. Sexuality was adapted to the modern demands of rationality by turning itself into a science (Foucault, 1979: 53). In the development of scientific practice male bodies were taken as the norm, whilst women were studied only insofar as they represented a deviation from this norm that is 'a sexual subset of any particular race' (Schiebinger, 1993: 9). Scientists categorised flora, fauna and humans according to contemporary views of the values of their attributes, producing a hierarchical system, which divided humans into generic types – 'European', 'American' and 'African' (Standing, 1998: 12). Science, thus, served to normalise and establish as 'fact' and as 'science', what were actually contemporary views and values about the 'natural world' and about the human race. Western gendered and racialised notions of nature and culture, male and female became integral to the practice of science and medicine as well as to the norm of health, illness and sexuality.

Sexuality was increasingly seen as harmful and 'moral guardians' wanted to protect health and the purity of the race (Foucault, 1979: 53.). A mixture of ideas on population growth, venereal diseases and heredity created the idea that many forms of sexual conduct were dangerous. A common view during this period within the Western world was that there should be a biological purpose with all sexual activity, which reinforced the idea that sexuality was a 'rational' and 'scientific' process (Porter and Teich, 1994; Weeks, 1985 and McLaren, 1994). The notion of sexuality, therefore, gave scientists and policy-makers access to 'the body', which in turn was an entry point to the control and regulation of populations. In fact Foucault (1979: 24) argues that the public discussion on sex constitutes a chief way in which modern social institutions manipulate the consciousness and intimate experiences of the masses. This is further highlighted by Weeks (1981: 11) who suggests that over the last 200 years, sexuality has assumed major symbolic importance as a target of social intervention and organisation. Construed in this way sexuality is a central locus in the lexicon of the history of power.

Growing concern, associated with the incidence of prostitution and venereal diseases played a part in making sexuality a scientific and more open concern. The wider question of racial hygiene also played a role in making sexuality a public concern and this very issue was articulated in the rise of eugenics. Much of the early attempts to organise around the issue of sexuality and fertility were inspired by the conservative ideas of Thomas Robert Malthus (1798), who argued that excessive birth rates among the poor would soon outstrip the available food supply. Based upon this argument, social problems were attributed to population growth amongst 'undesirable' segments of society. Health and racial advances were the issues behind both the population debate and much early work carried out on sexuality (Whitworth, 1997: 81). The medical profession was the main transmitter of scientific knowledge, yet it did very little to challenge conservative conceptions of female sexuality, which often implied that women, needed to be cured from the hysteria, which tended to be associated with their own sexuality (ibid.). There is thus, a clear causal line connecting sexuality through science with control and power. The causal line intersects notions of welfare, hysteria, class and race.

By the end of World War II, the international importance of population questions began to be treated more seriously in many quarters. The American Government, statistical demographers, geographers and eugenicists began to signal a global 'population explosion' (Hartman, 1995: 102). Adapting Malthusian ideas to the twentieth century, they warned that excess population would deplete food supplies. Poverty and unemployment would create conditions ripe for Communist take-overs, thus, threatening both foreign investments and world peace (Whitworth, 1997: 87). The main actors involved in promoting this ideology were private organisations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the Milibank Memorial Fund and the Hugh Moore Fund, whose founders and directors were drawn mainly from the top corporate and financial circles or elite population research centres in the United States (ibid.). The new lobby of IPPF, which had initially organised to motivate women to use birth control in the interest of their own health and the well-being of their family, now argued that private motivation had to be mobilised in the service of the world's survival (Duden, 1997: 150). 'Sexuality' was to a large extent neutralised in an attempt to control and regulate the behaviour of populations and increasingly sexuality became part of a more complex and political battle where controlling sexuality was equated with gaining financial benefits for parts of the industrialised world. Whilst the concept of sexuality was effectively neutralised in terms of gender, it became extremely political as a tool to justify international and macro-economic ends.

This short description of the theoretical backdrop of sexuality illustrates the broader context in which IPPF was founded. Their initiation as an NGO rested to a large extent on 200 years of conceptualisation of the nature of women and reproduction in terms of a scientific problem. The nature of morality and sexuality was underpinned by quasi-scientific justifications, which lent credibility to the groups who wanted to dissociate sexuality from the individual, 'sex' and society. It is not surprising then that the early IPPF pioneers saw women and contraception as a means to an end, rather than an object in itself. This scientific objectification 'held' IPPF for a long time. The following discussion shows in more detail the process of medicalisation, acceptance, authority and more latterly the phase of 'empowerer', which IPPF has undergone. An analysis of the history of sexuality illustrates the original knowledge foundation of IPPF and where this framework derived. There is a clear connectivity between the original inspiration of IPPF and the resounding and

dominant notions of sexuality at that time. Whilst IPPF has certainly moved on, its knowledge base has remained, even today, firmly rooted in this wider process of changing conceptualisations of the notions of sexuality.

4.1.2 The Influence of Changing Discourses on Sexuality within the International Planned Parenthood Federation's Work

It is important to appreciate the significance of the scientific discourse, which dominated the public debate at the time when IPPF came into existence. Clearly, sexuality had been medicalised and, as Foucault (1979) pointed out, women's bodies were often considered as objects of scientific exploration. Although sexuality was closely linked to the regulation of fertility, little emphasis was put on this issue *per se*, and instead priority was given to less emotive terms such as fertility, health, family planning and population growth. These were technical issues, which were of a less sensitive nature than sexuality and these terms soon became part of the official language when addressing activities related to sexuality. IPPF equally adopted such language and as Whitworth notes:

> 'the very name Planned Parenthood was chosen as one which emphasises families and children rather than women and sexual issues'. (Whitworth, 1997: 84)

Sexuality and in particular women's sexuality was from the very beginning of IPPF's history treated as a medical issue. This is evident for example, in the way that birth control became 'de-gendered' in the sense that it was not linked to women's issues, but rather to a defence of the family. Implicit in this medical approach was that the family would be strengthened through rational sexual decisions taken by marital partners as opposed to ensuring women's autonomy within their sexual relationships.

Today there is still a heavy emphasis on 'the family' within IPPF's discourse as opposed to that of sexuality. For example IPPF's mission statement still begins with a focus on the numbering and spacing of children, in fact sexuality other than through sexual health is not covered at all within the mission statement. Even within the Vision 2000 objectives, sexuality as such is not featured as a key concern apart from

through references to sexual health. Although there is less reference to the 'universal family' than seen in the early documents produced by the Federation, there is little recognition that there are different sexualities. Sexuality only finds an articulation in the Federation's narrative through concrete problems such as women's empowerment, youth participation and male involvement. The different narrative layers that compose the contemporary notions of sexuality do not play an extensive role within IPPF's knowledge framework. Many of the respondents in the research argued that this is due to the multi-cultural nature of IPPF and more importantly that sexuality is a Western construct and is therefore not appropriate in some local contexts[32]. However, although sexuality changes and differs within cultural contexts, it cannot be denied that it is present in some shape or form in all cultures and is closely connected with issues of power and control and hence gender.

The issue of power and control in relation to sexuality is significant in discussing IPPF's knowledge production on both development and gender. The fact that sexuality does not figure as a key feature in IPPF's general discourse has very specific implications for the Federation's work on promoting gender-sensitive practices. It is suggested by Sen (1997: 146) that sex between human beings has dual aspects to the extent that male control of the female body is a dominant aspect and that the sexual act is intrinsically linked to the transformation of women into sexual objects not that of sexual subjects. Whilst the tendency for the Federation has been to shy away from overt references to sexuality by using indirect references such as youth, male and gender, they have had to face the concept 'head on' in the realm of sexual and reproductive health. However, even here sexuality is still causally and discursively linked to reproduction. In fact the two juxtapose each other within the phrase – sexuality per se cannot be seen independently of its biological and, thus, social purpose, procreation.

[32] This information is based upon continuous interviews with staff and volunteers where the issue of sexuality was discussed.

4.2 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Discourse on Gender and Development

Against this theoretical backdrop of the impact of the history of sexuality on IPPF's knowledge frameworks, it is important to now look at how IPPF has dealt with the various theoretical and practical contours, which have shaped the development world throughout the last 60 years. IPPF, as much as any other NGO, has had to adapt its conceptual frameworks in order to negotiate and occasionally shape this changing landscape. This section then begins with an examination of the various macro-level discourse and conceptual changes, which have impacted IPPF's knowledge framework.

4.2.1 Targeting Women's Sexuality

Utilising Foucault's notion of power, Escobar demonstrates that an understanding of how development was introduced into discourse is indispensable in order to unmask that:

> '... The Western developed countries have been able to manage and control and, in many ways even create the Third World politically, economically, sociologically and culturally' (Escobar, 1984: 384).

Taking this point further, some scholars (Escobar, 1995; Esteva, 1997; Sachs, 1997) claim that development is interpreted as a mode of thinking and a source of practices, which has been produced and reproduced within particular historical, political and economic contexts. This point is reflected in a historical analysis of IPPF. The Federation was initially formed as a small network, specialising in a specific and demarcated social phenomenon. This small network later developed into a global development organisation assimilating itself into the broader NGO community in order to establish its objectives firmly within family planning and later in the area of sexual and reproductive health. IPPF managed to grow into a globally prestigious organisation on the basis of being highly responsive to external changes in development. This assimilation was assisted through a strategic association and

alignment with the UN, whereby the Federation's legitimacy was corroborated further.

This alignment with mainstream development discourse impacted IPPF's conceptualisation of its own work and moreover the Federation's understanding of its service users' needs. Having examined the history of IPPF in *Chapter Two*, it appears that this traditional approach during the early phase of IPPF was that women were the key objects of IPPF's focus. However, from its very inception IPPF's objectives were not characterised by a gender-orientated agenda in terms of the particular and specific experiences of women. The Federation very consciously distanced itself from radical feminist activists in order to gain recognition as a medical and scientific network. Training of medical personnel as well as the establishment of clinics was initially the Federation's main priority. This is evident in various early IPPF Annual Reports and various organisational biographies such as *'Be Brave and Angry'* written by Suitter (1973) and *'The Light is Ours: Memoirs and Movements'* by Wadia (2001). The prioritisation of medicine in IPPF's thinking is therefore central in understanding their ascendancy as an NGO.

The 'over focus' and 'out of focus' pre-occupation with the objectification of women in medical terms was at its height in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when IPPF was becoming more organised and visible as a network. During this period, women were increasingly receiving a disproportionate amount of attention in population control programmes compared with other spheres of development policies (Kabeer, 1997: 5). This point is reflected in the early phase of the Federation's work when IPPF saw the need to provide women with access to contraception. As the Federation grew and became more established, the emphasis increasingly changed, from providing access and contraceptives, to persuading women of the benefits of contraception and moreover to incorporate them into development as 'good' reproducers. This is demonstrated in the 1962 Annual Report, which states that:

> 'The aim of the organisation is to advance education of the countries of the world in family planning and responsible parenthood in the interests of family welfare, community well-being and international goodwill'. (IPPF, 1962: 3).

It is implicit in this set of aims that there is a moral imperative associated with family planning and good citizenship in the sense that welfare, well-being and goodwill can all come about through being a 'good reproducer'.

This approach is to be understood in the context of the wider Western configurations of gender, which were pervasive at the time. This period, at least conceptually was the height of contemporary patriarchy. The 1950s and early 1960s are often seen as a 'caricature' of gender relations in that they represent, in contemporary times a period in which gender-segregation was accepted and moreover encouraged as beneficial to society as a whole. This period in modern history demarcated the domestic domain as a woman's 'natural space'. The influence of this period can be seen throughout society at that time and rationalises the manner in which IPPF amongst other NGOs related to their service users. The impact on IPPF was for them to conceive of women as 'obstacles' to development and therefore the 'core problem' in terms of progressing towards a world with universal values. This is best seen in the context of Moser's notion of the 'Welfare Approach', where the purpose was to bring women into development as better mothers. Women were considered to be the passive beneficiaries of development and development planners set out to persuade women of the benefits of contraception by addressing women's reproductive roles (Moser, 1995: 56). Throughout this phase, knowledge production in IPPF appears to be almost completely subjugated to the wider development priorities such as macro-economic development. The role of women in the theoretical domains of IPPF thinking was as recipients, rather than agents in their own rights.

4.2.2 The Shift from Family Planning to Sexual and Reproductive Health

During the 1980s there was a shift in global concerns as a consequence of the realisation that a top-down development approach was failing. This had a knock-on effect throughout the development sector in influencing various re-alignments such as the shift from family planning to sexual and reproductive health, which came about in the early 1990s. The World Conference on Women in Beijing, which took place in 1995 and in particular the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994, played a significant role in shaping IPPF's discourse on both development and gender. Both conferences defined a new development paradigm

with a shift towards a more holistic and people-centred approach recognising the different needs of different groups.

The Programme of Action derived from the Cairo ICPD, called for two fundamental changes in conventional health and population policies. The first was to ensure that population policies and programmes addressed the root causes of high fertility, such as persistent gender disparities in access to education, employment, and other productive resources. The second was to expand existing family planning programmes beyond an exclusive focus on contraceptive delivery to include a range of reproductive health services and a greater emphasis on quality of care and individual rights (UN, 1994). Traditionally, population programmes and population assistance had focused almost exclusively on contraceptive delivery as a mechanism to help stabilise population growth. While expanding access to contraception helped to eliminate unwanted fertility, it did little to address the underlying social and economic factors that kept birth rates high. In fact by putting the entire burden of fertility decline on the back of family planning programmes, this approach contributed to an environment where the health and well-being of women became easily subordinated to achieving demographic objectives (Rodriguez-Trias, 1995: xiii). The Cairo Programme of Action called for a multi-sectoral approach to population stabilisation that recognised that some of the most effective population interventions - such as increasing education of girls - would in fact emerge from outside the health and population sectors. This programme therefore implied a shift in priorities and a level of cross-sectoral planning and co-operation that far exceeded anything previously envisioned (Staudt, 1998: 149).

The policy shift from family planning to sexual and reproductive health, which was adopted at the ICPD, was a turning point for IPPF. IPPF to a certain extent not only responded to the changing global concerns, but prior to the conference had recognised that they had to re-invent themselves if they were to survive in an international environment where they could no longer claim to be the only organisation providing family planning[33]. IPPF instigated *Vision 2000* in 1992, two

[33] Marie Stopes, Population Concern and Family Health International are all internationally recognised NGOs working in the same field as IPPF.

years before the ICPD in Cairo, which suggests that this was a response to the different UN Preparatory Committee meetings, which took place before the ICPD. The IPPF Director General at the time was Halfdan Mahler, who prior to his appointment at IPPF had served at the World Health Organisation as Director General for fifteen years. It was Mahler's exposure to the global changing development and health priorities, which led him to transform IPPF's agenda. But it was also his personal conviction that 'to liberate women would be to liberate us all' (Health Education News, 1989: 4), which influenced the new agenda proposed by IPPF's management in 1992. This is reflected in an interview with Health Education News where Mahler contends that:

> 'I would call myself a feminist, and I think that in many family planning associations there is far too little of what I would call feminist research as to where women really are. The fact that I am sitting here, as a man, is in itself an indication that the family planning movement apparently is not sensitive enough to the importance of women's very special creativity, women's very special energies, so I think we have a long way to go in trying to make sure that women's issues are not dealt with by people like me, but that we get much genuine feminism inside the family planning movement' (Ibid: 5).

The fact that Halfdan Mahler referred to himself as a feminist was highly significant, mainly because from its very inception the Federation had traditionally distanced itself from the feminist agenda. With Mahler in charge IPPF played a key role in setting the agenda at Cairo by adding their expertise and advising governments on the basis of their own *Vision 2000 Strategic Plan*. This gave IPPF a platform to 're-invent' itself. Moreover, IPPF could once again establish itself as a key player in the family planning sector. In 1999 the Federation stated that in adopting the *Vision 2000 Strategic Plan:*

> 'it reinforced IPPF's organisational culture by refusing to rest on the laurels of its past successes and once again become a pioneer organisation, adopting causes, which others are shy to espouse, seizing opportunities to be innovative, and persevering in its capacity as the voice of the voiceless' (IPPF, 1999a: 4).

Not withstanding the significance of *Vision 2000* and its ambitious attempts to realign the Federation's agenda to the new development paradigms, this was in fact a way of changing the Federation's development discourse, by virtue of a radical change in language. By emphasising previous and less-well-developed aspects of IPPF's work such as women's empowerment, gender-based violence and male participation, it could be argued that the Federation predicated its *Vision 2000* programmes upon foundations, which were a product of sensitive internal and external marketing in order to re-align itself with the changing priorities in the broader development community.

IPPF's preparations for the UN sponsored Cairo Conference also illustrates their cognisance of the external development communities' shift from family planning to sexual and reproductive health in terms of how this could affect the status of IPPF as a global development agency. IPPF's awareness is evident in the way it participated in the conference and how it pre-emptied the outcome of the conference. The quote below illustrates IPPF's ambition to ensure its pre-eminence as an NGO:

> 'in adopting the sexual and reproductive health approach, IPPF's long-standing mission to be the leader – and conscience – of the family planning movement is not jeopardised. Family planning services, including counselling, information, education, communication and contraceptive supplies, remain at the core of sexual and reproductive health care. The difference lies in taking a lifetime view of people's sexuality, so additional elements are also considered as important. These include providing gender-sensitive information, education and counselling on sexuality; provide care during pregnancy, delivery and postpartum, monitoring infant growth and development with particular attention to the girl-child and her nutrition, to ensure that she grows up in an environment conducive to the development of her sexuality; taking care of people's concerns over sexually transmitted diseases and infertility; HIV/AIDS prevention; and the prevention and management of unsafe abortion and the provision of safe abortion services where legal' (IPPF, 1995b: 11)

This quote illustrates the degree to which IPPF was attempting to distance itself from the more narrow and traditional approach of family planning. There is no doubt that IPPF had grasped the importance of the changing international thinking and their ability to pre-empt the impact of this change of thinking is captured in the sentiments expressed above.

With the adoption of *Vision 2000*, addressing sexual and reproductive health, was a significant change in the Federation's mainstream priorities. The issue of family size was, in theory, now replaced by a more holistic approach where the sexual and reproductive well-being of men and women of all ages and backgrounds were a key priority. The core philosophy of IPPF was now gradually changing and this is evident in assessing two different messages sent out by IPPF in their Annual Report within a period of eighteen years. In IPPF's Annual Report in 1998, the Secretary General, Ingar Brueggemann stated that:

> 'over the past years IPPF's functions have evolved significantly to embrace the broad agenda of sexual and reproductive health in addition to family planning, from which it set out on its evolutionary course 47 years ago'. (IPPF, 1998: 1)

This is a different message from that contained in the 1980 Annual Report where it was proposed by the then Secretary General that:

> 'The best forecasts are that the 1980s will be a decade of serious economic recession in most parts of the world, aggravating the dislocation of social and political systems and changing the patterns of international aid and co-operation. The already serious shortages of food, shelter, work and educational opportunities will get worse. Continuing high rates of population growth are unquestionably an adverse influence on these events. Recent encouraging signs that fertility is beginning to decline in some developing countries should not be interpreted as grounds for complacency. On the contrary, the fragile gains will be swept away if the efforts are not sustained and even increased'. (IPPF, 1980: 3)

These two messages demonstrate the changes outlined above and their effect on IPPF's discourse over a period of nearly twenty years, illustrating the adaptability of IPPF to respond to changes in external paradigmatic shifts in development knowledge.

In practical terms the shift has involved efforts to retrain staff and volunteers as well as adopting a new approach towards service-users. This has not been without its problems, due to the fact that the infrastructure of the FPAs was not easily transformed into a distribution network for sexual and reproductive health services, as this requires specific resources and technical expertise. Whilst the ICPD mandate was pursued at the central level, it appears that some local FPAs had problems adapting these 'tailor-made' programmes, due to the organisational and financial constraints (IPPF, 2000c: 26). This was a key issue, mentioned by many of the volunteers interviewed at the Member's Assembly in 1998 who, whilst supporting the re-alignment of services, were frustrated by the lack of resources needed to affect this transformation.

The lack of resources was part of a larger problem. At the very time when ICPD was broadening the Federation's frame of reference to sexual and reproductive health, there was a drop in donor funding. IPPF along with other NGOs were being asked to do more with fewer resources (Conly and De Silva, 1998; Higer, 1999; Correa, 2000). During the 1990s, the world spent approximately US$ 4 to US$ 5 billion annually on population related activities in the South. In order to meet the commitments of a new global agenda on sexual and reproductive health, the ICPD Platform for Action called for resources to be to quadrupled to US$ 17 billion (Staudt, 1998: 151). Whilst various governments committed to this target the vast majority were not able to meet their individual commitments. In fact Northern countries only managed 35% of their target whilst Southern contributions amounted to 70% of the targets (Conly and De Silva, 1998: iii). The impact of resource constraints on an organisation attempting to expand and re-align its thinking is extremely problematic and has an impact, both on the content of concepts and also on the possibility for sustainable change. 'Short-termism' limits conceptual possibilities and constrains the horizons for change. IPPF would have to re-assess both its programme content and aspirations during any period of fiscal pressure.

4.3 The Internal Organisational Discourse of the International Planned Parenthood Federation

Internal organisational discourse is another key component in understanding IPPF's way of producing knowledge on gender, as organisational culture plays a role in shaping the agenda of the organisation and more importantly allows structures to change or not in order to accommodate gender-sensitive practices. Management, staff and IPPF's volunteers play a crucial role in understanding and shaping IPPF's discourse on gender. This next section will look at IPPF as a protagonist in its own right and how it has come to be shaped from within. Whilst IPPF has certainly managed 'to stay ahead of the game' in terms of its ability to respond to external paradigm shifts, these are only successful if the internal culture is receptive and conducive to this type of challenge and change.

4.3.1 Changing and Contested Discourses

IPPF's organisational discourse has primarily been shaped by the Federation's own belief that it is a pioneer in the field of family planning. This point is reflected in the Annual Report in 1998 where the President states that:

> 'The United Nations turned a blind eye to it. We, as the pioneers, the advocates, started a mission. We made it into a movement. Today no fewer than 180 governments are taking responsibilities for family planning and population issues, and United Nations Population Fund is firmly on the map of the UN system as the responsible intergovernmental agency' (IPPF, 1998: 2).

This illustrates IPPF's firm belief that they are the pioneers who have fought for women's right for access to contraception throughout the last 50 years. This is the basis for IPPF's legitimacy to speak with a voice of 'authority' on matters, which are related to sexual and reproductive health due to their long history in the field of family planning and more recently sexual and reproductive health.

Yet the Federation's legitimacy is also due to the fact that IPPF is known for its network, which makes them unique in the sense that they represent cultures from

the local level. A network structure implies ways of organising that are different from hierarchical bureaucracies. However, as Foley (1989: 63) points out the hierarchical principle has tended to dominate IPPF's thinking and organising. Foley argues that hierarchies are not inherently wrong, but in some circumstances hierarchical ways of organising may be inappropriate. When the goals are empowerment, increased local autonomy and self-sufficiency, network organisations may be more efficient in mobilising social change than a bureaucratic organisation with hierarchical principles (Ibid: 64). Historically, IPPF has served as a powerful network in promoting social change and influencing policy. Through its network, IPPF has often gained access to communities, which governments have not been able to reach. This has been one of IPPF's key strengths, which has made the Federation highly regarded within an international context as they have a local as well as a global perspective on sexual and reproductive health. IPPF's legitimacy as 'authority' has many foundations, not least its extensive federal network. When combined with its 'specialist' credentials as medical experts, this amounts to a sizeable 'authority'.

That IPPF's history as a medical organisation influences the Federation's discourse on gender is evident in a statement made by a former IPPF volunteer who claims that:

> 'there has been a clear shift from IPPF's starting point as an organisation. At the very beginning it was an organisation, which 'catered' for women and was run by women. It then changed to an organisation which women are now dependent on in terms of medical information and medical services, which have traditionally been provided by male doctors'. (Former IPPF Volunteer interviewed in May 1999).

Historic organisational preferences have favoured medical personnel within IPPF. This is partly explained by Chambers' point of 'favouring the first and neglecting the last'. Chambers relates the old development paradigm to the failures of approaches whereby the solutions to development problems were imposed on the intended beneficiaries in the South (Chambers, 1993). This is further supported by Conlin (1986: 215) who points out that these approaches often rested on the assumption that 'the people affected will behave in certain ways to take advantage of the 'obvious'

benefits to be generated'. When such assumptions were refuted, they were often explained in terms of the 'ignorance of the intended beneficiary'. By contrast, proponents of the new paradigm, which has been termed 'putting the last first' would argue that such failures could better be explained by the lack of priority given to the basic element in development activity - the local people themselves. The preference for medical personnel rests on the premise that 'experts know best' and have the authority to lead by virtue of that knowledge. There appears to be a paradox at work here, in that the need for the 'right' skills-base mitigates against the desire to effect bottom-up solutions. These two characteristics of IPPF do not necessarily need to be mutually exclusive, so long as the two sides can arrive at a compromise, which is both effective and empowering.

Throughout IPPF's organisational history, it has tended to favour a top-down approach, where the 'first' provided the 'last' with medical definitions, language and provisions. This is perhaps changing slowly. Today IPPF is represented by a mixture of voices, which are not exclusively medical. This was evident at the last Member's Assembly where 29% of the Member's Assembly delegates had a medical background, 15% were involved in business, 23% were academics and 14% were involved in government and the remaining 19% were involved in other professions. At the Central Council, which consisted of 48 delegates, 21% were medical professionals, 25% were from a business background, 19% were academics and 21% were involved with government issues, the remaining 14% came from other backgrounds[34]. Yet, the shift from being an exclusive medical-orientated organisation towards a more diverse organisation has been a complex and slow process partly because:

> 'while practice is always multivalent, contested and changing at different rates, the legacies of combined past practice, layers of accumulated development knowledge and existing organisational interests and commitments do limit the range of possibilities for the effective use of new knowledge and practice' (Rew, 1997: 86).

[34] This information is based upon my own analysis of the Profiles of delegates at the Member Assembly delegates, which was distributed by IPPF at the MA in Prague. (IPPF: 1998e).

4.3.2 Shaping Organisational Discourses

There are several key actors within IPPF who shape the many existing discourses including the organisational discourse. IPPF is renowned for its use of volunteers and moreover the power the volunteers have in shaping the Federation's policies. Yet, there are different categories of volunteers. There are those who come from the 'professional' classes adding their expertise in terms of medical knowledge, education or the law and those who work directly with the service users at the grassroots level. The difference between these categories was observed in the Dominican Republic where women and young people within the community were recruited as volunteers. Their role was to facilitate workshops on sexual and reproductive health and to provide information and vouchers to the family planning clinic in the area[35]. The women and young people involved in the project worked directly with their own communities, but were not involved in decision-making meetings held by other volunteers who have more technical skills. The demarcation within the culture between unskilled and skilled characterises much of IPPF's decision-making processes. Clearly this will affect the outcome of policy-making as 'the skilled' volunteers will have less contact with the service user, as opposed to the 'unskilled' volunteers, who may be much more aware of the immediate needs of their community as well as women's and men's experiences.

The extensive use of volunteers is a unique feature of IPPF, but also one that creates some tension within the Federation. In a review of IPPF and its policies as well as its programme priorities, carried out jointly by IPPF and USAID (2000c), evidence suggested that there was a lack of division of responsibilities between volunteers and permanent staff. The report stated that:

> 'the high turnover of professional staff among FPAs, especially among the very important level of executive directors, is related to staff-volunteer

[35] For further information on this project see also Sexual and Reproductive Health: A New Approach with Communities' (IPPF, 1997e) by IPPF and 'Draft Evaluation of the International Planned Parenthood Federation Sexual and Reproductive Health Community Participation Approach in the Dominican Republic' (1999) by Kira Jensen.

relationships, in particular over-involvement of volunteers in day-to-day management' (IPPF, 2000a: 14).

There is a similar issue with regard to policy-making at the central level as the volunteers make key policy decisions, whilst it is the paid staff who implement the policies and moreover have to negotiate with donors on a day-to-day basis. As the two groups operate in very different 'realities', this creates a degree of friction, as each 'actor' often has a different agenda. It was found throughout the research that due to this tension and lack of guidance as to the responsibilities of volunteers and staff, organisational structures become less flexible and key decisions, which influence the lives of IPPF's female and male service users, may not be implemented successfully.

The complexity and influence of internal organisational discourses cannot be underestimated in terms of its effect on IPPF's knowledge framework. Gardner and Lewis point out that development knowledge is created and re-created by multiple agents who have different understandings of their work (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 103). This is a key characteristic of IPPF's organisational discourse. IPPF consists of many different external and internal agents who influence its discourse on both development and gender equality and equity. This can be illustrated by looking at the interplay between different groups of staff within the Federation, who it appears have different views on the conceptualisation of its new agenda.

There are those who are very focused on the new discourse on sexual and reproductive health and then there are those who are still part of the school of thought which focuses on population growth. This issue is highlighted in a recent visual publication by IPPF marking the day of 'the 6 Billion' (IPPF, 2000b). The video emphasises that the world population is growing and that there is a need to protect the planet. The emphasis, here, is on the notion of sexual and reproductive health as a means to achieving this end, rather than sexual and reproductive health being an end in itself. There appears to be an ambiguity within IPPF, which the video or at least, the message within the video publication illustrates. This ambiguity indicates that IPPF is still 'struggling' to find firm ground with regard to the objectives of their 'development'. The previous agenda, which actively promoted the notion of

population control, is still being confused with the objectives of sexual and reproductive health.

Other actors who influence the discourse within the organisation are staff at the central level, who are also causally connected to the prioritisation and content of IPPF's discourse. Staff has different vested interests whether it be that of a medical discourse, a youth-orientated discourse or a gender discourse. Each discourse is assimilated, challenged and questioned by other groups within the Federation. This was particularly evident at meetings held by the International Medical Advisory Panel (IMAP) in May 2000, where groups of staff representing issues related to youth and women contested some of the initial statements made by IMAP, including statements on gender-based violence and dual protection[36] for youth. They claimed that these statements were far too scientific and thereby dismissive of the need to take diversity and different needs of various groups into account. After some negotiations within and between IMAP and key issue 'champions', a compromise was reached, which all parties could accept. This process of negotiation between key players illustrates that whilst consensus was eventually reached, the original draft statement caused friction between players due to their different agendas. Key discussions took place over a period of three months before a final draft was agreed. This shows that different stakeholders initiate and shape competing discourses[37]. At all levels of policy formation, a complex process of negotiation between preferences and priorities affects policy and, thus, knowledge formation.

Within IPPF's organisational hierarchy, senior management plays a significant role in determining IPPF's various knowledge premises on gender. This group is crucial in understanding the changing gender concerns of the Federation. Although IPPF prides itself on its strong links with communities through the work of the FPAs

[36] IPPF defines dual protection as 'the simultaneous prevention of STI/HIV infection and unwanted pregnancy. This can be achieved by the consistent use of condoms alone or by the simultaneous use of two methods – one of which must be condoms. Avoidance of penetrative sex, particularly in situations of high risk, is another means of achieving dual protection.' (IMAP, 2000: 1).

[37] This information is based upon my own participation in IPPF's GLAD meetings between 1998-2001 where these statements were discussed.

and its federal structure, it is the Central Office that tends to negotiate with donors. The Central Office, along with the Governing Council, sets the global agenda and the Federation's priorities, which are then channelled through the FPAs. This agenda tends to be influenced by the expectations of the donors. The relationship between this group and IPPF's management is therefore one of the most significant in terms of discourse formation. The research showed that senior managers are in the main, 'career' NGO bureaucrats whom are highly skilled at negotiating with donors, the UN and other external agencies. These are crucial 'agents' in the negotiation of policy priorities and direction. Their impact as links between donors and policy, as well as between the centre and the FPAs, places them above all the other internal IPPF components in terms of discourse conceptualisation and influences.

IPPF's decision-making governance structure similarly contributes to its discourse by engaging volunteers in the governance process. However, more recently with the shift from a Member's Assembly to a Governing Council, there has been a change in this discourse. Whereas the Member's Assembly (MA) was a forum for policy-making, it was also a platform for exchanging information, but more importantly it was an opportunity to focus on emerging and specific issues. This was evident at the very last MA, which took place in Prague in 1998, where a *Campaign on Gender-Based Violence* was launched. The purpose of this campaign was to give delegates an opportunity to discuss the Federation's policy and the new holistic approach, which was part of the new language on sexual and reproductive health, on gender-based violence. At the same time this campaign was aimed at illustrating the contribution, which IPPF could potentially make on such issue.

With the abolition of the MA and the emergence of the new policy-making body, the Governing Council, IPPF is now much more focused on the process of policy-making per se. This new structure no longer accommodates the previous level of open debate, which appeared to contribute more open and 'democratic' elements to the policy-making process. By meeting the donor's requirement of creating a leaner and more cost-effective governing structure, it appears that the process of policy-making has become less focused on the political and cultural issues affecting each FPA. As a result the decision-making process has become less inclusive of the needs

of both the FPAs and its service users. It is now a much more technical process, structured to approve the Federation's policies.

Of all the recent governance-orientated changes, the move from the Member's Assembly to the Governing Council is the most significant internal factor in shaping the content of IPPF knowledge and, moreover, the process for developing that knowledge. The crucial change is the minimising of open debate, relegating this to the preparation of competing papers and motions essentially provided by the centre and the FPAs' own hierarchies. Key discursive elements, such as broader volunteer attendance, delegate sessions and workshop contributions, have been removed in favour of efficiency. The perception of the voluntary nature of the Governing Council only partly mitigates the loss of competition between narratives and the often-fruitful compromises, which made up the Member's Assembly structure and outcomes.

4.4 A Dominant Player - The Donor Discourse

Attempting to understand the way in which donors interact with and influence IPPF, its various discourses must be placed within a broader analysis taking into account the traditional modernist school of thought. As development has its roots in the Enlightenment project, it is still to a large extent treated as a modernist project by donors, whereby rational solutions are sought and economic targets are expected to be reached.

Donors tend to fund projects within a limited time period and results are expected to take the form of statistics and economic growth, often ignoring the social processes involved. Programmes are often funded because they correspond with the discourses of democratisation and Western-orientated modernisation, which is currently a predominant trend within the global political economy (Green and Matthias, 1997: 70). As a consequence, the intentions of many NGOs are often compromised in order to meet the dominant strategies of development. The majority of international development NGOs rely, in most cases, upon funding from international donors. The relationship between the two players - the donors and the NGOs - can be characterised as one of dependency, rather than benign giver and independent recipient.

4.4.1 The Dependency Factor and Its Impact on Knowledge Production in the International Planned Parenthood Federation

A major feature of the work of NGOs over the last few decades has been their increasing involvement with donor-funded activities and their receipt of substantial bilateral funding for development work. Whilst this has led to a significant increase in the turnover of NGOs and the number of agencies, there are a number of dangers for NGOs closely tied to donors. During the 1950s and 1960s, NGOs and official donors tended to pursue different development agendas. This began to change in the early 1970s when many donors began to directly support NGO development programmes. This trend of official funding being channelled through NGOs accelerated throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and is reflected in figures from the World Bank. They estimated that in the early 1970s about 1.5% of total NGO income came from donor sources, whereas by the mid-1990s this share had risen to about 30% (ODI, 1995). However, such figures conceal wide variations, ranging from 10% to 80%.

Not only has the quantity of official funding to NGOs increased, but so too have the conditions attached to the funding. Smillie (1999: 9) identifies an evolution in government support for NGOs from 'matching grants to contracts'. Initially, grants were given on a needs-based approach, to projects and programmes designed by NGOs themselves. Whilst some conditions may have been attached, such as excluding work in some countries, in general the grants came with few donor obligations. Gradually governments began to set more and more of the parameters for where and how NGOs could spend the funding. In addition, many donors started to offer NGOs contracts for the delivery of donor's own projects and programmes. Under such arrangements, donors usually contribute all the funds required to execute particular projects. Indications from ODI country studies in 1995 showed that on average 5% of total bilateral aid funds are used for NGO contracted projects.

External pressure generated indirectly and directly by the donor community has played a role in shaping IPPF's collective rationality. The added pressure of donors, increasingly stressing the need for more accountability, especially financial accountability, and the requirements of new management practices has affected IPPF's relations with their donors. Northern donors are increasingly introducing a

range of management tools into the Southern context, including the use of log-frames[38] for planning and implementing projects, strategic planning tools for organisations, increased levels of written reporting, and tight budgeting controls (Mulindwa, 2001: 1). This shift to an emphasis on written forms of management and accountability, requiring the use of tools developed outside the South has had a significant impact on the operations of IPPF's local FPAs[39]. In order to survive, the FPAs have had to develop new skills, and become more 'professionalised', to be able to continue to receive funds. With a change in their emphasis from family planning to sexual and reproductive health, combined with donor pressure to perform more 'professionally', FPAs, particularly in the South, have struggled to provide services that reflect the ICPD commitments. The introduction of 'managerialism' and 'programme orientated' methods has affected the knowledge frameworks within IPPF. Not only have FPAs had to assimilate new and often 'alien' priorities, they have had to do this as Western-trained project managers. There is a tendency to remove the 'agency' element of the FPAs as it is diluted and crowded out by a 'neutral' and 'rational' methodology akin to the medicalisation of family planning in the previous decades.

The issue of 'dependency' upon donor funding is inevitably one, which affects the work of IPPF. The donor community has a significant impact on IPPF's discourse on both development and gender. This is evident in IPPF's donor letters, which are published once a month[40]. From 1999 to 2000 it was observed that the key trend in

[38] A log frame (also known as a Project Framework) is a common planning tool for development projects. It looks like a table (or framework) and aims both to be logical to complete, and to present information about projects in a concise, logical and systematic way. The log frame model was developed in the United States and has since been adopted and developed by many other donors, including the Department For International Development (DFID). A log frame summarises, in a standard format: what your project is trying to achieve, how it aims to do this, what is needed to ensure success, ways of measuring progress, and the potential problems along the way. (BOND, 2001: 1)

[39] IPPF's response to this rationalisation process has been to initiate projects on sustainability and this will be discussed further in *Chapter Six*.

[40] The Donor Letters are published once a month by the Resource Mobilisation Unit at the Central level in London.

terms of the Federation's programme priorities had switched from gender to youth and this mirrored the changing priorities and interests of donors and the UN. Women's empowerment was only mentioned twice in all twelve donor letters. The trend towards youth and HIV/AIDS is also evident in recent annual reports where gender was at one time the focus of the Director General's Message, these are now dominated by these newer and more interestingly the Federation's ability to reduce costs and maintain donations (IPPF, 2001). To a significant extent donor priorities curtail and contain the knowledge framework of an NGO. The perceived 'switch' from gender to youth and eventually to HIV/AIDS directly mirrors the changing preferences expressed by donors over a relatively short period of time. This shifting priority base undermines the long-term knowledge processes, which are built up over time and provide granularised and expert level services, which can substantially affect change.

This point is illustrated by Gardner and Lewis, who point to the complexity of donor-led development and suggest that:

> 'working with large budgets, which they are anxious to spend, donors and recipient governments are often reluctant to spend time 'fiddling around' with the complexities of setting up local committees and consulting communities about their plans. Instead, projects, which absorb funds efficiently and are administratively relatively simple (building roads or dams) are preferred'. (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 98)

This traditional donor mentality appears to have influenced IPPF's narrative and consequently they tend to design and propose projects and programmes with a clear strategy with some very real and numeric targets using rational management tools in the process. IPPF itself recognises this process and in *Implementing the Vision 2000 Strategic Plan: Compendium of Activities*, it states that in preparing such a document certain contradictions had to be recognised. Firstly:

> 'The autonomy of the FPAs, the roles of regional and international levels being to support them, yet, the global decisions of the Federation's governing bodies in adopting the *Vision 2000 Strategic Plan* and in requiring a

Compendium of Activities to further its implementation.' Secondly, the further potential conflict between FPA autonomy and the fact that the Federation's dependence on donations and the need to respond to donors' demands for transparency, clearly spelled out activities, good management and accountability' (IPPF, 1999a: 6).

The point of friction revolves around the autonomy of the FPAs and regional offices vis–a–vis the centre and is exacerbated in the context of meeting donor requirements. At the centre considerable effort is made to both secure funding and to shape programmes, which align to donor requirements. This can often bring the central level into conflict with the regional and local level whose desire for change may contradict those original donor requirements.

This organisational friction, then, raises the question as to what extent men and women's different sexual and reproductive health needs are met by the Federation, given that they operate in an environment, in which donor priorities tend to change. A rational planning process is expected to ensure funding and where there is little scope for developing alternative ideas, due to the rational and top-down processes, which often characterise donor-thinking. There is a sense then that IPPF are restricted in the way they organise expenditure and are almost 'required' to prioritise as they do. This obviously impacts their ability to challenge and change and moreover to empower different cultures in different ways. That IPPF is able to, at least, utilise their FPA structure is a positive mitigation against this 'managerialist' tendency even where context is not fully exploited. The FPAs having local knowledge and their own autonomous views, are able to negotiate with the central level to ensure a degree of flexibility with regard to donor requirements.

4.5 The Knowledge Framework and Gender Mainstreaming in the International Planned Parenthood Federation

The first part of this chapter illustrated how IPPF's knowledge framework has been shaped by external and internal influences. I have argued that IPPF's interpretation of development has been shaped by various discourses throughout the Federation's history. The medical aspect has played a significant role, but this has at

the same time been contested by various actors within IPPF over a period of fifty years. With the outcome of the ICPD in Cairo and *Vision 2000* a greater emphasis has been put on a more holistic approach aiming at sexual and reproductive health, which in turn questioned the value of a strictly medical approach. The federal character of the organisation has also played a key role in the shaping of development knowledge as different cultural views and aspects are fed into the discourse. There are therefore different and competing discourses within IPPF and it is in fact these discourses, which have produced the knowledge of development within the Federation. The next section examines more closely the role of the gender discourse.

4.5.1 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Knowledge Production on Gender

The notion of gender has become an issue, which is directly linked to the issue of power and resources within IPPF's work. When the international community recognised that development needed women and that incorporating women into development practices gives economic benefits and advantages, large amounts of resources were put into making women active participants within the development context by the donor community (Arnfred, 2000: 83). The global community and NGOs like IPPF set out to 'transform' women from passive 'reproducers' to active 'producers', which included the shift from the focus of individual needs to 'the whole of the individual'. Yet, as time went by and other more 'urgent' issues were identified, such as the fact that HIV/AIDS was on the increase amongst young people, donors recognised that development needed to 'target' youth. As a consequence, donors often re-prioritise according to the global priorities and as a response NGOs have to quickly meet the different requirements of donors. In many ways IPPF is an example of what Smillie (1999: 21) describes as a 'Super-NGO'. According to Smillie a 'Super-NGO' has the capability and capacity to accommodate changing donor preferences and priorities easily and quickly. This flexibility and speed of response is a function of the 'Super-NGOs' extensive professional reach predicated on several factors such as staff numbers, extensive global network and portfolio of specialisms (Ibid.). The counter point to this is that in order to ensure funding, these 'Super-NGOs' may lack continuity with regard to certain strategies that require sustainable investment of people and financial resources.

The above point is evident in contestation of gender within the Federation. It can be classified as one of the competing discourses, which characterises IPPF, one which requires sustained attention and resource focus. Whilst, the Central Office does have a 'Gender and Youth Technician' who attempts to promote interests in gender relations and its impact upon sexual and reproductive health, it was found in the research that involvement with gender related issues tends to be scattered amongst the other departments at the central level. Rather than the gender thematic having the level of coherence it could potentially have, it often occupies the margins of debate, when discussed outside the formal context of the Gender and Youth Technician's remit. This tendency within the history of the Federation, for gender to come and go in terms of its criticality to the work of the Federation reflects the changing external global preferences wherein gender is sometimes in 'vogue' and then falls out of favour. Whilst IPPF is not the only NGO to have these changing priorities, it is notable that an NGO whose focus is specifically on sexual and reproductive health, which predominantly affects women, should not be more consistent in their commitment to gender conceptualisation and developments on gender thinking. IPPF's tendency to be selective about the use of gender in its various articulations is mirrored in its reluctance to include many of the more radical themes and terms used in the feminist lexicon.

This tendency to keep 'radicalism' at arms length is evident throughout IPPF's work. There is a tendency to 'co-opt' the feminist lexicon only in order to substantiate the Federation's discourse. However, this precludes a wholesale assimilation of the feminist canon into IPPF's knowledge framework. The tendency in IPPF is to refer to terms, which are much more 'safe', such as women's empowerment, male involvement and young people's needs. This point is reinforced in the analysis of the documents produced by IPPF over the last three years. No references were made to feminism. When the gender advisor wrote a paper on 'Quality of Care from a Gender Perspective' (Otoo-Oyortey and Jensen, 1999) and direct references were made to the need to cooperate with feminist organisations, the word 'feminist' was changed to 'women's organisations' as requested by the Federation's management.

Gender discourse has changed significantly throughout the Federation's history. In 1994 IPPF set up a Woman's Unit in the Central Office. Its prime

objectives was to initiate research and provide guidance and support on issues concerning women's sexual and reproductive health and rights, as well as undertake follow-up activities from the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. The unit was primarily set up in response to the Beijing Conference and was closed down in 1996, only one year after the UN Conference had taken place. In 1997 it re-opened as the Gender Unit, but was merged with the Youth Unit sharing a budget. Despite a change of name, gender issues still tend to be associated exclusively with women. This is evident in a paper where the Global Advocacy Division states its objectives:

> 'Gender (women's involvement) promotes empowerment of women in order to bring about their increased involvement and an integration of their perspective in the Federation's work' (IPPF, 1998f: 3).

There was a change in language following the changing global priorities, where Gender and Development (GAD) was replacing the previous strategy of Women in Development (WID).

Whilst IPPF does have a Gender Unit, which consists of one member of staff, it is remarkable that IPPF does not have a specific gender strategy. Although a Gender Equity Policy[41] is in place and the mission, goals and target group of IPPF are set out in the *Vision 2000 Strategic Plan*, there is no strategy paper on gender, to which the Federation as a whole can refer. In a recent evaluation carried out jointly by IPPF and USAID, it was noticed that strategy development in key technical areas including gender and youth needed to be improved (IPPF, 2000a: 18). It was suggested in the report that the lack of strategies may be due to structural causes, including inadequate technical linkages between the different levels of the Federation, which would inhibit technical support needs from surfacing clearly, unclear assignment of responsibility for strategy development and the need to improve the linkages between strategy development and programme implementation (Ibid: 18). The lack of a gender strategy would question the overall commitment to the issue of gender, both within the organisation itself, as well as within IPPF's policy and programme priorities.

[41] IPPF's Gender Equity Policy and its significance will be discussed in the *Chapter Five*.

This is further reflected in IPPF's budgetary process as the resources allocated to gender issues illustrate that the Federation's priorities have started to change towards other issues such as Youth and more recently towards HIV/AIDS. The total budget allocated to women's involvement in 1995 was US$ 359,275, in 1996 it was US$ 177,035 and in 1997 it had dropped to US$ 157,407 and this last amount had to be divided between gender and youth activities (GLAD, 1995: 1). Within the space of two years gender focused expenditure had decreased by nearly 70%; this is a significant drop and illustrates the point that priorities can change very quickly and that central sexual and reproductive health premises such as gender are easily overlooked in favour of more in vogue concerns.

4.6 Concluding Comments

This chapter has been concerned with the production and reproduction of knowledge within a disparate and highly complex NGO. An NGO, which has a long history and through this history has been subject to many manifestations of the development approach. The initial 'development' character of IPPF as pioneer/ medicaliser shaped its knowledge production process, just as its contemporary manifestations as 'sexual and reproductive health specialists' affects and is affected by how it produces knowledge and, thus, policy. The 'knowledge production' process within IPPF is directly connected to three key factors: the wider development thinking, the agenda of the donor and finally the way IPPF themselves organise their power relations within their own organisational culture. These are not mutually exclusive in the sense that one discourse shapes the other and vice versa. The causes of the productive discourse here run both ways, IPPF is clearly affected by development thinking and vice versa.

Although, there are now indications of more focus upon people and processes as opposed to targets and aims, the shift has been affected by the complexities of IPPF's organisational culture as well as the 'discursive' perception of development. Moreover, the donor's discourse plays a significant role in determining IPPF's identity, as IPPF must respond to the requirements of the donor community. As a consequence it could be argued that they have taken on a plural identity, due to the contested nature of the field of sexual and reproductive health.

Notwithstanding IPPF's good work and good intentions, they have become part of a power hierarchy, which relies upon dependency on donors. This is a paradox in the sense that this very dependency upon donors is also what makes IPPF a successful 'development player', as the Federation can respond quickly and efficiently to changing priorities of the donor community. However, what has emerged from this discussion is that IPPF is not just a 'victim' within a donor-orientated power hierarchy. The history and culture within the Federation itself has similarly played a role in determining its discourse on gender. In fact IPPF has many different and competing discourses constantly being negotiated by different groups within the Federation operating between the different levels of IPPF. Both the internal factors as well as the external factors play a significant role in shaping IPPF's narrative on gender.

This discussion illustrates the complexity of the problem of developing, agreeing and sustaining a gender sensitive approach to development change. This is not least because of the nature of NGOs in general and the confusion and contentions within gender mainstreaming itself. The fluidity and pressures, which characterise knowledge production in IPPF, are typical of most large NGOs. They create a context in which the two central problems of interpretation and implementation of gender mainstreaming are further compounded. A dichotomy between interpretations, which favour the 'mainstreaming' elements of the strategy over the theoretical 'gender' interpretations extends beyond academic debate over gender mainstreaming into the practical domain of NGOs and other organisations attempting to adopt gender mainstreamed inspired principles.

Having assessed IPPF's discourses on gender and development as well as the production of 'development knowledge' and 'gender knowledge', the aim of the next chapter is to illustrate how IPPF has responded to gender mainstreaming on a practical level. Moreover, it is aimed at illustrating how the production of gender knowledge has 'materialised' into the Federation's Gender Equity Policy.

Chapter 5

The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy: A Practical Response to Gender Mainstreaming?

The aim of this chapter is to examine and assess the key gender orientated policy directive produced by IPPF that is aimed at providing wide-ranging guidance to the Federation concerning its organisational structure and programmes. IPPF's Gender Equity Policy (GEP) is one of the most critical documents produced over the last few years with regards to gender and, thus, any analysis of the conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming within the Federation needs to focus on this. The content, motivation and initiation process surrounding the inception of IPPF's GEP, particularly the wider context of its drafting, inception and implementation, is crucial in understanding IPPF's interpretation and practical response to the gender mainstreaming 'project'. This is primarily because it is the most tangible example of how the Federation interprets gender and how it seeks to absorb this interpretation into its wider programmes and policies. Within this chapter I will seek to illustrate both the motivations for the policy and the effect of the policy and moreover, whether it, or any policy like it, could possibly achieve a 'gender mainstreamed' outcome when the nature of that outcome remains contested and possibly paradoxical.

The focus on the GEP is driven by the increasing importance of policies as instruments of change, persuasion and direction throughout contemporary organisations. 'Policies' feature prominently within Western governance and there is a distinct tendency in Western democracies for policies to be 'codified, publicised and referred to by workers and managers as the guidelines that legitimate and even motivate their behaviour' (Shore and Wright, 1997: 5). Policy creation is often represented as a neat and linear process, of 'problem', 'identification', 'formulation of solutions', 'implementation' and 'evaluation'. The process for designing and implementing policy has increasingly been challenged by both sociologists and anthropologists (Gordon, Lewis and Young 1993; Shore and Wright, 1997; White,

1996) who argue that policy is not a given: it is the embodiment of Western rationality. It can be interpreted in many ways and more importantly:

> 'not only do policies codify social norms and values, and articulate fundamental organising principles of society, they also contain implicit (and sometimes explicit) models of society' (Shore and Wright, 1997: 7).

It is this last point, which is of particular concern within the context of this discussion. It is crucial to uncover the various implicit and accepted power relations existent within policy formulation and implementation, as this understanding will elucidate the real meaning of the policy itself.

One key feature of policy may be that its political nature is disguised by the objective, neutral, legal and rational idioms in which it is portrayed. This is illustrated by Escobar who remarks that:

> 'once normalised, regulated and ordered, individuals, societies and economies can be subjected to the scientific gaze and the social engineering scalpel of the planner, who, like a surgeon operating on the human body, can then attempt to produce the desired type of social change' (Escobar, 1997:134).

This perspective sees policy-making not as a scientific enterprise rationally locating cause and effect, but rather the consequence of actions and intentions of policy-makers, who themselves are the subject of context and meaning outside their own rational framework.

Given the clear importance of the GEP as IPPF's main policy instrument for effecting gender orientated change, analysing this document and examining the way it came to fruition will serve to deepen the understanding of the key challenges of this thesis, namely the possibility of a gender mainstreamed development project. The GEP is the most substantive example within IPPF of a policy instrument. The GEP embodies its aspirations for gender orientated change, thus, if the GEP succeeds in combining the pluralistic concept of gender with a substantive strategy for change

based on mainstreaming it will prove that gender mainstreaming, at least in principle, can be seen as a coherent theory of development

5.1 The Background of the International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy

Motivation and reasons are critical in understanding the policy process. As seen in *Chapter One*, the importance of gender mainstreaming has increasingly started to play a key role in NGOs' and governments' policy-making. Since 1995, many governments in the North and South have taken some steps to put their mainstreaming commitments derived from the Beijing *Platform for Action* into practice. The *Platform for Action* proposed that in order to create a gender sensitive working environment, NGOs, government agencies and global institutions would have to adjust policies in order to meet the criteria of gender equality at all levels of the organisation including policy, programmes, projects and recruitment procedures. (UN, 1995: 10).

In response, many NGOs have initiated gender policies[42] aiming at meeting the criteria of 'gender mainstreaming' by promoting gender equality within both policies and programmes. This implies that there is a tacit acceptance that the making of policy is an efficient tool to promote gender equality. As Wallace points out:

[42] Action Aid adopted a Gender Policy in 2000, which aims at ensuring that gender equality and women's empowerment are central to Action Aid's programmes at all levels, organisational culture and behaviours and public image (Action Aid, 2000a: 4). Similarly, a Gender Policy was approved by Oxfam's Council in 1993. The objectives of the policy were to 1) developing positive action to promote the full participation and empowerment of women in existing and future programmes so as to ensure that Oxfam's programmes benefits men and women equally; 2) Confronting the social and ideological barriers to women's participation and encouraging initiatives to improve their status including basic rights; 3) Promoting independent access for women to key resources (e.g., land, employment), services, and facilities; 4) Recognising and helping women exercise their rights over their bodies and protection from violence; 5) ensuring that all programme work in the UK/Ireland takes gender considerations into account and, wherever appropriate, to promoting initiatives with a gender focus (Porter, Smyth and Sweetman, 1999: 341).

> 'a gender policy provides a 'bedrock', a minimal position, which all staff must accept. It is something to fall back on in negotiations with colleagues, stressing that gender is part of the NGO's policy and therefore must be taken into account' (Wallace, 1998: 163)

There is, however, an underlying or 'real' policy process beneath the surface; deconstructing the 'problem solving' implementation approach entails a study of externalities and implicit assumptions.

5.1.1 Initiating IPPF's Gender Equity Policy

Assuming that policy processes are not simply rational scientific endeavours or at least suspend the criticisms set out above, it is crucial to understand how and why IPPF's GEP was initiated. There is a crucial question here to be addressed, namely, why the GEP was initiated at that particular point in time as well as the nature of the policy's content. Unpacking these questions may lead us to a better understanding of the Federation's motivation for making an 'institutional commitment' to promote gender equity. Tracing the genealogy of the GEP will involve analysing the various events and activities, which preceded its instigation as an official IPPF policy in 1995. The first part of this analysis will look at the circumstances, which surrounded the policy formulation; this will be proceeded by a discussion of the actual drafting process undertaken by IWAP and the content of the policy itself.

The genealogy of the GEP starts in 1989 with the arrival of Halfdan Mahler as IPPF Director General. Mahler had come from the World Health Organisation where he had witnessed the movement towards inclusivity of gender differences in the context of a holistic approach to development thinking. One of Mahler's first initiatives within IPPF was to instigate what became known as *Vision 2000.* The counterpart of *Vision 2000* was a need to ensure that gender played a key part in the overall activities of IPPF and the *Vision 2000* projects specifically. Both Halfdan Mahler, the Secretary General and Fred Sai, the President were of the belief that sexual and reproductive health projects and programmes could not succeed unless women were included in a substantive manner. This is highlighted in various

communications from Mahler; in a letter sent out to all the FPAs, in September 1994, Halfdan Mahler states that:

> 'while bearing in mind that family planning programmes, in their efforts to reach both men and women, must be consonant with the cultural setting, FPAs also have a responsibility to be agents of change and to aim for the goals of Vision 2000; which includes 'equal rights for women to enable them to exercise control over their own reproductive and sexual and health choices''. (Mahler, 1994: 1)

This statement illustrates that IPPF's management was making efforts to promote an agenda that was more inclusive of women's needs. This is further highlighted in an address to the International Programme Advisory Panel, which held a meeting in March 1994. Here, Halfdan Mahler stressed the need for IPPF:

> 'to work with women's groups in the spirit of consensus and unity and the importance of listening to the views of women's organisations to enable IPPF to translate rhetoric into practice' (IPPF, 1994b: 1).

Vision 2000 itself then, presented a turning point for gender sensitivity within the Federation, not least because of Mahler's sponsorship of it. *Vision 2000* shifted the focus away from the notion of family planning to sexual and reproductive health and this shift was further reinforced at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994. The new agenda set in Cairo enhanced the pressure from donors for NGOs to focus on women's issues. Through briefings and discussions with various NGOs, donors came to the conclusion that incorporating women into the development process meant fully realising the capability within Southern communities (Arnfred, 2000, 77). That is they recognised, with the guidance of NGOs, the economic benefits of incorporating women into the development process. The outcome of the Cairo conference was a need for development agendas to be more gender sensitive in order to meet donors' informed requirements.

It was also, as already discussed in the previous chapter, the recognition within the Federation itself that for IPPF to survive, change was needed. The

perceived threat to its survival were numerous and included the emergence of other family planning organisations such as Marie Stopes International and Population Concern, which, were beginning to successfully occupy IPPF's traditional global space and consequently receiving funding, which would have previously been allocated to IPPF. The re-invention of IPPF as a more holistic organisation, sensitive to difference and willing to accommodate difference focused on addressing the gender imbalances throughout the Federation. The extent to which IPPF tended to be under-represented by women was reflected in the composition of some of its governing committees. Male representation had tended to be the norm and this is reflected in the following figures in 1992:

- Of 137 FPAs – 59 were directed by women - (43%)
- Of 269 Regional Council members – 106 were women - (39%)
- Of 11 Central Executive Council members – 3 were women - (27%)
- Of 48 Central Council members – 17 were women - (35%)

(IPPF, 1992: 9)

In reversing this situation IPPF could re-assert itself as a pioneer through involving all members of the community in an equitable way.

These factors were reflected at the IPPF Member's Assembly Meeting in New Delhi in October 1992, which passed a resolution urging all IPPF regions to adopt polices by the 1995 Members Assembly ensuring that equality of gender representation should be accomplished in all IPPF Governing Bodies (Ibid: 1). To support this during a meeting of the Central Council in 1993, it was recommended that the Secretary General elevate the issue of women's involvement to a higher status by creating an International Women's Advisory Panel (IPPF, 1993: 1). Moreover, it was recommended by the MA that once IWAP was established, its mandate should be to draft a policy operationalising the process of empowering women to participate more effectively at all levels of volunteer and staff structures (IPPF, 1998g: 7). The role of IWAP in shaping and drafting the GEP will be discussed in more detail below in order to illustrate the background and motivations behind the final GEP content.

That said, a picture of the process behind the inception of the GEP is beginning to emerge, wherein externalities came to bear on internal discourse and prioritisation. Halfdan Mahler's arrival as Secretary General of IPPF saw a new turn in the direction of the Federation's gender discourse, which was predicated on the re-alignment of global concerns and the realisation that NGOs need to be cognisant of the changing development agenda.

5.2 Shaping the International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy

The IPPF Gender Equity Policy consists of two elements. Firstly, it calls for taking affirmative action in all decision-making bodies in favour of at least 50 per cent women at all levels of the Federation and secondly it requires affirmative action in employment to recruit women to high-level decision-making positions (IPPF, 1995c)[43]. The most significant organisational vehicle for moving these concerns forward was IPPF's newly established panel of international advisers on women's issues; The International Women's Advisory Panel (IWAP).

5.2.1 The Creation of International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy

IWAP was established in 1993, as a means of ensuring a high profile and priority for the issue of women's involvement in IPPF. The panel's terms of reference provided it with a mandate to review and assess the situation with regard to the involvement of women in decision-making processes and advise IPPF on mechanisms and strategies for increasing women's involvement in these processes at all levels of the Federation[44] (IPPF, 1994c: 1). Prior to the establishment of the panel, the Member's Assembly had requested that the Federation should have a gender equity policy and in 1993 the Panel was asked by the Central Council to draft such a policy. IWAP held its first meeting in 1993, where the role of the panel and its challenges were discussed as well as the initiation of a gender policy (IPPF, 1993a: 2). Amongst the programme of work outlined at the first IWAP meeting was:

[43] See Appendix 2 and 3 for full details of the policy.

[44] See appendix 4 for full detail of Terms of Reference of the International Women's Advisory Panel.

- Holistic approach to women's health
- Quality of care
- Adolescents/Youth
- Domestic violence
- The status of women in development issues
- Male involvement

(IPPF, 1993a: 2).

Due to the extent of the areas within IWAP's concern the six members of the panel were allocated one of the above areas to review and report back on. In addition to this, the panel was also mandated to draft a gender policy.

In preparing the draft of a gender policy, IWAP made a distinction between gender equality and gender equity. Gender equality was defined as follows:

> 'Gender equality connotes an equal number or percentage of women and men. It does not imply that women and men are the same, but that they have equal value and should be accorded equal treatment. Where women and men have unequal status and access to knowledge or resources on a community, however, special treatment and affirmative action are needed.' (IPPF, 1998h: 6)

In contrast gender equity was defined by IWAP as:

> 'a sense of fairness or justice. It should be applied to all gender-related issues, whether with regard to the number or proportion of women and men in a board or committee, or with regard to the social division of labour. Focusing on gender equity should not be taken as an excuse to permit inequality between women and men. In an area such as reproductive health, in which women bear the largest share of the costs, dangers and burdens (physical, mental, social and economic) it is equitable and fair that women should have a greater share in the decision-making (Ibid: 6).

This differentiation is predicated on widely accepted notions of equality and equity, which are critical elements of contemporary policy-making, thus:

> 'in the various notions of equality; it is possible to distinguish two families of meaning. In the first, equality indicates a kind of justice or fair treatment. In the second, equality indicates sameness or homogeneity. In some contexts the two meanings may overlap or converge, but they are different. To treat people justly may require treating them differently; on the other hand, to treat them as if they were the same is not necessarily to treat them justly'. (Lummis, 1997: 38).

The definition of equality is complex and varies according to context and has an impact on building a distinct and workable gender policy. The key challenge for IWAP was therefore to address the fluidity of gender equality and gender equity whilst avoiding creating a policy, which was deterministic in its interpretation through its equating of equality with numerical representation rather than the granularity of different discourses.

Despite being aware of the complexity of gender equality and gender equity, the panel concluded at a meeting in September, 1994 that the Federation was not yet ready for a dramatic change with regard to gender (IPPF, 1994c: 2). IWAP proposed that, as a first step, the priority would be to open up spaces for women. Addressing the need to change the Federation's attitude to gender-circumscribed development would be the final step as part of an on-going process (Ibid.). This approach to change is significant in that it focuses exclusively, at least in the first phase, on the quantitative aspects of the desired change. Rather than giving the policy a dual aspect, in the sense that numbers should partner quality, the panel chose a strategy, which deferred the qualitative dimension of equity to a later date. During an interview with a senior-member of staff at the central level this was reflected in the following terms: 'from my point of view, they (IPPF) went for step one, but jumped step two to go directly into step three.' (Interview with central staff member, 2000). By step one was meant the emphasis on quantity and the missing step, step two was the qualitative dimension of gender equity.

5.2.2 Quotas - Bringing Women In!

That said, the use of quotas is a common approach amongst NGOs, governments and inter-governmental organisations. The gender perspective is often perceived to have a 'trickle down effect' and quotas are in many cases considered as a practical response in addressing gender inequality. Feminist institutional analyses have suggested that the under-representation of women is a hindrance to institutionalising gender equality into organisations (Staudt, 1990: 11). As suggested by some scholars (Camacho, Lara and Serrano, 1996; Jaquette, 1994; Moreno, 1995), it would appear reasonable to have a quota system to help women to enter legislative bodies, expand recruitment processes and give women more political experience, whilst overcoming the scepticism about women's ability to hold political office. Moreover, there is an argument of justice. Sexual exclusion is iniquitous wherever it presents itself and women should not be excluded from central activities within any political sphere in any circumstances. Much of the debate surrounding quotas has centred on the notion of fairness; males and females may often have conflicting interests and women should therefore not be represented by males, rather gender specific group representation is required.

However, the argument for quotas is counterproductive from a qualitative perspective of equality, in that they may substantiate existing perceptions of female inadequacies and thereby enforce a gender division of political labour, where women will be expected to deal with women's issues leaving everything else to their male colleagues (Camacho, Lara and Serrano, 1996: 77). Jaquette articulates this dilemma and notes that:

> 'men can deny any responsibility for women's issues on the ground that they have already met their obligations by giving women guaranteed representation'. (Jaquette, 1994: 232)

This effectively diverts attention away from the fundamental issue of equal participation and transforms the issue into a discussion about favouritism and lack of ability. This point was articulated in an interview with a member of IPPF's central staff who stated that:

'many of the current senior female management feel that you should get there by merit and not by affirmative action. They give little support to other women who may be in the same position as them'. (Interview with member of staff at the central level, June, 2000).

5.2.3 The Long and the Short Agenda

IWAP did choose to recommend a policy favouring a quota approach, based upon the view that clear policy directives on women's involvement and gender equity from the centre as well as from FPA Boards, would greatly enhance the gender balance of power and the design and implementation of programmes for women's empowerment (IPPF, 1994d: 5). From IWAP's perspective, this policy would potentially give women a specific and constructive 'tool' in promoting social change.

The primary objective then of IPPF's GEP, according to its authors, was to open up spaces for women in an organisation, which was initially started by women 'catering' for women, by increasing their number on decision-making bodies and thereby ensuring that the policy-making process would be representative of both women and men. Cockburn (1991) characterises this approach as one, which supports a 'short agenda'. This involves new measures to minimise bias in procedures such as recruitment and promotion. Such a strategy is often supported by powerful male sponsors, who interpret and pursue their conception of 'equality'. It does not, in contrast to the 'long agenda', involve substantial changes, which is the primary aim of equality activists.

Equality activists' conception of change would require addressing gendered behaviours and unofficial cultures (Cockburn, 1991: 218) as well as transforming gendered organisational discourses. As such it brings into view the nature and purpose of institutions and the processes by which the power of some groups over others in institutions is built and renewed. Moreover it acknowledges the need of disadvantaged groups for access to power and looks for change in the nature of power (Cockburn, 1989: 218). The 'long agenda' considers the social context of the organisation. In practical terms, this would include addressing the responsibility for home and family obligations, and within the organisational context, develop arrangements for

facilitating the integration of work and family such as parental leave, day care opportunities for children as well as flexible working hours (Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997: 197).

IWAP's limitations in terms of scope and effect meant that they had to assume that once the GEP was in place there would be a delayed effect from which women would benefit. This was, to a large extent, an approach, which would 'add on women' disregarding existing IPPF bureaucratic structures, which for so long had been influenced by a medical and male discourse. There is, thus, a critical risk, which presents itself from within this approach; Taylor articulates it in the following way by arguing that:

> 'we cannot add gender or women to frameworks that have led to the exclusion of women in the first place, and to the marginalisation of the majority of poor people' (Taylor, 2000: 163).

Whilst Taylor's argument resonates in the case of IPPF's GEP, the content of the GEP needs to be understood in more pragmatic terms as well. The GEP is complicated in practical terms in the sense that whilst IWAP recognised the limitations of such an approach, its power to reconstruct IPPF's organisational framework was restricted by the Federation's cultural resistance to radical change. This point is further supported by comments made by a former IWAP member who states that:

> 'IPPF's history has taught us that you can in fact have male management, which is more sensitive to gender equity than female management and this has been clear in the way that that Mahler and Sai managed to found Vision 2000 and found IWAP' (Interview with former IWAP member, 1999).

What is being made clear through this discussion is that, from its very inception, the GEP was likely to become a framework for only a partial change of the status quo. IWAP's intention to mainstream gender in IPPF's activities was constrained by a combination of policy and assumptions that could not and did not address the fundamental context that would ultimately bind the GEP to an unreformed organisational structure. This highlights the essential problem with utilising a

personnel policy to further gender mainstreaming aims – gender mainstreaming from a feminist perspective is concerned with empowerment and context, not numbers and quotas. This kind of strategy incorporates a view of 'gender equity that goes beyond equal opportunity as it calls for the transformation of the basic rules, hierarchies and practices of public institutions' (Taylor, 2000: 152).

Whilst discussions took place amongst the IWAP members about the complexity of implementing a gender equity policy, the members' understanding of gender was mitigated by their practical awareness of the limitation of IPPF and its structure and priorities. IWAP did not consider the Federation to be in a position to fully transform its gender behaviour. In this sense then the panel became restricted by IPPF's structural restrictions. It is significant that a body, which does attempt to go beyond organisational rhetoric, finds difficulties in operating within a confined space. It has to operate within rules of the dominant discourse. It is important to understand the background to IWAP's work in terms of discourse. Whilst efforts and directives were clearly calling for a paradigm shift in policy discourse, the conventions and norms of the wider IPPF seemed 'obstructive' to IWAP's ultimate aims.

IPPF clearly states in the GEP preamble that the adoption of a gender equity policy was a response to the recognition that empowering women is fundamental to IPPF's mission and goals. Moreover it stated that 'the gender equity policy is grounded in a holistic understanding of health and in the concepts of social justice and human rights for women, in the recognition that women and men have different needs and experiences' (1998i: 21). These sentiments are further supported in a statement on *A Holistic Approach to Women's Health* by IWAP. The panel notes that:

> 'primary health care, family planning and reproductive health services should seek to enable and enhance the self-empowerment of women and communities'. Moreover, in defining what empowerment means for FPAs, IWAP states that: 'empowerment of women in Family Planning Associations (FPAs) is an issue affecting women as clients, volunteers and staff. Greater participation of women at all levels of decision-making in FPAs can begin a spiral of empowerment that can lead to improved programmes, enhanced

quality of care, greater staff motivation and efficiency and effectiveness' (IPPF, 1994d: 5).

Whilst IWAP were on the one hand making clear their commitment to empowerment they were also advocating a 'trickle-down' strategy for gender orientated change.

It is almost a paradox then, that IWAP's contribution to the inception of the GEP was a recognition of the need to contextualise both the content of the policy and its implementation in a holistic orientated rationale for change. Yet, at the same time they advocated for a top-down approach through the focus on numbers. The final GEP directive, notwithstanding the preamble, focused almost exclusively on the quantitative aspects of their desire for substantive change. There was minimal recognition of the notions of difference and experience in the implementation directives themselves.

It is evident from the discussion above illustrating how the GEP was conceived that the Federation invested a considerable amount of time and effort as well as expectation in the policy itself. These expectations were rooted in both the internal and external desire for change which members of IWAP attempted to articulate at their meetings. The internal desire for change was articulated by Halfdan Mahler in his statement concerning inclusivity and the involvement of women, whilst the external desire for change was derived from reflecting changing global development priorities. These desires however, ran into obstacles when they explicitly called for extensive bottom-up reform, which would entail IPPF going beyond numerical adjustments in the form of 'quotas'. Resistance to change is endemic within all organisations, especially those that are still predicated on essentially modernist notions of development intervention such as medicalisation and managerialism.

5.2.4 Implementation and Limitations of the International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy

The GEP sets out some very concrete goals and the first part of the policy states that:

> 'IPPF and its FPAs should practice affirmative action in order to alter the balance in the numbers of men and women at all levels of decision-making in the volunteer bodies of the Federation, in favour of at least 50 per cent women' (IPPF, 2001g: 5).

Yet, a policy may not necessarily turn into concrete action or not be free from resistance. This was apparent in a survey carried out by IPPF's Global Advocacy Division, where it was found that the key barrier to implementing the GEP for many FPAs was the resistance from male decision-makers. The survey responses illustrate the problem with any gender policy that does not take into account existing structural barriers.

One of the dangers of IPPF's policy is that women are not included for their abilities to be part of the decision-making processes, but are perceived to be on a board merely to fill prescribed quotas. This point is highlighted in a statement by a former IWAP member who argues that 'with the benefit of hindsight, the one flaw in the gender equity policy was that the focus was very much on numbers rather than the quality of people' (Interview with former IWAP member, 2000).

More importantly this also highlights the risk that policy language may implicitly teach women to see themselves as victims, being powerless and oppressed, rather than focussing on the positive impact that they have on the Federation's work[45]. This once more focuses on the disjunction of various discourses, which underpin policy prescription. Whilst, the numbers are important the rationale behind the numbers is even more critical in addressing the need to impact decisive discourses within the various bodies.

[45] This point is illustrated by Arnfred (2000: 81) who argues that in her field work in Northern Mozambique she found that if women had been in contact with gender-and-development efforts, they would have acquired a language of women's subordination, having learned to see themselves as powerless and oppressed. They had *not* learned to see their importance in the family and in the community rituals as positions of power, not to perceive their knowledge and skills as valuable potentials.

The linguistic content of policy plays a key role in analysing the intent of its authors. When IPPF's GEP was first adopted it stated that 'operationalising affirmative action would include increasing the number of representatives to at least two, and making *at least* 50 cent of these women' (IPPF, 1995c: 3). From 1995 to 1998 the regions and their FPAs were, however, struggling to meet this challenge for various reasons. Some FPAs stated that they had found both institutional and cultural barriers in implementing the policy. Male resistance to open up more spaces was a frequently cited reason as well as lack of confidence amongst some women about entering decision-making bodies.

When the policy was reviewed in 1998 by the Member's Assembly the two words *'at least'* were deleted by the Central Council due to the difficulties experienced by some regions in meeting the *quota,* which was specified in the policy. The policy, then, rather than becoming a means towards opening up space for women became an area of resistance. The FPA experience of this aspect of the GEP was that it was extremely challenging to get women onto the boards. Instead of addressing the question of why this proved difficult, the Federation chose to amend the policy language to accommodate the problem. This also illustrates a fundamental flaw of the policy. From its very inception, there was no strategy in place that took account of the different local contexts, either in terms of providing support to assist the FPAs or providing financial assistance to facilitate the desired quota levels. The introduction of the GEP served to highlight the disjunction between the centre and the FPA. Disjunctions can undermine complex policy initiatives. This appears to be the case with the original draft of the GEP.

The issue of resistance and negotiation of power was further problematised when the Federation's governing structure was replaced in 1999. In place of a Member's Assembly there came a 'new and leaner' Governing Council consisting of thirty members. This was potentially a very significant change, as some feminists and development practitioners have argued that in order to have gender sensitive organisations, there is a need to reconstruct the organisations (Goetz, 2001; Jahan, 1997; Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997). Here was an opportunity for IPPF to create and build a new structure that could potentially assimilate the sentiments of the GEP and the wider gender discourse.

The commitment to ensure that 50 per cent of the members were women still remained in the policy of the new Governing Council, but 20 per cent of the Governing Council seats were now allocated to young people under the age of 25 (IPPF, 1998b: 89). This was, of course, a revolutionary move for an NGO to accommodate the voices of young people. Yet what is significant is that the new policy on IPPF's governance structure did not state that this allocation to youth should be gender specific[46]. This decision illustrates a tendency within IPPF to 'fence-off' thematics such as gender and youth rather than seeing these issues as mutually connected and, thus, inseparable especially with regard to policy formation. This also reinforces the fact that opening up spaces for young women is not an organisational priority even though the GEP states that operationalising affirmative action would include the recruitment of young women (1995c: 2). This could have been an opportunity for IPPF to ensure that women have access to decision-making processes from an early age and thereby gain the same exposure to political life as their male counterparts. The allocated number of young men and young women at the Central Governing Council meeting in 2000 did by coincidence consist of two young men and four young women[47], yet this was more a consequence of luck than design. The point, here, is that IPPF's new governing structure did not take gender composition into account when addressing youth and consequently it appears that issues of gender and youth are treated separately rather than as two related aspects wherein gender sensitive practices would feature.

[46] It is significant that young women tend to be actively involved in the field of sexual and reproductive health, yet this tendency slowly reverses as the young women grow up and their places are taken up by the male population. Evidence shows that young women are more actively involved in IPPF's activities than their male counterparts. IPPF has found it difficult to recruit young male volunteers, as the field of sexual and reproductive health is considered amongst young people to be a 'woman's issue'. However, this perception changes as they grow up when the positions involve remuneration and status as medical 'professionals'.

[47] This information is based upon an analysis of the participant list of the Governing Council meetings, which took place during 2000.

5.3 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy and its Practical Impact

Once every three years, the Governing Council reviews GEP progress. This means that the Gender and Youth Technical Officer at the central level has to prepare a document reporting the progress made by each region and its FPAs, which is subsequently submitted to the Governing Council[48]. During 1999 in preparing such a document and future recommendations, questionnaires were sent out to all the regions and the FPAs. The aim of the survey was to identify how FPAs had implemented the policy as well as the 'success rate' in ensuring that decision-making bodies had equal representation of men and women.

5.3.1 Family Planning Associations' Response to the International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy

Approximately 65% of the FPAs, which participated in the survey, responded that they had made progress in meeting the terms of the GEP. Many of the FPAs had managed to increase the number of women on their decision-making boards despite difficulties for some FPAs in meeting the required 50 per cent level. In 2000, 40% of FPA executive directors and 39% of FPA presidents were female (IPPF, 2001f: 4). Moreover, the FPAs reported that, in line with the *Vision 2000 Strategic Plan*, they had initiated projects focusing on women's empowerment and male participation[49]. Yet, one significant point here is that whilst many of the FPAs reported that they were making serious attempts to meet the criteria of the GEP, it appeared that in the majority of the FPAs, less than two per cent of the budget was allocated to gender related activities (Ibid: 9). This disparity lies at the heart of the contradiction within the GEP and highlights the key problem of 'gender mainstreaming' through directives. Targets were met and, in some cases, gender awareness was rising through organising gender training as well as workshops on gender, but at the substantive financial level

[48] This used to be done in collaboration with IWAP, but now the key responsibility of monitoring the policy lies with the Gender and Youth Technical Officer.

[49] Attempts by the FPAs to address women's empowerment and male participation within their projects will be discussed in more detail in *Chapter Six*.

the necessary commitment was not evident. Moreover this highlights the fact that FPAs do not have the resources to promote gender sensitive development and thereby sustain any long-term gender awareness. Thus, FPAs may report some of the activities, which attempt to mainstream gender 'thinking', but these may in fact be marginal compared to the other projects, which account for the majority of funding.

Implementation also affected the efficacy of the GEP, certainly in terms of how it was received by the FPAs. The policy was initiated at the central level. It was assumed that once the policy was in place, it would have a spiral[50] effect. Yet, in practice a different picture emerged, mainly due to the fact that the FPAs have had to meet the targets of equal participation, but at the same time have had few resources to promote the social changes required to ensure that women are actively encouraged to join decision-making boards. For example, this would require rescheduling of meeting times, due to women's domestic responsibilities, as well as developing women's confidence to participate in some specific activities. This involves a commitment to allocating resources spent on training and restructuring. There is no doubt that such issues have varied from region to region depending upon the political and cultural context of the area involved. This can be illustrated by looking at two regions, which have had two very different organisational experiences in implementing the policy.

5.3.2 Two Regional Responses

The Western Hemisphere's experience of getting women involved was less problematic than that of other regions for several reasons. The region already had a strong presence of women's social movements pressing for social change. Moreover, some considered the work within the Western Hemisphere as having preceded IPPF's GEP. As one respondent pointed out:

> 'I think our region is lucky in not having to use a policy as a kind of stick, but this does not suggest that our region has won the battle and we still have a long way to go in achieving gender equity'. (Interview carried out with staff member in the Western Hemisphere Regional Office in September 1999).

[50] Phrase used by IWAP in their preamble – see also page 183.

The region has made some headway in terms of getting women involved on decision-making boards and moreover staff and volunteers have initiated pilot-projects promoting women's sexual and reproductive rights. Yet, as one programme officer from the region pointed out:

> 'when feminists look at FPAs they still see a sort of large medical- orientated and male-dominated organisation....so, although we have done a lot, it has been a pilot project and although new methodologies and approaches have been developed it is not as if it has blossomed everywhere in region and a lot still needs to be done'. (Interview with regional staff member, 2000)

The South Asian region, on the other hand, reported that women 'were not willing to get involved at the decision-making level'[51] which regional and FPA staff construed as being the results of the social and cultural processes within the region. Many of the South Asian FPAs reported that the GEP had complications for them as a region as there were confusions as to what the definitions of gender mainstreaming, gender equity and gender equality entail. The region was 'handed' a policy, which did not address the region's social realities such as the difficulty in recruiting women for specific decision-making bodies. As a result they found it problematic to implement the policy. This goes to the heart of the problem of IPPF's GEP. The focus on numbers only exacerbates the pre-existing disparities between cultures and their approaches to sexual and reproductive health. In not attending to the importance of cultural discourse, difference and particularity, the quantitative prescriptions of the GEP fail to realise the complex goals of gender mainstreaming, which was the underlying aim.

The above examples highlight the complexity of implementing a policy within a global Federation. Each FPA will, and rightly so, interpret the policy differently and the notion of gender equity will have different connotations according to the regional context. The practitioners and IPPF's service users may perceive 'progress', 'development' and 'gender equity' very differently from the actual makers of the

[51] Quote from the monitoring report on IPPF's policy on gender equity published by IPPF in 2001c.

policy. The notion of 'gender' has tended to be taken as a given within the central level of the Federation due to the dominant discourse on gender and development. This becomes problematic when it is further reinforced through policy-making. The way these two regions have dealt with the GEP illustrate the complexity of deriving and shaping a universal plan, which is not designed to account for significant cultural differences existing globally. This point is explored by Walker, who argues that:

> 'while procedures supply a clear operational framework, and rules of engagement and minimum standards, people always provide the driving force'. (Walker, 1999: 103)

It is therefore not sufficient to have a policy in place, if the organisation does not have individuals who are committed to change or are circumscribed by a dominant culture, which mitigates against that change and continues to attempt to universalise lived experiences and capture them in a single instrument.

5.4 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy – Contested Space

In conceptualising the impact of the GEP, it is crucial to analyse it within the broad context of its application, bearing in mind the complexity of IPPF as a Federation. Clearly, as pointed out above, each region and even each FPA has a different perception of gender, gender equity and gender mainstreaming, as well as different organisational power points, and the GEP will inevitably be subject to both regional and local interpretations. Indeed gender equity may not be perceived as an 'urgent' priority in countries where there is constant tension between the FPA and the government[52].

In contrast other FPAs may already be in the process of promoting gender equity within their policies and programmes, and, thus, do not consider the GEP as relevant to them as they believe that gender is already a priority. The point is highlighted by the experience of the European region, which in 1995 reported to the

[52] Many FPAs in the South are operating in a hostile political environment due to their stand on safe abortion.

Member's Assembly that the majority of their Board members were women; a move to 'gender equity' would therefore involve attracting more men to work as volunteers for the association (IPPF, 1995d: 1). The reaction of the European region is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, has the high number of women on decision-making bodies had a positive effect in terms of gender mainstreaming? Secondly, is there a case to redress this imbalance by trying to get more men on the boards? Both these questions have implications for the gender discourse in IPPF. If numbers are the key to gender equity, the European region must be 'perfectly' gender aware. Yet, if this is not the case, then it highlights the critical point that numbers alone do not entail gender equity.

During the research it became evident that some FPAs within the European region are not aware of the fact that IPPF has a GEP and it appears that those who are, are not necessarily familiar with the content of the policy. One executive FPA director pointed out that:

> 'the policy has not appeared to be one of IPPF's main priorities because if it was, I'm sure we would have been better informed about its purpose' (Interview carried out at an FPA in January 2000).

Furthermore, a survey carried out by myself in 1998 showed that 25 per cent of a group of FPA volunteers representing all six regions had never seen a copy of the policy[53]. This illustrates the complexity of a Federal structure as there appears to be a gap between the local level and the central level. This gap may potentially be widened even further if there is little commitment from the top of the organisation to engage with a transformative agenda, which would involve scrutinising its own organisational structures to make it more gender sensitive.

It could be argued that on paper IPPF is committed to gender equity due to the fact that it has developed a policy on gender, but in reality a different picture is emerging. Put in those terms it is very difficult to say whether 'a' GEP is a valid vehicle for effecting change. IPPF's GEP has on the one hand given a specific group

[53] Survey carried out at the Member's Assembly in Prague. (IPPF, 1998).

of women a very concrete tool to engage in the Federation's discursive space, but, given the narrow scope of the policy, two issues come into focus. The first pertains to the possibility of utilising qualitative oriented directives as instruments of change. Secondly, there is moreover ambiguity and illusiveness in gender mainstreaming as a substantive and defined goal.

5.4.1 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy - A Valid Vehicle in Promoting Change?

In assessing to what extent the policy has been successful in contributing to IPPF's conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming, it is critical to appreciate that change will not be substantive simply by implementing a gender equity policy. Rather one needs to look at IPPF as a whole and at the different layers of power, which exist within the Federation's structures. All NGOs, including IPPF, are a product of their histories. Understanding the location of the forces for change in the Federation that support the aims of the GEP helps our understanding of the impact of the policy upon IPPF's gender discourse.

In Walker's analysis of Oxfam's attempt to introduce gender sensitive policies, she argues that the gender team at Oxfam's office in the UK represented a sub-culture alongside the dominant culture[54]. However, as demonstrated in *Chapter Four*, IPPF does not appear to have reached the point where gender mainstreaming has taken on the characteristics of representing a culture within IPPF. It has been a constant area of struggle and resistance. Where gender has been a key priority, it has been a consequence of effort by key individuals. This is reflected in a comment made by a former volunteer who argued that:

> 'the shift from focusing on gender to that of youth was a very conscious decision taken by IPPF's management as it had become apparent that IPPF

[54] Oxfam International is a confederation of twelve non-governmental Organisations working together in more than 80 countries to find lasting solutions to poverty, suffering and injustice. The Oxfams are strategic funders of development projects; provide emergency relief in times of crisis; and campaign for social and economic justice (Oxfam, 2001: 1).

was not in a position to be the leading advocate of promoting gender'. (Interview with former volunteer, January 2000).

The above point is crucial in understanding the effect and impact of a Gender Equity Policy within IPPF's organisational discourse as well as the way in which gender mainstreaming has been conceptualised by the Federation. As noted in the previous chapter IPPF's discourse formation has been characterised by a dominant medical influence whereby women's sexual and reproductive health was initially considered as an object of scientific exploration. The issue concerning discourse is reflected in a comment made by senior member of the central staff who states that:

> 'in the sixties family planning became accessible to male medics and ever since then IPPF has increasingly had to negotiate relations between male and female volunteers and staff. As a consequence there has been a period of about thirty years in which the field of family planning was dominated by male medics who realised that this was a field in which they could make an international career'.
>
> (Interview with Central senior staff member, January, 2001).

Given IPPF's traditional but changing discourses, the implementation of a GEP cannot by itself change these deeply embedded discourses, which have characterised the Federation throughout its history. A more fundamental transformation is needed, which would require changing the organisational structures, processes as well as relationships and accommodating the different needs of both men and women. This would involve acknowledging the existence of power systems that have persisted over a long period of time, and which moreover have reinforced each other.

5.4.2 Short-Term Measure – Long-Term Effect?

The objective of the GEP was to 'empower' women in gaining access to decision-making bodies, which in turn would make them more visible within IPPF. However, there is a critical problem, which underpins this type of assimilation as it uses elements from the WID framework whereby women are characterised as victims

rather than active agents of change. The emphasis of the policy of targeting women as a group encouraging affirmative action, contradicts a key element of gender mainstreaming seen from a feminist perspective. The key issue from this perspective is to recognise the power relations between men and women and take the different realities of the two genders into account when implementing policies and initiating programmes. At the heart of this contradiction is the implicit 'problematisation' of the notion of women within the development narrative. The policy, in advocating certain 'special' spaces for women within the Federation's bureaucracy consolidates the differentiation between men and women in a way, which does not address the power relations, which actually sustain this difference.

A lot of resources were initially spent designing and promoting the GEP. This was reflected in the decision to send two volunteers from each FPA to the MA in order to ensure that one man and one woman would be attending (Wadia, 2001: 474). Moreover, resources were spent on the sustaining of the IWAP panel to give continuing advice to the Federation on women's issues. Yet, these dedicated resources were not sustained into the longer term. This was evident at the very last IWAP meeting held at the London Central Office, where it was agreed by IPPF's new management to close down the IWAP panel. Instead it was proposed to recruit a consultant who would develop a strategy on how best to move the policy forward (IPPF, 1998i: 5). This appointment, however, never materialised and this exemplifies how gender often becomes de-prioritised as an issue or re-conceptualised as a 'specialism', manageable via consultancy, rather than working through the difficult issues presented by fulfilling gender sensitivity directives fully. Moreover, the institutional response to IWAP being phased out, was to say that IPPF was ready to 'gender mainstream'. It was argued that the Federation should not have a separate panel on gender, but rather incorporate the gender experts into the existing medical panel (Ibid: 7). This did not materialise either as no IWAP member was offered a position on the medical panel. However, the Central Office's youth and gender technician at the time and a gender 'expert' from the Western Hemisphere Regional Office were called in when the medical panel made a statement on gender based violence.

Once again this highlights the danger of misusing the notion of gender mainstreaming. Women's issues may be excluded from mainstreaming agendas, by rejecting the use of an 'expert' panel, gender consultants and gender training. It is a contradiction of the gender mainstreaming thesis to dissolve a gender-orientated panel on the basis of incorporating them into another specialist panel and then not to do so. Gender mainstreaming can quite easily become a kind of bureaucratic 'excuse' for the removal of gender steering bodies; having the correct number of women in key roles, 'means' an organisation is gender mainstreamed and thus, gender bodies such as IWAP can disappear as 'their work is done'. This only serves to neutralise the notion of gender within the development discourse and illustrates how the discourse is challenged and contested according to the visions and values of management. In 1995 there was a change in IPPF's management at the central level[55]. As a consequence the Federation's agenda was reviewed and new priorities emerged, to some extent replacing the earlier commitment to promoting gender equity. With the arrival of a new Director General the emphasis was now very much on youth. This was evident in the Annual Report, where the key focus of the new Director General's speech was primarily about young people and their needs as opposed to the promotion of an agenda, which would promote gender equity and ensure that women's empowerment would be a priority for the Federation (IPPF, 1996: 4).

The rationale of IPPF's GEP was that the presence of women within political institutions is significant as they are more likely than men to raise women's issues. This supposedly can enable them to become crosscutting issues within the Federation's programmes and policies. Yet, several scholars have suggested that recruiting more women does not necessarily change organisational discourses on gender and has not led to a significant shift in the balance of power between men and women (Goetz, 1998; Hannan, 2000; 1992; Miller, 1998). In fact women entering political spaces through patronage and patriarchal structures are unlikely to challenge the structures that brought them to power and to champion the women's cause (Taylor, 2000: 22). Yet, there is no doubt that the policy has opened up spaces for

[55] In 1995, Attiya Inayatullah from Pakistan, took on the role as the IPPF President, from Fred Sai and the Director General Halfdan Mahler completed his final term and was succeeded by Ingar Brueggemann.

women within IPPF, which is very positive and moreover the policy has given scope for dialogue and debate on the importance of gender issues. The very fact that certain groups have been contesting the space opened up to women would suggest that the policy has had some impact in shaking up the existing status quo.

Rather than filling quotas, it may be argued that IPPF needs to ask why there has been such a lack of gender awareness in an organisation, which throughout its own history has been working on issues, which to a significant extent affect women's experiences. As this has not been addressed adequately by IPPF, it appears that the policy has taken on the features of an 'insurance policy', which does not get much attention by the Federation itself, unless questioned by donors. There is a real gap between practice and theory i.e. on paper, gender is taken seriously, but in reality a different and very contradictory picture is emerging which suggests that whilst positions are being filled by the correct number of men and women, the plurality of voices cannot be heard above the medical and family planning narratives which still predicate IPPF's existence. The issue of tokenism, to a large extent, shapes IPPF's discourse on gender as the policy encourages female participation on the one hand, but neutralises the issue of why so few women have been involved in influencing decision-making throughout IPPF's organisational history. The GEP falls short of its own goals by not addressing the fundamental impediments to sustainable and cross-gender engagement.

5.5 Concluding Comments

This chapter has illustrated, through reviewing the various aspects of IPPF's GEP, how complex designing and implementing policies is and how difficult it is to thoroughly understand the nature of gender mainstreaming. In previous chapters I have illustrated and argued extensively that gender mainstreaming presents development NGOs with a paradox in terms of interpretation over meaning and an insurmountable problematic in terms of implementation. This discussion has further illustrated the complexity of this problem, not least because of the nature of NGOs and the confusion and contentions within gender mainstreaming itself.

The two issues of interpretation and implementation are interconnected through the problem of meaning within gender mainstreaming. A dichotomy between

interpretations, which favour the 'mainstreaming' elements of the strategy over the theoretical 'gender' interpretations extends beyond academic debate over gender mainstreaming into the practical domain of NGOs and other organisations attempting to adopt gender mainstreamed inspired principles. It is apposite and not surprising then, that IPPF's GEP should encounter and be surrounded by the kind of issues and problems, which have dogged its inception and limited its effectiveness. These issues stem from the contradictions within the unresolved contentions within gender mainstreaming itself.

The key findings of this chapter serve to illustrate two aspects of the problem of gender mainstreaming. Firstly the paradox of interpretation as outlined above and secondly, how certain organisations have chosen to focus on the 'mainstreaming' aspects of the strategy rather than try resolving the paradox for themselves and work through the implications of interpreting gender as dynamic, changing and asymmetrical. IPPF's GEP is an example of a directive, which has chosen the modernist route of constructing a policy, which favours quantitative targeting in the belief that 'getting this right' will have the right effect further down the organisation. It is modernist because it is predicated on the assumption that gender is trans-personal, trans-cultural and can be abstracted into a set of reified features capable of standing for all women, everywhere and at all times. The gender in gender mainstreaming as defined within IPPF's GEP is in a sense aligned to the mainstreaming principles of the policy. That is, if gender is universal, then having sufficient representation on decision-making bodies will effect substantial change as the representatives can 'speak for all women'. It is this obscuration, which I believe illustrates several concerns regarding IPPF itself. It is important to appreciate whether this interpretation of gender mainstreaming and the subsequent GEP suggests IPPF is confused or have seen the paradox as an opportunity to restrict its gender sensitising process across the Federation.

Policy-making is a crucial arena of power, guarded by what are often very powerful gatekeepers whose interests may lie primarily in preserving or extending

what Bourdieu refers to as the 'symbolic capital'[56], which they have already accumulated. IPPF is undoubtedly protective about who decides what, this can be seen in the relatively centralised nature of its governing structures. The involvement of IWAP in shaping the GEP and its reluctant acceptance of the quantitative content of the GEP illustrates the extent of the limits on what can be considered as acceptable by IPPF's stakeholders. Similarly, the lack of depth within the GEP reflects the fact that IPPF has never been able to 'sell' itself as a gendered organisation in spite of the fact that it initially grew out of women's efforts to improve the conditions of women who did not have access to contraception. The medical discourse within IPPF has continued to dominate its institutional narrative, which has tended to exclude gender in a substantive way. The fact that IPPF has transferred its attentions, in recent years from gender to youth and more recently HIV/AIDS also tells us something about its prioritisation of gender versus its desire to remain mainstream and globally significant.

This movement from issue to issue is compounded by the fact that key strategic gender sensitising bodies within IPPF have been removed; particularly the IWAP panel that provided the space for staff and representatives to debate gender issues. As described above the rationale for the closure of IWAP is concerning, in that it was implied that the GEP had made such a panel redundant, in so far as 'its job had been done'. This suggests in quite strong terms that IPPF accepted the restrictions on gender empowerment implied within the excessively numerical GEP targets. It also indicates the extent to which IPPF felt it had exhausted its resources in terms of fulfilling its gender mainstreaming credentials. One conclusion this suggests is that the Federation had done enough to placate its donors through the GEP and now

[56] Bourdieu (1991) argues that just as social classes and groups have unequal access to money (capital) and hence to power, so they possess unequal cultural capital and symbolic power. Bourdieu concentrated primarily on the education system, which operates as a mechanism for the distribution and grading of diverse cultural capital and thus reproduces underlying class relations. According to Bourdieu, a dominant class has the symbols (language, culture etc.) through which it can establish hegemony. The working classes may obtain the qualifications necessary for a job, but the employer may prefer certain ill-defined social characteristics, which are a function of the applicant's cultural capital.

needed to concern itself with its 'core business' of family planning and sexual and reproductive health.

IPPF's GEP may not be as useful in promoting social change as one could have wished, mainly because it has the key characteristics of a modernist framework, where crucial issues such as patriarchy and power relations are not addressed at the heart of the policy process. Rather it equates inequity with numbers and, thus, creates a policy, which only addresses numbers and not the substance of the discourse, which binds the numbers. As Cockburn (1989: 217) points out policies of equal opportunities and gender equity have tended to be about maintaining power, not changing it.

Chapter 6

Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice

This chapter explores the various dichotomies, which could potentially circumvent NGOs' efforts to effect substantial and permanent change within their client communities. The themes to be explored have at their centre the potential contradiction between the centrally conceived policies, which aim to bring about change through empowering individuals along the lines of context driven solutions and the pressures of modernity and 'managerialism', which militate against these desires. There is then a disjuncture between the theoretical and policy driven aims of NGOs and the practical application of those policies. The gap is brought about by two factors; the continuing predominance of modernist understandings of service users experiences and secondly the potential inadequacies inherent within the monitoring and evaluation techniques employed by NGOs to ensure their targets and quotas are met in order to satisfy donor demands. Analysing this potential gap is central to understanding the explicit and implicit issues, which appear to problematise the whole gender mainstreaming project. The central contribution of this chapter to understanding the potential for a gender mainstreaming focused development thesis, is deconstructing the various relationships between actors, influences, pressures and interpretations, which surround the process of transforming theory into substantial programme frameworks.

In analysing IPPF's programmes I will be able to illustrate in a more detailed way the various contours and connections between IPPF's policy discourse and the practical applications of these discourses. Understanding the shaping, implementation and monitoring of certain programmes is an essential analytical tool for exploring extensive gender content and the nature of that content. An NGO's programme portfolio will undoubtedly be where that organisation both attempts to make its mark and deliver on its stated policy goals. Programmes are where the intentions, desires and motivations of an organisation negotiate, assimilate and affect the experiences of its service users with the aim of effecting a set of circumstances. Programmes are therefore the practical manifestation of policy discourse and analysing them is

essential in providing a holistic and complete picture of how an NGO, like IPPF, in this context operates as a service deliverer. There are several key components to this chapter, which when analysed will illustrate both the effectiveness of IPPF as 'gender champion' and the problems experienced by any NGO wanting to effect radical gender oriented change. Again, the aim of this chapter will be to illustrate the potential paradoxes and contradictions, which flow from the rationale behind certain programmes and policy aims. Whilst I am not presupposing the existence of these contradictions, I will explore the possibility of their existence as a set of related obstacles. All of these have implications for NGOs in general to understand the reality of empowerment across different contexts and the role of this type of empowerment in sustainable change.

The primary research focus for this exploration is the portfolio of programmes within IPPF's *Vision 2000 Fund*. More than any other set of IPPF practical aims, the *Vision 2000 Fund* is the most comprehensively articulated set of practical directives covering sexual and reproductive health. As already seen in *Chapter Two*, the *Vision 2000 Fund* grew out of the re-alignment in development thinking from family planning to sexual and reproductive health and this is demonstrated in the Fund's overall remit, which is to serve as a catalyst to help FPAs incorporate key *Vision 2000* strategies into their own strategic plans by implementing the Federation's own strategic plan (Vision, 2000, 1996: 3). Between 1996 and 2002, the *Vision 2000 Fund* had funded 36 projects addressing the Federation's objectives as outlined in their Strategic Plan. Throughout this chapter I aim to 'unpack' the various sexual and reproductive health projects through a thematic analysis of some of the key issues, which the Fund has prioritised. This will serve to provide a more holistic picture of the way in which gender and the notion of mainstreaming is conceptualised at the programmatic level.

6.1 New Priorities - Empowerment, Male Involvement and Participation

It is often implicit in the shift in thinking from family planning to sexual and reproductive health that there is value and moreover virtue in the notion of empowerment orientated solutions. This is predicated on the notion that empowerment is in a very real sense 'better' than an overtly modernist approach,

which compromises individuality for pragmatic results. At the heart of this is the proposition that there is 'a valuable' distinction between an empowered woman from the South and that same woman practising birth control. According to advocates of this new paradigm, the differentiation between the two women rests on the individual, social and economic ramifications of the critical components: empowerment, participation and male involvement.

6.1.1 Women's Empowerment

Empowerment has evolved concurrently with the 'bottom-up' approach to development as theorists and practitioners grappled with the challenge of articulating an alternative vision to modernisation and a new framework of development (Singh and Titi, 1995: 13). Whilst the theoretical implications of empowerment have already been discussed in *Chapter One*, this section attempts to understand how empowerment has been conceptualised by IPPF in practical terms and how this in turn is reflected in their programmatic approaches explicit within *Vision 2000*.

Empowerment's contribution to the programmatic context in terms of project implementation has at its centre the need for the service users to have the ability to affect their own choices in an informed way, which is directly connected to their individual lived experiences, aspirations and social circumstances. Goetz articulates this notion in the context of gender by stating that:

> 'it is essential that gender concerns are integrated into programme aid development prior to the approval stage as the very choice of programme support instruments can prejudice gender-equitable outcomes' (Goetz, 1996: 18).

Goetz's point is that gender is an empowerment issue in the sense that gender is one of the critical elements of lived experience and this is essential for programme planning and implementation. To misplace it in the formulation of programmes could be detrimental to the effectiveness of a programme, but could also negatively affect the sustainability of the programme in the long run.

IPPF's definition and practical goal of empowerment was adopted as part of the Federation's *Vision 2000* strategy and is outlined as follows:

> 'to actively work for the establishment of equal rights for women to enable them to exercise control over their own reproductive and sexual health choices' (IPPF, 1996a: 19).

It is interesting then to look at the composition of the *Vision 2000 Fund's* portfolio of empowerment and gender-orientated projects. The table below illustrates that between 1994 and 2002 only 4.33% of *Vision 2000* funding was allocated to this objective, whereas 54.02% was allocated to objective 8, which sets out to expand the number of available, accessible and appropriate sexual health services, including family planning, to those who need and want them. The remaining 40% of the budget is mainly spread amongst objectives five, six and nine; objective six, which concerns youth, receives four times the amount of funding allocated to women's equality and empowerment.

Objectives	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**
Budget Allocation (%)	0.0	3.4	4.33	0.26	9.66	16.34	2.36	54.02	3.34	0.0	4.75	0.07	1.47

Table 6. 1

Source: IPPF, Analysis of V2F Funding by IPPF Objective, 2001f: 160

The following discussion will concentrate on the nine projects, which according to *Vision 2000* meet the requirements of objective three (IPPF, Ibid: 168)[57].

Project Name	**Location**	**Description**	**Objectives**
Reproductive Health and Sexually Transmitted Disease Activities (consolidated) USAID	Cape Verde	The aim of this project is to cooperate with other NGOs (2 women's NGOs and 2 youth NGOs) as equal partners in a project. This will improve the policy environment for SRH influencing the shift from FP to SRH.	• To support the expansion and improvement of SRH information and services in Cape Verde through partnership network of 7 local grantees.

[2] See *Chapter Two* for a more detailed outline and discussion of the Federation's thirteen Vision 2000 objectives.

Integration of Women in Reproductive Health Activities	Cote D'Ivoire	The FPA set out to provide services in two geographical areas of the country where reproductive health coverage is very poor and fertility is high. Project activities covers a population of 1,161, 830 in two regions, The project's Information, Education and Communication strategy incorporates women in outreach activities, particularly at the community level. A women's empowerment component has provided women with legal advice and support for revenue generating activities. To meet the needs of youth the FPA set out to provide sexual health education through schools.	• To increase contraceptive prevalence from 2% to 10% by 2001 in the two target regions. • Increase the availability of reproductive health services and improve the existing ones. • Integrate a woman's legal clinic and a micro-credit programme to support the women's empowerment component.
Social Mobilisation and Development of Family Planning Services	Guinea Conakry	This project aims at expanding services through the integration of services into 17 existing Government facilities. The intention has been to integrate family planning services into health centres and outreach has been supported by community-based distribution services. Community and religious leaders and government officials have been mobilised at all levels to assist project implementation.	• To increase contraceptive prevalence in its target area from 0.3% to 25%. • To improve acceptance of family planning services among the population through sensitising community, religious leaders and 20,000 people on family planning. • To improve quality of care by training 18 community animators in IEC and 88 health centre personnel in contraceptive technology. • To increase access to SRH services through integrating family planning services into 17 existing health centres and implementing CBD programmes in 85 villages. • To improve the institutional and management capacity of the FPA.
Integrated Reproductive Health Centre Projects	Sudan	This project set out to establish 12 integrated reproductive health clinics in 12 governorates around Sudan. The FPA aimed at providing information on reproductive health for men, women and youth through local meetings and radio programmes. Moreover, services were also provided at the village level.	• To increase access to high quality reproductive health services including family planning through the establishment of 12 clinics and community based services. • To raise knowledge and awareness of women, men and youth in the project target areas on sexual and reproductive health.
Reproductive Health Provisional Network	Vietnam	The purpose of this project has been to increase access and quality of family planning and reproductive health. Services to marginalised communities through the development of provincial reproductive health network comprising two static reproductive health centres, mobile teams and community health workers. The project is implemented in two of the poorest provinces in Vietnam with a high proportion of ethnic minority groups, which have remained marginalised and under-served by FP/RH services. The FPA is working in partnership with the government who has encouraged the FPA to support and complement its efforts in extending and improving family planning services.	• To introduce quality RH services at provincial, district and commune level. • Improve knowledge and utilisation of all contraceptives currently provided in the family planning programme and pilot new methods as appropriate. • Improve access to RH and MCH services in remote and under-served areas. • Increase knowledge and awareness of family planning and reproductive heath generally, emphasising the health benefits of spacing and limiting childbirth. • Encourage service provision that is responsive to the needs of the clients.
Community Ownership of Reproductive Health Initiatives	Bangladesh	This project provides prenatal and postnatal services, maternal nutrition, screening of high-risk pregnancies, immunisation and breast-feeding. The	• To address reproductive health issues including safe motherhood services in two low performing divisions.

		project puts a particular emphasis on community-based and outreach services to maximise access to rural and marginalised women.	
Small Family By Choice	India	Small Family by Choice is the largest project of the FPA in India. The project is achievement-orientated by design having set numerical targets from the outset, which are focused in family planning and meeting the unmet need. However, following the Vision 200 Strategic Plan, the original approach was extended from a singular family planning perspective, to include a broad range of reproductive and sexual and health services, child health and immunisation, gender issues and the empowerment of women.	• To contribute to the national family welfare programme by demonstrating effective and efficient strategies enabling people to seek reproductive health and family planning in three of the most needs districts in the state of Madhya Preadesh, namely: Bhopal, Vidisha and Sagar with a total population of 3.9 million living in 4365 villages.
Challenges for Change	Nepal	The project has set out to provide service delivery system based on community participation, the provision of injectables at village levels, the mobilisation of youth and women's groups for promotion of SRH.	• To improve the access to RH care services in two low performance areas.
Family Planning on the Doorstep	Pakistan	The rational of the project is to experiment with an integrated community-based health and development approach to achieve the main objective of increasing the use of FP/RH services and foster the full involvement of communities.	• Expand family planning and reproductive health services.

Table 6.2

One of the *Vision 2000 Fund*'s key focuses has been that of educational projects, which target women. It is often assumed that 'educated' and 'empowered' women have smaller families and, whilst several scholars[58] (Cleland and Jejeebhoy, 1996; Jeffery and Jeffery, 1998; Ravindran, 1993) have sometimes contested the nature of this hypothesis, many Northern and Southern NGOs operate according to this principle. IPPF's strategy of 'empowering' women has primarily been with a focus on income generation activities as well as education schemes related to sexual and reproductive health matters.

A *Vision 2000*-funded project in Nepal, used income generation activities as a measure for poverty alleviation. Women were given loans for activities such as pig

[58] These scholars have argued that whilst maternal schooling is the strongest predictor of fertility in many countries experiencing decline in fertility, these statistical relationships are not straightforward. Jeffery and Jeffery (1998: 245) suggest that the overall level of schooling achievements in a locality makes a considerable difference to whether there are any clear contrasts between schooled and unschooled women.

rearing, carpet weaving and pot making. It was reported by one of IPPF's evaluation teams that:

> 'the loans are of great value to the recipients and generate goodwill towards the projects within the community. They are important for women's empowerment and poverty alleviation since women are among the poorest members of society. Having their own income has given women much more confidence and pride within their families and communities' (*Vision 2000*, 1998: 29)[59].

Whilst this method of empowerment may have immediate and very real benefits for the recipient, it is also a reflection of the broader and given notion that women are potentially dualistic in their role.

The focus on empowerment in this context is not neutral in terms of its impact on fertility-levels. The *Vision 2000 Fund* advocates that the enhancement of economic well-being is both efficient and effective in affecting the sexual and reproductive health of a particular group – women. In targeting this group, the *Vision 2000 Fund* makes clear its willingness to 'abstract out' instrumental social actors to realise a goal. This highlights a critical issue at the heart of my post-structuralist analysis. It would seem perfectly acceptable to say 'so what?' given that the goal is achieved through a fairer means of affecting that goal. Whilst there is meaning to this challenge, it makes clear the point of my critique. The objectification, whilst ostensibly 'fairer and equitable' in many ways, still tends to abstract out women from their wider context and social relations with the other gender groups and thereby still consolidates the general development practise of objectifying women as means rather than ends.

There is a tendency within some of the nine projects to treat sex characteristics as the main causes of difference between men and women and this underestimates the wider context of inequalities in social processes, which impact women's and men's different experiences. This can be seen in the evaluation report covering a project

[59] Source: *Vision 2000* (1998) 'Challenges for Change' A project of the Family Association of Nepal'

implemented by the Family Life Association of Swaziland. Here the evaluation team concluded that:

> 'One positive aspect of the project is that it has targeted marginalised groups, especially women who, as a result of their living in traditionally male dominated societies, do not often have access to and control over resources' (*Vision 2000*, 1999: 6)[60].

It is implicit in the description used by the *Vision 2000* evaluation team that women are not only considered as a marginalised group, but more significantly they are seen as passive victims within a male dominated society.

Comments like these tend to suggest that little effort is made to understand women's financial and social position within the programme area and rather than addressing this issue, women are summed up as being 'marginalised'. In labeling women as marginalised in the terms of the project, it is implied that they are effectively powerless; projects, which are predicated on this assumption, fail to acknowledge existing or potential empowering opportunities within the social structures. This is reflected in further comments in the evaluation report, which claim that, 'More significantly, these women do not have any control over their own sexuality' (*Vision 2000*, 1999: 6). This statement is uninformative and suggests that the lives of women in Swaziland are characterised by subjugation and powerlessness.

The approach to gender and empowerment adopted by the *Vision 2000 Fund* is problematic for several reasons. Firstly, women are implicitly sectioned into a homogeneous category with universal content, whilst the reality is that gender is pluralistic in terms of content, which is circumscribed by culture and context. There is also a theoretical flaw in the *Vision 2000* thinking in that their rationale is predicated on the presumption that gender sensitive programmes are also empowerment orientated programmes in the sense that gender equates with empowerment. There is a demarcation between the sexes within the programmes. Gender is predominantly seen

[60] Source: *Vision 2000* (1999) *Male Involvement*, A Project of the Family Planning Association of Swaziland.

as synonymous with women and men are 'meta-gendered', that is beyond the concepts, which constitutes our understanding of gender.

In practical terms empowerment has tended to be conceptualised as a strategy, which primarily targets women. Giving women the tools to 'empower' themselves, may by a positive strategy, but there is also a need to address the implications of the power shift, which may occur as a result of this. These implications are reflected in the evaluation of one of the *Vision 2000* projects in India, entitled 'Small Family by Choice'[61]. It had as an objective to:

> 'contribute to national family welfare programmes by demonstrating effective and efficient strategies for accelerating the adoption of a small family norm in three of the most needy districts in the state of Madhya Pradesh in India' (*Vision 2000*, 1998a: 8).

The evaluation report, which assessed the mid-term status of this project states that 'we are concerned that they (empowerment activities) may not lead to the long-term empowerment of women or promote gender equity' (Ibid: 29). The evaluators went on to locate their concerns in a crucial area. They stated that:

'The project has adopted a 'women in development' strategy rather than a 'gender and development' strategy. It has a charitable welfare approach to women, and is not based on an in-depth analysis of gender issues that would lead toward empowerment of both sexes and more rapid and equitable development' (Ibid: 29).

This statement is important as it acknowledges the importance of context and gender issues when approaching the issue of empowerment.

The above example illustrates the need for NGOs and the international community to examine and address the existing unequal structures, which circumvent the experiences of service users living in the South. This entails utilising tools, which acknowledge and make sense of the importance of difference. Empowerment, if it is

[61] Source: Vision 2000 (1998) 'Small Family by Choice' A Project of the Family Association of India

to be advocated within programmes in the South, needs to be conceptualised in a manner, which is not universal with regard to context. For empowerment to deliver change and change, which is sustainable it needs to be predicated on an acknowledgement of the importance of difference so that the programmes utilises existing power structures as well as seeking to influence them.

There is also a need to look beyond what appear to be, ostensibly at least, examples of successful empowerment. Interventions need to be sensitive to context and this means considering the social ramifications of what may be potentially attractive empowering techniques. For each empowering effect there will be a 'downside' for example the empowering effects of credit on some women (more control over household finances), the disempowering effects (men threatened by such changes resort to domestic violence), the potential of gendered partnerships achieved through household negotiation (men and women agreeing on the use of credit to the benefit of the household) and the severe limitations of such interventions (the money gained is small in quantity and does little to address structural poverty (Goetz and Sen Gupta, 1996). An example of women's empowerment often quoted is that of the women's anti-liquor campaigns in India in which direct action ensures that poor men are prevented from spending their money on alcohol. But studies on poor working men in India give us an insight into why they drink so much; the daily remorseless effort of heavy labouring jobs for low wages makes alcohol a practical escape from grim reality (Jackson 1998). This point raises the issue of male involvement, which has developed into a central area of development thinking.

6.1.2 Male Involvement

As already discussed above, men have often been the 'invisible gender' within family planning. Programmes in the past have tended to operate as though contraceptive users have primarily been women (Correa 1994; Hartman, 1995 and Escobar, 1995). This often exclusive focus on women has ignored the potential primarily offered by 'male methods' of contraception such as condoms and vasectomies, which as argued by Kabeer, are often cheaper, safer and simpler than female methods (Kabeer, 1992: 18). At the ICPD in 1994, it was formally recognised that men's participation was needed in order to improve the sexual and reproductive

health status of the world population. This emphasis on involving men was in response to the increasingly high rates of HIV/AIDS[62]. This is highlighted by a UNFPA report on male involvement, which states that:

> 'the HIV/AIDS pandemic has reached such an extent that educating men directly on the risks and consequences of HIV/AIDS and STDs should be regarded as a compulsory basic strategy in effective AIDS and STD prevention programmes'. (UNFPA, 1995: 15)

Men have throughout the 1990s increasingly become the new target group for family planners in order to inform them of the risks involved in having unsafe sex and more importantly to address the consequences of 'promiscuous lifestyles'. There was then a key shift in the language and approach of donors and governments; from having exclusively focused on women, men were now being brought into the domain of sexual and reproductive health, a domain, which was traditionally associated with women. Whilst the inclusion of men in the sexual and reproductive health programme focus is in itself a step forward in development thinking, it also illustrates a disjuncture in the nature and conceptualisation of gender thinking. In this context, men are conceived as an end in themselves. This stands in contrast to the way in which women are conceived in the development process i.e. men are valued as ends in themselves whereas there is a tendency to see women as a means to a greater end.

Since 1994 the notion of male involvement has formed a crucial component in development thinking and many NGOs such as Oxfam, Action Aid and the Save the Children have increasingly initiated programmes and projects, which specifically target male groups[63]. As part of the new sexual and reproductive health paradigm the

[62] By the end of 1997 more than 30 million adults world-wide were estimated to be infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, a usually fatal condition that has no cure. Of these, about 17 million are men and 12 million are women. The majority of these cases are in the South and it is estimated that India has the greatest number of people infected with HIV—more than 4 million (UNFPA,1995)

[63] These programmes and projects have aimed at educating boys, understanding masculinity as well as creating male-clinics in the area of sexual and reproductive health.

issue of male participation has similarly been reflected in IPPF's *Vision 2000* objectives, which aims to:

> 'increase men's commitment and joint responsibility in all areas of sexual and reproductive health and sensitise men to gender issues, as an essential element in ensuring women's equality and an enriched couple relationship for both men and women' (IPPF, 1995e: 48).

This is an ambitious objective and what is significant is to understand the practical implications of ensuring the 'success' of this objective; we then need to ask how does this look in practical terms?

The *Vision 2000 Fund* currently supports only one major programme on male participation based in Kenya. This specific geographical area was chosen due to the significant increase in the number of cases of HIV/ AIDS as well as the fact that men in general were found to have little knowledge of sexual and reproductive health matters. This is further elaborated in a report produced by the *Vision 2000 Fund* stating that the male participation project in Kenya is:

> 'based on the assumption that the gap between awareness and behaviour change relating to SRH matters is the result of men's traditional attitudes as well as lack of information and lack of access to SRH services'. (Vision 2000, 2000: 3)

The key objective of the *Vision 2000 Fund's* project on male participation in Kenya[64] is to increase the involvement of men between the age of 18 and 59 in family planning and sexual and reproductive health education and services (Vision 2000, 2000: 9). This is primarily carried out through three main strategies, firstly, a multimedia Information, Education and Communication (IEC) strategy involving radio/TV, puppetry, folk media, football and participation in international events. The second strategy aims at delivering clinical services to three male-only clinics offering

[64] Source: Vision 2000, (2000), Final Evaluation Report – 'Male Involvement Project' A Project of the Family Planning Association of Kenya

a wide range of SRH services and laboratory facilities and the third and final strategy is to provide workplace education and services through 110 workplace motivators in 90 collaborating institutions (Ibid: 14).

One of the key messages in this project is that 'Men who care plan and protect their families' (*Vision 2000*, 2000: 5). Despite the shift from FP to SRH, the emphasis is still, to a large extent, on planning a small family rather than addressing the sexual health of men as well as the issue of masculinity and what this implies in society as a whole and in relation to women. Moreover, this kind of message reinforces a strong gender stereotype whereby men are expected to be 'the protector' of their families, which in turn reinforces patriarchal behaviour instead of challenging it. Rather than stressing gender as a mainstream pre-project concept, the means by which HIV/AIDS is tackled appears to work against the tenets of gender sensitive practices. Masculinity, in this case, is taken as a given and little emphasis is put on transforming traditional gender roles, which cause unequal power relations.

As part of the male participation project, the *Vision 2000 Fund* recognises that 'men cannot be separated from gender issues' (*Vision 2000*, 2000: 40). Yet the paradox here is that men are used as a means to manage women's bodies and sexuality by virtue of their planning and protecting role. This is evident in the object set out in the initial project proposal by the Kenyan FPA, which is 'to reduce the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) from 5.4 to 4.2 among married women aged 15-49 years in the project areas within 5 years' (Ibid: 11). Through male participation women's bodies are still being targeted in order to decrease birth rates and one key indicator of this specific project is to what extent the TFR has decreased. This, in some ways, goes against the notion that development practitioners must resist the conclusion that 'what poor women need is development' (Escobar, 1995: 177), which is often equated with modernised patriarchy. The way that this male participation project has been structured would suggest that men are treated as the patriarchs, which have 'the power' to persuade their partners of the benefits of reducing the number of children.

6.1.3 Participation

Participation has advanced as another tool of empowerment. According to Sing and Titi (1995: 26) participation rests on the understanding of the multiple dimension of social, cultural and economic factors. Participatory methods involve attention to decentralisation of decision-making, bottom-up strategic planning and other related strategies aimed at involving and empowering people previously seen as beneficiaries within projects (Wallace, Crowther, Shepherd, 1997: 15). Kaplan (2000: 34) points out that the central point of development is to enable people to participate in the governance of their own lives. One example of how this works can be seen in The Regional Committee for the Promotion of Community Health (CRPSC) in Central America. In a meeting[65], which took place in London in February 2002, Maria Zuniga explained how the CRPSC emerged as a grassroots movement where communities identified their own needs both in terms of health, poverty and issues of land distribution. The Network's key philosophy was based upon a bottom-up approach where community members set their own agenda. Yet, Zuniga argued that whilst CRPSC was a local organisation run by local people, one of the current dangers in today's international climate is that the donor community and health advocates tend to forget the needs of the people at the local level (Zuniga, London, 2002).

This point is further reinforced in the analysis of IPPF's projects on community participation where issues of 'domination' and 'production of knowledge' appear to be prominent features in the Federation's programmatic discourse. This was observed first-hand when I visited a project in the Dominican Republic[66], which aimed at using participatory methods in order to involve communities in the development process. The aim of this project was to address the barriers to sexual and reproductive health communication, which exists within communities. Female

[65] I attended this meeting personally. It was organised by Health Link International in London, February 2002. The key speaker was Maria Zuniga who talked about her work in Nicaragua with a health grassroots movement.

[66] Although this was not a project funded by *Vision 2000* it had similar characteristics. In 1993 IPPF set up a series of operational research projects funded by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), to explore ways in which FPAs could share the responsibility for sexual and reproductive health matters with communities.

community members were recruited by the local FPA 'PROFAMILIA'. Once recruited, this group of women were sent on a training course covering different aspects of sexual and reproductive health and were then expected to go back to their communities to serve as peer educators to other women in their local area.

Although the project was running in accordance with the new sexual and reproductive health framework, it was still dominated by the old assumption that women should take the prime responsibility for sexual and reproductive health matters. It appeared that the FPA considered this as a strength of the project, whilst the women at the community level who were recruited to work for the project challenged this. One of the community volunteers pointed out that:

> 'Dominican men are the ones who need a lot of sensitisation – it takes two to have sexual intercourse, so why should the men not be involved? Often they are the most ignorant so they should be joining our meetings'.[67]

Whilst the Dominican FPA had adopted a participatory approach involving local communities, the voices of the service users were still only heard to a limited extent, given that the agenda was set by the FPA itself. There is then a recurrent problematic at the centre of the notion of participation, which mitigates against the strategic value of the approach. This problematic concerns the content and ownership of the process of participation itself. For participation to be highly effective the beneficiaries need to do much more than join in. They need to be stakeholders in the content of the process of itself. As such they should be participants throughout the process, not simply at the delivery stage. This point is further highlighted by Clarke who argues that:

> 'participatory development is often used to mean little more than establishing user groups to ensure that beneficiaries are involved in project implementation'. (Clarke, 1997: 44)

[67] This quote is based on my own translation from Spanish to English. The original quote says: 'Los hombres Dominicanos son los que necesiten capacitacion. Haciendo el amor es entre una mujer y un hombre. asi porque no estan involucrados los hombres? Muchos de los hombres son mas ignorante que las mujeres asi que deben estar a nuestros reuniones.'

Participation from a community point of view may not necessarily conform to the desires of the family planners and the objectives of the international donor community. This point illustrates the problematic nature of intervention as well as the often subjugating relationship between NGOs and those who they claim to represent. The content of the process is critical for effective participation. The terms and concepts used with reference to lived experience need to be rooted in beneficiaries lives and Sen (1987) reminds us that there are often large discrepancies between subjective perceptions of well-being and well-being as measured by 'objective indicators'. This reflects the way in which IPPF operates as they set out to inform communities of the benefits of contraception and the extent to which this can change lives and raise the standard of living.

The notion of 'standard of living' captures all the dimensions of the dominant paradigm of the West, of development and of modernity. This paradigm has been imposed as a dominant category for perceiving social reality and therefore underdevelopment and consequently has made it a moral obligation for the leaders of emerging nations (Latouche, 1997: 256). Yet, as Tegegn (1997: 8) points out what constitutes a better standard of living must be defined by the people themselves. People have until now often been 'dragged' into a definition of measurement of the process of social development, using the yardstick of Northern values. Consequently, Southern people's own social and traditional organisations have been seen as archaic, their traditional values as backward and their knowledge systems as 'unscientific'.

Whilst participation has become part of IPPF's new organisational framework due to the shift from SRH to FP, an implicit modernisation theory lurks behind these new initiatives on 'empowerment', greater participation and educational schemes. There is an assumption that progress towards schooling and women's greater participation as well as improved husband and wife communication, is the future for the world as a whole. Decreasing fertility rates is still one of the primary drivers within IPPF's strategy and the programmatic approaches used are to a large extent treated as a means to an end. Participation has become instrumental and we have seen that participation tends to be focused on establishing focus groups to ensure that beneficiaries are involved in project implementation, but very rarely are beneficiaries involved in determining project priorities.

6. 2 'Measuring' Success and Failure - Evaluating Techniques and their Implications

The concept of measurement is central to understanding some of the potential contradictions, which may appear when analysing programme success. Within the framework of the new paradigms in development, it is quality rather than quantitative measures, which are the focus of evaluation. However, the problem is that these measures do not always satisfy the needs of donors to quickly and effectively judge whether their investment has been efficacious. Whilst concepts such as empowerment, participation and pluralism have flourished, other concepts and strategies, which are tools taken from the private sector have emerged simultaneously (Wallace, Crowther and Shepherd, 1997: 15). These tools are deeply contradictory in the light of those new priorities such as empowerment and participation, mainly because, as Craig and Mayo (1995: 5) argue, projects generally tend to be more managed than participatory and the balance of control ends up inside the organisations, which are managing the projects. Like, project selection and prioritisation, project evaluation is another obstacle on which a strategy of gender mainstreaming could flounder. A crucial question then is to what extent gender equality and gender equity can be 'measured' and this takes us further in questioning the methods NGOs such as IPPF use in determining a 'successful' project. Key to this success would be the outcome of a project and it is therefore important to appreciate how evaluation is carried out and what criteria are used for evaluation.

6.2.1 Evaluation and Monitoring - A Rational Response

Evaluation is often treated as a project stage, rather than an on-going task, which is constantly incorporated into the project's implementation. The practice of abstracting out evaluation and passing it to visiting professionals or consultants derives from practices in the commercial sector where the evaluation stage is often undertaken by auditors or analysts who are independent of the project itself (Chambers, 1997; Escobar, 1995; Wallace, 2000). It is implicit within project management of this type that there are ready indicators and targets, which can be easily discerned as they are more often numerically defined. There are several potential points of contention with this approach, firstly that the project produces

indicators to measure its success, secondly that these are easily discerned by non-project staff and that the project is readily segmented into definitive stages.

As a consequence of this alignment to managerialism in terms of monitoring and evaluation techniques, NGOs are increasingly under pressure to produce project proposals, which have very specific targets and goals within a limited time period and this is what Warwick (1982) refers to as the 'machine model'. This model assumes that a clearly formulated plan backed by legitimate decision-making authority contains the essential ingredients for its own implementation. With well articulated objectives and goals as well as specific details of action, implementation requires hierarchical authority, trained staff and close supervision. Moreover, Warwick argues that a more sophisticated version of the 'machine-model' adds monitoring and evaluation systems (Warwick, 1982: 179), which have now become key organisational tools for many NGOs. This model interprets the mechanisms connecting resources and needs as a process driven activity, which does not allow for agency or intermediary intervention.

The notion of 'indicators' has become a key component of the donor discourse and this has had a significant impact upon NGO project planning and evaluation processes. The increasing use of indicators is partly because:

> 'donors and governments remain unwilling to let go of the quantifiable product, usually a physical target, as the most appropriate measure of success' (Blackburn and Holland, 1998: 67).

This is also evident in the way that IPPF sets up their objectives and goals, in the sense that they aim at considering all the needs of an individual as opposed to just one aspect. Yet the indicators are based upon a paradigm in which each individual contributes to an overall quantitative target namely that of reduced Total Fertility Rate, increasing the number of clinic users as well as increasing the distribution of contraceptives. This is a contradiction in terms, as the 'well-being' of a service-user is measured on the basis of quantitative targets, which very rarely reflects the real scenario or circumstances of the client This further suggests a tendency to distance conventional development objectives from the morass of local culture and community.

The procedures mentioned above focus on physical targets and do not take into account the multifarious voices of the different men and women who the project really affects. As Moser (1995: 105) points out the fact that evaluations are still not sufficiently people-centered is a hindrance to effective evaluation of the promotion of gender equality and equity. Moreover, she states that even today a large number of evaluations are not 'peopled' and those that are do not necessarily distinguish people by gender (Ibid.). Gender sensitive initiatives would demand a much greater appreciation of process and capacity building as relevant qualitative indicators of success. The various targets associated with quantitative evaluations are not always suited to SRH projects. A qualitative process would allow local communities to define their own indicators and criteria for success, which may differ substantially from those seen as relevant by donors and governments. This also raises the issue of 'ownership' as opposed to the traditional approach of 'intervention'. An approach, which involves 'ownership', is where communities could design their own projects according to their own health needs. Although, this kind of framework has increasingly started to gain some momentum[68], donors still tend to be suspicious of such a strategy as there is no substantial 'measurement' of success on which they can point in annual reports to justify further funding.

It is also significant that there is a heavy emphasis upon the bureaucratic procedures of developing an efficient monitoring and evaluation framework, as required by donors, whilst there is little emphasis upon developing self-evaluation tools. This would involve developing tools, which the FPAs themselves could use to 'measure' progress as opposed to being 'over-evaluated' by a foreign team. Self-evaluation could also be on-going rather than staged, thus, delivering a constant and fuller picture of the project progress. In fact, there is evidence[69] that some of the Federation's FPAs are suffering from 'evaluation fatigue'. This is due to the fact it is

[68] This approach is now and again used in developing youth programmes where young people take ownership of the project by negotiating directly with donors.

[69] In the majority of Vision 2000's evaluation reports it is indicated that the majority of the FPAs find it difficult being subject to visits from 'curious' donors and IPPF Central Quarter staff. I found a similar problem when I made arrangements to go to collect data at the local level. This proved to be very sensitive due to what was referred to as 'evaluation fatigue'.

the FPAs, which are faced with organising the logistics, recruiting interpreters and filling in bureaucratic reports before the arrival of an evaluation team.

There is clearly a dilemma at the heart of the issue of how to evaluate projects. This dilemma epitomises the apparent contradiction between the Southern countries' commitment to communities and their need to secure continued funding from donors. The adoption of management techniques represents the pragmatic compromise, which NGOs undertake in order to meet their principled commitment to the people. From the perspective of the NGO, this process, although highly problematic is undertaken readily in order to continue delivering what they see as valuable services.

6.2.2 Conflating 'Business Models'

Sustainable development has become one of the catchphrases of the 1990s and is increasingly becoming a significant component within the work of many NGOs. This is in particular due to international agreements and a strong donor discourse, which considers financial sustainability to be a key priority. Yet, the term 'sustainability' has been contested by different groups and can therefore be regarded as a 'fluid' concept that has been subject to multiple definitions depending upon the group of people, which have used it.

In 1987 'sustainable development' gained a prominent status when the Brundtland Commission defined it as 'development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. (WCED, 1987: 43). This definition implies an end to growth measured in terms of material output, and the use of other criteria to reveal the different individually and socially created forms of wealth, which would include intellectual wealth and emotional wealth. However, as many commentators have pointed out (Norgaard, 1994, Redclift 1989), this definition does not offer any explanation as to what is meant in practice. Moreover, it does not define needs and does not require that needs be efficiently met, thereby leaving open the possibility that the present generation could live beyond its needs so long as future generations' needs are met.

Whilst the Brundtland Commission's definition of 'sustainability' was primarily concerned with economic issues, feminist writers and other radical scholars have proposed that the notion of equality should be seen as central to sustainable development. This would mean more distribution of assets and the enhancement of capabilities and opportunities of the most deprived people (Chambers, 1998; Sing and Titi, 1995). 'Empowerment' has similarly been considered by feminists as a strategy for poverty alleviation. Sustainable development therefore has to be a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional process, involving the mobilization of resources and people's capacities to enter the transition towards sustainable development. This involves seeing sustainable development as a challenge to the conventional development paradigm as it involves a more equitable and people-centered approach (Sen and Grown, 1988: 20). For many feminists (Bhasin, 1993; Sen and Grown, 1988; Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau, 2000) sustainable development implies a new kind of political, economic, social and cultural system and a new value orientation.

The Cairo Programme of Action, which was proposed in 1994, similarly took up the theme of sustainability. Increasingly, socio-economic development was replaced by 'sustainable development' as a conceptual framework, with a considerable number of factors invoked: environmental degradation, population growth, poverty, health human rights, education, status of women, equitable international trade relations, human resources, social justice, decentralisation and so forth (Lassonde, 1997: 52). The Cairo documents stressed the strong significance of empowerment and women's empowerment as goals in themselves, as well as their being essential for the achievement of sustainable development (United Nations, 1994: 22).

Whilst in theory sustainability is linked to empowerment, in practice there has been a tendency to associate sustainability primarily with the financial aspects of development and management-orientated practices. This is reflected in IPPF's working definition of sustainability, which is put in the following terms, sustainability is:

> 'The ability of an FPA to improve *institutional capacity* in order to adopt a realistic and innovative strategy to provide *quality services*, with a view to expanding the number of clients, and to *generate income* through a diversified funding base.' (*Vision 2000*, 2000a: 2).

On the whole, IPPF divides sustainability into three categories:

- *Institutional Sustainability*, which aims at developing a relevant strategic plan that clearly articulates the role of the FPA, along with developing human resources and management capacity with a view to creating an efficient and entrepreneurial culture within the FPA.

- *Sustainability of Quality Services*, which aims at providing the best health services that available resources can buy; these services are provided by qualified personnel in the most effective and efficient way. Service continuity refers to the relationship between the provision of a service and/or programme and its sustainability; its future maintenance and permanence with local resources (human and financial) generated by the community.

- *Financial Sustainability*, the third aspect of IPPF's definition, concerns the ability to develop a diverse resource base so that an organisation and programme is not solely dependent on one source of income or funding so that they are not vulnerable to policy and quantity changes. This encompasses areas of financial management, such as the quality and capabilities of financial systems to produce reports needed by managers for financial decision-making. In addition, it focuses upon cost cutting/sharing and cost effectiveness, income generation and the capacity to recover either partially or totally, the costs of the services and products provided. (*Ibid*: 1)

IPPF's definitions of sustainability do stress that this strategy should look to expand the number of service users by providing quality services, but the voice of the client is ignored in preference for institutional and financial capacity building. This is an increasingly typical feature of the way in which 'sustainability' is being implemented in practical terms. It has become an uni-dimensional economic device considering women's empowerment as an instrument rather than a key component of sustainability. Rather than seeing sustainability as a dual-aspected concept, where the agent's ownership of development success is married to economic viability. This

concentration on the economic dimension appears to characterise the *Vision 2000 Fund's* perception of this concept.

Some recent examples of IPPF's initiatives on sustainability involve two FPAs in Morocco and Mozambique. Due to decreased donor resources and increased competition for resources among the growing number of NGOs in Morocco, the local FPA planned to adopt a more business-like culture through improving its institutional, quality of service and financial sustainability (IPPF, 2000c: 1). The Central Office would work with the FPA in order to improve management capacity, improve the quality of its sexual and reproductive health services, develop a finance system and improve efficiencies by cutting costs and mobilising resources. There is a similar issue in Mozambique where the sustainability strategy is outlined as follows:

> 'AMODEFA[70] plan to improve their sustainability through increased institutional capacity and strengthened resource mobilisation efforts. As seen in the above example, the Central Office set out to work with AMODEFA to create a culture of sustainability with improved management systems, business and planning procedures, and evaluation systems in order to mobilise resources and diversify its funding sources' (Ibid: 2).

These examples demonstrate the increasing emphasis on a 'business' orientated culture, which many NGOs have come to adopt in order to survive within a competitive field. Issues of management and finance are key components of IPPF's sustainability strategy; yet the strategy does not take into account the complexity of the Federation itself. IPPF's sustainability strategy inevitably depends on many factors such as the dependency upon volunteers, the disparate organisational structures of various FPAs and the potential for donor short-termism. The sustainability strategy is fragile in the sense that IPPF is a highly diverse voluntary organisation receiving often extremely 'politicised' resources. One aspect is the focus upon financial sustainability, but the overall sustainability aspect would be threatened if the Federation did not have any volunteers or semi-permanent funding. This new 'business model' is less likely to take issues of gender and power relations into

[70] The name of the FPA in Mozambique

account and subsequently may have specific implications for the service users that IPPF represents. Within the business orientated approach there is considerably less scope for qualitative assistance and understanding than there is for the target driven macro-schemes, which characterise *Vision 2000 Fund*. The table below illustrates the various sustainability-orientated initiatives within IPPF's programme portfolio:

IPPF's Sustainability Initiative	
Ghana	PPAG plans to increase its sustainability through a series of interdependent strategies that include: strategic positioning in order to create and sustain demand for PPAG products and services; quality of service improvements in order to create an ongoing customer/client relationship with PPAG. This will include activities such as business and sustainability planning, income generation through competitive pricing for products and services, marketing of PPAG IEC materials and quality assessments and improvements.
Guyana	GRPA is preparing to end a project that provides close to half of its income. Through this process, GRPA has identified the need to strengthen its financial sustainability through greater cost savings, improved efficiencies and resource mobilisation. The SI will work with GRPA to conduct market analyses and plans to develop new funding mechanisms such as a small pharmacy and diversified sexual and reproductive health services. GRPA is interested in developing within the organisation a culture oriented to the management and the maintenance of an organisation with an emphasis on sustainability and the provision of top quality services.
Moldova	FPAM plans to initiate a contraceptive distribution system to market and disburse contraceptives to Ministry of Health clinics. FPAM will leverage its long-standing relationship with the government to supply contraceptives and generate income. The SI will work with FPAM to develop business plans, advertise and promote commercial brands of contraceptives for private pharmacies. This will include conducting marketing and feasibility studies in order to ensure the success of this venture.
Morocco	Due to decreased donor resources and increased competition for resources among the growing number of NGOs in Morocco, AMPF plans to adopt a more business-like culture through improving its institutional, quality of service and financial sustainability. SI will work with AMPF to improve management capacity, improve the quality of its sexual and reproductive health services, develop a finance system and improve efficiencies by cutting costs and mobilising resources.
Mozambique	AMODEFA plans to improve their sustainability through increased institutional capacity and strengthened resource mobilisation efforts. SI will work with AMODEFA to create a culture of sustainability with improved management systems, business and planning procedures, and evaluation systems in order to mobilise resources and diversify its funding sources.
Senegal	ASBEF plans to address organisational sustainability through institutional, financial and quality of service enhancements. In terms of institutional capacity building it plans to develop an organisation-wide sustainability plan, investing in staff and volunteers and introducing MIS. Financial sustainability will be pursued through the development of resource mobilisation plan and feasibility studies to assess various incomes generating opportunities. The quality of service will be examined and enhanced where necessary and similarly, the service mix will be reviewed to ensure that the appropriate services are on offer.
South Africa	PPASA plans to develop and operationalise a comprehensive and integrated approach to market its expertise and capitalise on its existing strengths with a view to generating additional resources. This will be done through the creation of a business unit and is expected to improve advocacy, fundraising and resource mobilisation opportunities for PPASA.

Table 6.3 Source: Vision 2000, 2000a: 1

The table illustrates quite clearly both the emphasis and language associated with sustainability – references to management systems, business and finance systems feature throughout whereas, references to qualitative empowerment are non-existent. In addition there are no references to participation in the above summary. The emphasis throughout is on the 'supply-side' of service delivery rather than focusing on any demand needs.

A critical question in this context is to what extent the concept of sustainability affects gender sensitive practices and more specifically how gender equity is taken into account in IPPF's sustainability strategy. As seen with IPPF's sustainability strategy there is a tendency to consider it as a business plan where finances and management are in focus. This is further highlighted by Escobar (1995: 194) who argues that one key element of the sustainable development discourse is the emphasis on management and he refers to the fact that the concepts of planning and management embody the belief that social change can be engineered and directed. A crucial question is to what extent this influences the Federation's discourse on gender sensitive practices and whether the whole of the community will in fact benefit from sustainability initiatives as conceived by IPPF?

Whilst strategic planning with a key focus upon sustainability can be beneficial in the sense that it can offer an opportunity to use systematic gender-analysis tools, it is also problematic as seen in IPPF's definition of sustainability as it may skew the understanding of the wider power relations between men and women as well as how these power relations should be addressed. This is further problematised in the sense that it can de-politicize gender analysis and expose it to the prevailing gender ideologies of project management viewing women as a resource in meeting other development goals, a position not always consistent with gender interests (Jackson, 1998: 60) or any agent-orientated concern. With little focus on the participation of service users as well as the narrative of the service user, a gender perspective is often neutralised in the name of rational planning.

As procedures become more complex and bureaucratic with an increasing focus on financial sustainability, less effort is made to ensure the well being of service users, as well as addressing social issues in a wider context. There is then a very real

sense in which the Federation's intentions towards gender sensitivity are crowded out through systematisation, which surrounds their definitions of sustainability. Not only are the definitions devoid of references to the service user or the need for participation, but the over reliance of managerialism to ensure sustainability appears to be at the expense of service user ownership of programmes. This is supported when examining the various evaluations with the *Vision 2000 Fund*'s projects. One conclusion reached regarding a project in Swaziland on 'community-based distribution of contraceptives' was that staff needed to be trained in project management in co-ordination techniques. Of the 15 objectives[71] outlined in the evaluation, half pertained to project management or financial systems. The focus was on reviewing the project's financial systems, assessing the cost-effectiveness of

[71] The 15 objectives were as following: 1. To review project planning processes and project design to determine whether the project rationale, goals and objectives are still relevant and to what extent the project is innovative. 2. To assess the project's achievements and performance at mid-term against set objectives and targets, including reasons for any changes from what had been planned. *Indicators include numbers of new acceptors, continuing users, contraceptives distributed, CYP, continuation rates and drop-outs, referral cases.* 3. To determine the degree to which the project addresses the unmet needs of the target populations for FP/RH and determine the relevance and appropriateness to the community of the services provided by the project. 4. To assess the quality of care and services delivered through the project, both through the CBD approach and the referral clinics, identifying any gaps and suggesting remedial action to be taken if necessary. 5. To examine the linkages between CBD component and the government referral clinics and the effectiveness of the referral system. 6. To assess the relevance and effectiveness of the training provided to CBD agents, field supervisors and staff nurses of government referral clinics. 7. To assess the appropriateness and quality of IEC material developed for the project and their use in the field. 8. To review the project's record-keeping and reporting system, to assess the effectiveness of the monitoring and evaluation and operations research activities. 9. To assess the level of community motivation and participation implementation of the project and the extent to which the project is changing community attitudes towards FP/SRH. 10. To assess the level of collaboration with other agencies and partners (Government and other NGOs). 11. To review project implementation and management processes including management of inputs, decision-making processes, communication, staffing, supervision, training contraceptives logistics, technical support needed and received volunteer input. 12. To review the project's financial systems and the use of funds, and to assess the cost-effectiveness of activities. 13. To measure the progress made to ensure sustainability of the project. 14. To assess the catalytic effects of the project and the way lessons learned have been incorporated into the work of the FPA. 15. To make recommendations on the above points and agree on the action plan and timetable for their implementation. (Vision 2000, 1999: 2).

activities and measuring the progress made to ensure the sustainability of the project. Notwithstanding the importance of resources, it is significant that IPPF, like many other NGOs, is increasingly taking on a corporate approach; an approach, which is considered as extremely important if IPPF as an NGO wish to maintain their international status as a key player in the field of family planning and sexual and reproductive health. Yet, this approach is one that is less sensitive to the voices of the service-users and the specific needs of different groups within a community.

6.3 Bridging the Gap between Policies and Programmes

Donors play a key role in determining funding for NGO programmes and projects and NGOs are, as several scholars have pointed out (Edwards and Hulme, 1997; Smillie, 1999; Wallace and Lewis, 2000), affected by this in terms of the design of any project. Issues of power relations between men and women and across ethnic and social groupings are rarely considered to be appropriate arenas for donor intervention. This is evident by the programme initiatives of NGOs, as they are sensitive to the parameters and limits implicit in donor preferences. This reluctance to engage or intervene in these critical issues may be obstructive to constructing holistic projects, which can sufficiently contextualise gender relations and their impact upon women's and men's different experiences and realities.

6.3.1 The Shift from Family Planning to Sexual and Reproductive Health - Contextualising Gender Relations

The key significance of the programmes funded by *The Vision 2000 Fund* is that they primarily address projects linked to sexual and reproductive health as opposed to exclusively family planning. This potentially gives more scope to incorporate a gender analysis, which takes into account the different experiences of men and women. This shift shadows the theoretical and practical shift from WID to GAD and is indeed IPPF's response to this paradigmatic movement. This change would at least ostensibly give the project designers, approvers and conceivers the opportunity to assimilate gender sensitive principles within their programme design.

On the face of it, there has been considerable 'gender' success within IPPF. In 1998, the Federation reported that:

> 'FPAs have continued to show progress at reaching increasing numbers of family planning users (2.5 million in 1998) and serving larger numbers of clients in their clinics (almost 26 million in 1998). Almost two-thirds of clients currently visit FPAs clinics to use a wide-range of SRH services ranging from mother and child health, well woman and gynaecological care, management of sexually transmitted diseases, to counselling on a variety of topics including relationships, gender violence, rape and youth sexuality. This aspect of the FPAs work is gaining strength as FPAs are refocusing their strategies to implement more effectively the ICPD and *Vision 2000* priority areas such as youth and universal access to quality sexual and reproductive health services' (IPPF, 1998: 18).

This would suggest that from both a donor's perspective and indeed from the perspective of IPPF, the shift from FP to SRH has had a very positive impact upon the service users. Numerically then the gender picture across IPPF's projects is positive – more and more women as well as an increasing number of men are getting the kind of assistance they need. Against this positive backdrop it is highly contentious making the kind of claims set out in this and earlier discussions. However, it is important to consider the type of progress that could be achieved if the focus of IPPF's activities shifted towards a means driven formulation of policies where women are not seen as recipients, clients or part of a problem, but are conceived of as active participants in their own progressive well-being. Here the focus would be towards harnessing the actors' motivations for change and realising it within its own circumstance. Fertility rates would reach a level, which could be 'optimal' in that context rather than as 'minimal' as possible. The focus on change would be predicated on the choice of communities themselves where the contribution of the community to the discourse is a narrative, which articulates their particularities.

The misconception of actors' contributions to their own well-being is mirrored by the *Vision 2000 Fund's* absence of gender informed specialists in their programme inception process. There are no sustainable organisational links between the policy level and the programme level with regards to gender. Both operate as isolated units, independent of each other, in terms of project approval or shaping. The *Vision 2000*

Fund's User's Guide[72], whilst recognising the need to promote gender sensitive development, does not make any specific references to IPPF's Gender Equity Policy. As one staff member of the *Vision 2000 Fund* pointed out 'there are no specific criteria on gender practices in the selection of programmes and none of our staff members are specifically trained on gender issues'[73]. The absence of any direct reference to gender in the *User's Guide* is notable given the background of the instigation of the *Vision 2000 Fund.* As discussed in *Chapter Two,* the Fund was set up under the directions of Halfdan Mahler to promote and support innovative projects that would help to implement the Federation's Strategic Plan, particularly Unmet Needs, Sexual and Reproductive Health, Unsafe Abortion, Women's Empowerment and Youth and Quality of Care.

Although the *Vision 2000 Fund* is currently planning to revise the *User's Guide* in terms of addressing gender related matters, this should not just be treated as an ad hoc project where one section is dedicated to gender sensitive practices. Whilst IPPF's Central Office does have a gender advisor, she does not play a role in advising on programmes, selecting projects nor assisting with the update of the *User's Guide.* This is significant as it undermines the importance of such a role and it is implicit that *Vision 2000* staff is sufficiently briefed on such issue without the 'intervention' of a gender advisor. On the basis of earlier discussions in this chapter, the need for a review of the *User's Guide* would be a starting point to contextualise gender sensitive practices fully into future projects.

6.4 Concluding Comments

This chapter set out to analyse 'the potential contradiction between the centrally conceived policies, which aim to bring about change through empowering individuals along the lines of context driven solutions and the pressures of modernity and 'managerialism', which mitigate against these desires'. The outcome is that there is a very real disjuncture between the 'theoretical' and the 'practical' and this

[72] This is a guide for FPAs wishing to apply for funding from the *Vision 2000 Fund.* (Vision 2000, 1998b)

[73] Interview with Vision 2000 staff member, December 2000.

disjuncture, whilst representing an often productive compromise, embodies an on going problematic at the heart of development thinking. The disjunctures are particularly acute in areas such as participation, empowerment and monitoring.

Participation and empowerment are inextricably linked in so far as long lasting sustainability rests on the full participation of service-users and their empowerment through this participation. Optimising participation entails a bottom-up approach to service users' participation, so that the service-user is present in an active sense throughout the shaping, implementation and delivery of service provision. As has been demonstrated above *Vision 2000 Fund* projects, whilst cognisant of the need for sustainability, do not always root this in the kind of participatory techniques, which centralise the notion of bottom-up. In fact many of the projects see sustainability in terms of managerialist principles associated with project management, good governance and monitoring, rather than culture and value orientated delivery.

The monitoring methods employed by the *Vision 2000 Fund* are also problematised by the same dichotomous relationship between *macro* and *micro* – here the dichotomy takes the shape of friction between quantitative and qualitative monitoring techniques. In the main IPPF relies on evaluation check-lists, which are composed almost wholly of quantitative key performance indicators such as the number of service users visiting a clinic or the number of condoms distributed. The issue here is that these targets will not always capture the real effect of a project and may overlook the less obvious and outward signs of project success or failure. On-going evaluation, which is driven from a partnership between key members of the client community and the *Vision 2000 Fund* team would allow for a deeper evaluation, based on a variety of indicators.

Overall, the term 'gender' tends to be taken as a rather simplistic definition of men and women's roles located in a modernist conceptual framework, whilst notions of power, diversity and pluralism rarely feature in the *Vision 2000* programmes. The notion of 'marginalised groups' is, however, often used as a term of reference, but is considered to represent women, which once again leaves women with very little

agency and portrays them as, what Marchand and Parpart (1995: 233) refer to as 'hapless and vulnerable'. Gender, here is conceived of as a differentiating label, which separates in a practical manner, rather than a term implying more than simple biological or role differences. The notion of gender which, is predicated on difference and plurality does not often feature in the *Vision 2000 Fund* projects.

In previous chapters I have illustrated and argued extensively that gender mainstreaming presents development NGOs with a paradox in terms of interpretation over meaning and an insurmountable problematic in terms of implementation. The two issues of interpretation and implementation are interconnected through the problem of meaning within gender mainstreaming. A dichotomy between interpretations, which favour the 'mainstreaming' elements of the strategy over the theoretical 'gender' interpretations extends beyond academic debate over gender mainstreaming into the practical domain of NGOs and other organisations attempting to adopt gender mainstreamed inspired principles. It is apposite and not surprising then that IPPF's *Vision 2000 Fund's* projects typify this and embody this same problematic in their concern for gender sensitivity. Notwithstanding the intentions of the *Fund's* original architects to use it as a vehicle for moving IPPF forward and embracing the contemporary challenges of sexual and reproductive health, the projects it is composed of, through the adoption of managerialism and a one-dimensional approach to empowerment have not thoroughly grasped the opportunities it presented.

Chapter 7

From the Global to the Local

This chapter seeks to complement the previous chapters in that it continues the themes of systematically deconstructing the IPPF through organisation and outputs. So far I have looked at the central level and its interrelationship with the regional and local level. This chapter will specifically focus on the regional and local levels of IPPF. I have said many times throughout this analysis that the federal nature of IPPF is a critical factor in understanding the way in which it functions. In this chapter the contrasting priorities, which characterise each region is explored more fully.

The purpose of this analysis is to explore the contrasting ways in which regions interpret and adopt various central policies. It aims to understand the processes involved when policy constructed at the central level eventually reaches the local level. These processes are reflections of both the power relationship between the centre and the local level, but they are also a reflection of power relations between the North and the South in terms of proximity to the processes themselves. Whilst it is unquestionable that the various local contexts affect the way in which central directives are interpreted and actioned, it is still apposite to explore these interpretations, as they will undoubtedly add considerable understanding to the wider exploration of gender mainstreaming and the possibilities for substantial change. The IPPF consists of six different regions, yet this analysis is based on two specific regions; namely the South Asia region and the Western Hemisphere region. These regions were chosen primarily because of their contrasting circumstances, but also because they have themselves chosen different routes to affect gender orientated change. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to understand why these two interpretations and different routes were chosen and what this entails for gender mainstreaming as a way of effecting sustainable change.

7. 1 Northern and Southern Potential Dichotomies

NGOs involved in development, especially those, which are involved in global service delivery and are essentially Northern-based, face considerable diversity in terms of the context, which they have to negotiate. Gaventa (1999: 21) points out that

historically there has been little sharing and learning between groups across the hemispheres. He suggests that, while many larger NGOs working in the South are in fact based in the North, they have had little contact with issues in their own countries similar to those upon which they focus elsewhere (ibid.).

7.1.1 Adopting Northern Policies in Southern Contexts - Universalising Social Change

The contrast between Southern and Northern NGOs can be discerned most clearly in the context of their respective emergence, in the latter there have been ostensibly uniform motives for the establishment of particular NGOs. Most emerged during the middle part of the last century in the context of the Western preoccupation with global stability and the extension of the Western hegemony. This contrasts quite starkly when we examine the emergence of NGOs in the South. Here we see, as many different causes as there are NGOs. Smillie recognises this phenomenon when he states that:

> 'the variation in the Northern NGO heritage is important to an understanding of Southern NGOs. Even though some have been established with the help of Northern NGOs, these Southern organisations emerge from different traditions entirely – cultural, religious, ethnic, pro-government, anti-government, anti-statist, political, a-political. Some are even government-organised. To view a Southern NGO community through a Northern lens therefore – to assume, for example, that Peruvian NGOs can or will behave like Swedish NGOs in relation to government – could be an error with costly consequences for both the NGO and its supporter'. (Smillie, 1993a: 18)

The literature on development and anthropology still tends to make use of simplifying dichotomies such as the one between 'us' (developers) and 'them' (recipients). A number of writers (notably Hobart 1993) have presented the difference between these as acute and ultimately irreconcilable. Hobart (1993) speaks of the various discourses of development (of governments, developers and local people) as being incommensurable. This is contested by Grillo who points out that such thinking, borders on cultural solipisism. He argues that it implies that:

'local knowledges are grounded in such different philosophical foundations from 'Western' knowledge that communication between them is in fact impossible; rationalities are not shared or share-able' (Grillo, 1997: 14).

These writers represent polar positions with regard to relativism. Regardless of the outcome of this debate, there is value in appreciating the limitations of universalism especially in the 'development project'. A degree of relativism is essential in addressing the need for context-centric development progress. Participation, negotiation, sustainability and gender mainstreaming do not necessarily lead to solipsism, rather they seek to empower recipients to maximise NGO intervention.

The import of Western conceptualisations such as the definition of gender and difference can often be obstructive for Southern NGOs in deriving value from the development process. There is something substantial at the centre of the problematic of importing concept-based solutions into 'anti-concept' or different concept circumstances. Although NGO networks have often united Northern and Southern NGOs in opposition to a government policy, North-South differences have extended in part, to the NGO activist network (Nelson, 1997: 427). The ramifications of this dichotomy also impact the policy domain, wherein general policy directives need to be made cultural specific by the host NGO or in this case the FPA in order to optimise the policy's opportunity for change.

Attempts at policy transference, i.e. the wholesale imposition of policy and standards from one context to another, appear to result in one of two outcomes. In the first instance the policy is ineffective by the terms of the recipients or at least the outcome is incommensurable with their experiences or preferences for change. The second outcome is one in which the transference is negotiated and a context-centric outcome asserts itself through negotiations, between the recipient and the NGO itself. The latter outcome is undoubtedly the preferred conclusion of a policy especially where context fully asserts itself.

IPPF's federal structure, being an organically derived organisation, in which the various FPAs are interconnected on a semi-autonomous basis, has, at least in

structural terms, the means to negotiate and address the Northern and Southern cultural and socio-economic particularities. This is a critical factor in any further analysis of the way in which gender mainstreaming is conceptualised within the different regions where IPPF operates. This is particularly critical for exploring the significance and utilisation of the Gender Equity Policy within the Federation.

7.2 Contrasting Realities

The following discussion will seek to assess the validity of the points made above in the context of two IPPF regions. This exploration will focus on whether these two regions have different gender strategies by central 'design' or rather through the negotiation of the gender mainstreaming strategy within their own context.

7.2.1 Regional 'Life Stories'

The Western Hemisphere region represents 46 family planning associations in North, South and Central America including the Caribbean and in 1998 it was estimated that the region served more than 4.5 million people each year (WHR /IPPF, 1999:1). Each of the FPAs within the region has a different socio-economic reality and the issue of diversity is very significant as each country varies both in terms of geographic and socio-economic factors, but also in terms of the manner in which sexual and reproductive health is perceived and managed. This diversity within the region can be seen in the case of Peru where in the 1990s, the Peruvian government's recognition of the concept of reproductive health contributed to its decision to implement more aggressive family planning programmes. This phase was initiated with the launching of the National Population Programme 1991-1995, which was supported by President Fujimore, who declared 1991 as the 'Year of Austerity and Family Planning'. In 1995, the government assumed a more aggressive stance in matters of family planning. In open confrontation with the Catholic Church, the population law, which was first proposed in 1985, was now modified to include sterilisation as one of the methods of family planning to be provided by the government (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, 1999: 36). It was during this period that Peru saw gross violations of human rights as women were subjected to sterilisations without their consent (ibid.).

In contrast, the Conservative Right has often dominated the debate on sexual and reproductive rights in the United States. Their most serious concern has been that of lobbying against abortion. This materialised in American Foreign policy, which was evident in 1984 when the 'Mexico City policy' was approved by the Reagan Administration as an executive decision. Whilst during the two Clinton administrations (1992-2000) the 'Mexico City policy' was revoked, more recently under George W. Bush these sentiments have been reconfirmed through a renewed commitment[74]. Within a single region the social issues relating to sexual and reproductive health vary considerably both according to religious interest, but also in terms of the power of the region's states involved in the debate.

In a similar vein the South Asia region also covers what is manifestly a significant variety of cultural as well as political priorities. For example in the North of the region, Iran stands as what is ostensibly an archetypal Muslim state wherein sexual and reproductive health issues are inextricably linked to the wider religiosity of society. This contrasts to India where, whilst religion is extremely important, there are several widely represented religious communities including Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism.

Today, South Asia is home to 278 million women of reproductive age. In almost all its countries, mortality rates for females is higher than those for males at all ages, especially during childhood and childbearing years. Maternal mortality rates are among the highest in the world, and the risk of death for female children is twice that of male, a result of severe malnutrition and diarrhoeal disease. Women's low status is illustrated by the prevalence of early marriage, often the result of parents' economic considerations, with girls themselves playing little or no part in marital decisions. Female education and literacy levels are generally poor, except in Sri Lanka and the Maldives, and the sex differential in education is only slowly narrowing. The proportion of women who are economically active also lags far behind that of men, but when unpaid household work is taken into account women spend more time working than men (IPPF, 1995f: 5).

[74] See also *Chapter Two,* 2.2.5, for a further discussion of the 'Mexico City policy'.

One of the largest countries within this region is India, which became the first sovereign nation to pursue an official family planning policy. Correa argues that full implementation of state-led population control policies, is in many ways a characteristically Asian phenomenon and whilst many family planning NGOs operate in India, the role of public programmes has been much greater than seen in other regions (Correa, 1994: 25). As a consequence the past four decades have witnessed significant growth and expansion of the Indian family planning programme.

One aspect, which scholars (Hartmann, 1995; Jeffrey and Jeffrey, 1997; Stein, 1995) have focused on in relation to India's family planning programme, has been the politically turbulent Emergency Period from 1976 to 1977, when compulsory sterilisation was introduced in many parts of India. In the family planning programmes introduced during the Emergency Period it is estimated that more than eight million sterilisations were carried out in a year (Soonawala, 1993: 82). In spite of the 'successes' of increasing the contraceptive prevalence rate and declining birth rates, there were many critics of the Indian Family Planning Programmes, both within India as well as outside the country. Critics (Correa, 1994; Dixon-Mueller, 1993; Gupta, 1993; Hartman, 1995) argued against India's highly centralised, inflexible, target-oriented monitoring, which both limited the choice for couples in selecting family planning methods and at the same time did not ensure quality of care for service users. This target-oriented monitoring process encouraged some degree of inflation of the results reported, in terms of service-users served, as well as creating a feeling of alienation in the community toward the programmes.

In contrast, the debate on population took a very different course in Iran. By 1987 the Statistical Centre of Tehran was indicating that 96% of urban women of child-bearing age were married and only 1% had never been married. Non-literate women married at around 16 and literate women at 17.5, but only 7% of married women used family planning. By 1990 the Iranian population reached 59.5 million and was growing at an average annual rate of 3.9%. Although there was some disquiet, the devout were not panicking, but nevertheless both the high birth rates and polygamy came under new scrutiny (Afshar, 1996: 135). This posed a severe dilemma for the Islamic government as it had long since outlawed the pre-revolutionary abortion laws

and dismantled the family planning clinics. Suddenly it found itself with families averaging five children or more and no clear policy for halting the momentum (Ibid.).

Subsequently, in 1991 the government decreed that for a fourth birth, working women were not entitled to their three months' paid maternity leave, nor could a fourth child be allowed any rations or a ration card. In 1993 the Ministry of Health had its own population control bureau, with a 20 billion rials budget that was 300 per cent higher than that of the previous year. Assisted by an additional US$ 300 million in loans from the World Bank the bureau launched a massive population control campaign offering free services at national, provincial and rural levels with the aim of reducing population growth to 2.7 per cent per annum (Afshar, 1996: 136).

Whilst this is a somewhat brief account of the two different regions' social realities it does illustrate the diversity both between these regions, but also within each region. Even though a region may have a specific policy responding to the socio-economic and cultural situation of a geographical area, this needs further contextualising due to the diversity of each region. It is against these variable contexts within and between each region that I will now turn to examine the way in which they have attempted to articulate specific gender orientated concerns. This focus will allow a picture to develop, which extracts the regionally specific causes for their own particular interpretations of centrally determined policy guidelines.

7.3 The Experience of the International Planned Parenthood Federation's Western Hemisphere Region

Within the Western Hemisphere region, the establishment of operations required the support of intellectual and social elites who were able to counter the religious and conservative forces that opposed the idea of family planning. In Latin America, governments throughout the region neglected family planning during the 1970s and 1980s. Military governments explicitly opposed family planning and service delivery, whilst more democratic regimes shunned the adoption of population policies in order to avoid confrontation with the Catholic Church (Cubitt, 1995; Green and Matthias, 1997; Lavrin, 1993). In this context, family planning was usually

introduced by international agencies, allowing governments to avoid fully embracing family planning as a public health issue (Helzner and Ortiz-Ortega, 2000: 5). This effectively closed official space to institutionalising family planning and meant that activities in this area would have to be located at the grassroots level.

In 1981, the first Latin American Feminist Meeting took the first steps in occupying the grassroots space and made visible a woman's movement, which was autonomous from political parties and other movements. Sexuality, reproductive rights as well as violence were key elements of this movement's agenda (Jaquette, 1989: 17), which in turn reinforced the momentum of sexual and reproductive health as human rights. Garcia-Moreno and Claro (1994: 49) point out that, whilst the Latin American women's health movement shares certain concerns with both Europe and United States, it also differs significantly from the women's movements in these regions. This is seen in the way in which Latin American women have been fighting and lobbying politicians for their right to access services as well as gaining sufficient information on sexual and reproductive health to give women informed choices. This has amongst other countries been evident in Brazil, where the highly organised women's health movement campaigned for abortion through public education campaigns and legislative lobbying (Alvarez, 1990: 51).

This would suggest that within the region as a whole there is a history of grassroots-activism, which is projected in the way in which the regional office operates. The very history of grassroots feminism within the region has provided IPPF's regional office in the Western Hemisphere with a framework, which can serve as a foundation to promote a gender sensitive agenda.

7.3.1 The Challenge for the Western Hemisphere Regional Office

Over the last ten years, one of the key features of the Western Hemisphere Regional (WHR) office has been the commitment made to incorporate gender within project planning, but also with the actual adaptation of IPPF's GEP. There are several factors, which led to this commitment, not least the fact that part of the senior management team has been very committed to gender issues and consequently has been pushing the agenda to actively incorporate a gender strategy within the region's

overall work. Helzner and Ortiz-Ortega (2000) point out that the integration of gender within programmes and policy planning has been most successful where at least one senior staff member is a self-identified feminist. So far this has created an environment within the regional office, which is conducive and sensitive to various discourses, which in turn has exposed other staff to the feminist debate and has created a forum for debate and awareness.

The research showed that several components such as a small group of committed individuals who have made it their priority to make gender an organisational concern as well as a shift in donor priorities have contributed to the fact that the gender discourse has played a significant role within the WHR. This is evidenced by one of the region's member of staff who commented that:

> 'I think that some of that support came from recognising that the field was changing and that the donors were changing. So, if you ask staff why they are personally committed to the field of the family planning movement, you will get many different answers. I don't know how many people from our board or staff come to it from the same philosophical place that I do. But I do think that they see that it is helpful to the achievement of our goals to have a gender perspective and helpful to raising money and to maintaining some kind of competitive edge among other agencies'. (Interview with regional staff member, November 1999)

This illustrates the significance of the donor discourse and how key individuals within organisations have learned to take advantage of this discourse in order to find opportunities within the IPPF regional office where gender sensitive practices can be assimilated into overall programme activity.

This would suggest that committed staff need to find alternative ways in which they can put gender-sensitive practices on the Federation's agenda and this may involve negotiating with various organisational actors such as donors, staff members and volunteers. This was further evident in a workshop entitled 'Quality of Care from a Gender Perspective' held in London in December 1999, where a debate on

mainstreaming gender sensitive practices took place. One participant from the WHR pointed out that:

> 'in some regions the notion of gender is problematic and institutionalising gender as a strategy is therefore complex. In our experience, the best strategy is clearly one, which is non-threatening'. (Participant commenting at a meeting held at the IPPF premises in London on 'Quality of Care from a Gender Perspective' from the 1st to the 3rd of December 1999)

This kind of approach is a key feature of the region's gender strategy whereby contentious issues are assimilated into the mainstream discourse.

It is significant that there has been a clear 'vision' from one member of the senior management, who has advanced a pluralistic agenda and at the same time made gender-aware approaches one of the region's priorities. The WHR has, in designating certain individuals as 'gender champions' organisationally at least chosen a focal point for the extension of gender awareness within the region. One of these gender champions is a senior member of the WHR leadership team and as such is able to span the whole range of regional activities and ensure that this influence is appreciated across the region's programmes. Amongst the responsibilities of this 'champion' is to engage with other organisations, which are active in this sector.

A key strategy taken on by the WHR has been to force the visibility of gender-sensitive development, by actively engaging with feminists and feminist organisations. An on-going dialogue has been created between family planners and feminists within the region. Feminists from the region undertook internships within the WHR office, in order to provide an outside assessment of the region's operations, and, moreover, to facilitate a transfer of technical knowledge from IPPF/WHR staff to feminist groups to build their institutional capacity (Helzner and Ortiz-Ortega, 2000: 20). The WHR has consciously located themselves amongst other actors and has to some extent capitalised upon this. This has allowed them to satisfy the needs of donors more fully by ensuring that gender sensitivity is prioritised within programmes. Such an approach has been useful in the sense that grassroots' views

have been taken into account, as opposed to a strict and narrow organisational view in terms of defining gender orientated practices.

Although the close co-operation with feminist groups is one way of establishing dialogue on gender sensitive practices, it has at the same time been a complex and often contested process. This is primarily due to the fact that, on the one hand, some family planners have been suspicious of the feminist agenda and, on the other hand, feminists have been aware of the danger of co-option. That is:

> 'the process of working within mainstream institutions is fraught with ethical ambiguity and the difficulties of trying to please a variety of audiences: supervisors, funders, themselves, feminist colleagues outside the organisation' (Helzner and Shepard, 1990:158).

Moreover, as seen earlier the split between the feminist agenda and that of population agencies further complicated the dialogue. Yet, what was significant about this scheme was the belief that by creating a dialogue between a population agency and the feminists, both parties can to some extent stimulate change within the organisation itself. This was exhibited through a stronger feminist narrative within the region's programme discourse.

7.3.2 The Western Hemisphere Region and the International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy

The receptive nature of the WHR with regards to the assimilation and utilisation of gender orientated issues and concerns is seen in the way it has used the Federation's gender equity policy to influence its internal agenda to prioritise gender as a strategy. Specifically, the policy has been used to legitimise the increases in the number of men and women on the existing decision-making boards. More importantly it has influenced the delivery of clinic-based services by focusing on client rights and the way these rights influence the content of services offered (WHR - IPPF, 1999a: 8). This would suggest that there was already a commitment to making the region more

responsive towards a development, which was gender-friendly and that the GEP was used to formalise and enhance a strategy, which was already current within the region.

The IPPF GEP and the influence of the ICPD have served as legitimising vehicles for many of the region's aspirations, which had come about through the influence of key members of staff. In many ways then the GEP became a further means to existing ends, which had already been formulated due to the influence of other factors. Now, the regional office could push for change more efficiently and at the same time create a platform for staff to initiate programmes and projects, which were gender sensitive, such as initiatives on Gender Based Violence in countries such as the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Brazil. This will be the focus of the next section, which will assess the way in which gender mainstreaming has played a role at the region's programmatic level.

7.3.3 Programmes within the Western Hemisphere Region

In the early 1990s the WHR office began to initiate and receive funding for projects, which were specifically aimed at addressing the issue of gender sensitive practices. The WHR was the first region to initiate a project on Gender Based Violence, which has now become one of the region's strengths in terms of good practices. However, the pioneering dimension to the WHR's work has not been wholly successful in attracting the approval of all critics. There have been limitations and as one interviewee pointed out:

> 'I think we have made headway on projects. As a key point we have made headway on pilot projects, but when feminists look at the FPAs they still see a large medical orientated and male dominated organisation, which is sometimes perceived as demographically orientated and structured. So yes, I just want to be clear on the fact that although we have done a lot then a lot of it has been pilot work. Although there have been new approaches and methodologies it is not as though that it has blossomed everywhere in the different countries in our region. A lot still needs to be done. So all we can do is to say yes, we have some good initial ideas, approaches and preliminary results, but we have not managed to mainstream gender within all the associations – we are not

arrogant in thinking that the Western Hemisphere has done a tremendous job.' (Interview with senior member of staff at the Western Hemisphere Regional office, November 1999).

The region's approach has been to initiate projects, which are perceived as gender sensitive, within specific FPAs. These have involved initiatives on quality of care and gender based violence. The 'Quality of Care Project from a Gender Perspective' was aimed at assessing practices from the service user's perspective, thus, moving towards a bottom-up approach. Evaluations of clinics were carried out by a team consisting of local feminist-gender specialists and an FPA staff member, who interviewed service users and clinic personnel, and observations were made on clinics and client examinations (Helzner, 2000: 25). The findings showed that whilst senior staff members may be well versed in the principles of sexual and reproductive health, these concepts had not been adequately conveyed to middle and lower staff levels. It was argued that staff still tended to focus on medical aspects of care and did not view sexual and reproductive health as a rights issue. A number of important issues that impact on the quality of care did not get adequate attention and in all of the clinics, information on STDs as well as breast and cervical cancer was inconsistent or lacking. More importantly, the region's research team found that there was a general lack of awareness about the ways in which gender based violence impacts on women's ability to take responsibility for their sexual health (Helzner and Ortiz-Ortega, 2000: 19).

A key initiative taken by the region has been that of addressing gender based violence. To some extent this was in response to the project on 'Quality of Care from a Gender Perspective', where researchers visiting the clinics found that staff had little skills in addressing women who had been subjected to violence (IPPF-WHR, 2000: 5). A pilot project was established within four FPAs creating 'tools' for service providers including a ' Gender Based Violence Screening Tool', 'A Self-Assessment Questionnaire' and a 'Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices' survey for service providers. These tools supplied service providers with a framework, which could assess whether clients had been abused as well as a framework in which they could deal with it. The result was that within four FPAs in the WHR a holistic approach to SRH began to take shape whereby they went beyond the family planning paradigm by

starting to address women's needs as a whole and taking women's real and integral problems into account (IPPF-WHR, 2001: 1).

The WHR has its own concepts, definitions and way of working with the concept of gender equity. In various interviews undertaken with staff at the WHR Regional Office, it was pointed out that the region has taken every opportunity to use tools like the Gender Equity Policy in order to promote a regional cause. The policy has served to reinforce the visibility of women on decision-making boards, but at the same time created a platform to promote gender-sensitive programmes and projects. It is highly significant that the WHR had a strong gender strategy in place before the actual implementation of the Federation's GEP. Although the GEP took its inspiration from a variety of sources, one of the main contributors, especially on a theoretical level was the WHR through its consistent representation at the IWAP meetings. This was further seen in 1998 where IWAP discussed the implementation of the policy. Here a representative from the WHR proposed a 'model' to implement the policy successfully at an international level. Such framework was utilised in the WHR and staff had seen the value of employing such an approach (IPPF, 1998i: 19). This model proposed that:

> 'to progress on gender issues, IPPF will require a minimum commitment to working in synergy on its People (P), its Policies (P) and its Programmes (P), these form the core elements of the frameworks for implementing a gender perspective' (IPPF, 1998j: 10).

What we have seen so far is that WHR is a collection of very specific countries with different contexts and needs. This in itself would suggest that utilising strategies, which are gender sensitive, would be contextualised differently within each FPA. Yet, in many ways this region has advantages for gender orientated interventions mainly due to the highly aware feminist groups, which continuously attempt to promote social change and are very visible in the political landscape. Moreover, this region 'enjoys' the benefit of receiving cultural and economic assistance from the US and has to a large extent managed to capitalise on this, even when the objectives of the donor priorities may differ from what the FPAs themselves consider good practices. In many ways, this region in totality is an amalgamation of

several continents with different SRH profiles. It includes the US and Canada, as well as countries such as Nicaragua and Guatemala, and as such is underpinned by a strong 'homogenising' Americanisation.

7.4 The International Planned Parenthood Federation's in the South Asia Region

The South Asia Regional Office (SARO) was established in 1960 (Wadia, 2001: 192) and has since provided technical and financial assistance to member FPAs and health organisations located in Bangladesh, India, Iran[75], Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The priority for SARO is to provide leadership in promoting and supporting the Sexual and Reproductive Health Movement at the forefront of social and economic development plans and programmes within the South Asian region (SARO - IPPF, 1998: 1). Yet, as already discussed in promoting sexual and reproductive health, the Regional Office is faced with various challenges.

7.4.1 The Challenge for the South Asia Regional Office

One of the most significant challenges for this region is working within a context where family planning brings with it a number of contentious connotations. Some of them are related to the macro-institutions, which circumscribe life in these countries and others pertain to the antagonisms, which characterise the relationship between concepts such as feminism and local contexts and perceptions. One of these contentions surrounds the way in which the feminist movement has been conceptualised in the South Asia region. This can be illustrated in a quote by Soonawala, the vice president of the FPA in India in 1993, who stated that:

> 'the so-called pro-feminist groups, through their empty contraceptive polices, are in reality working against the welfare of their fellow women. In India injectable contraceptives were ready to be introduced into the national

[75] Iran's FPA became a member of SAR in 1980, transferring from membership of the Middle East and North Africa Region when that was renamed Arab World. With the change of regime in Iran and the banning of non-governmental organisations, membership lapsed, but contact with IPPF was renewed when organisations were once again allowed in 1994. Iran rejoined the South Asia Region in 1995. (Wadia, 2001: 191)

> programme about five years ago, but a stay was ordered by the Supreme Court because certain women's groups claimed that injectables were being forced on women, that they were dangerous contraceptives and therefore should not be used in the national programmes' (Soonawala, 1993: 85).

This illustrates the tension, which has characterised relationships between family planners and feminists. This is further complicated by the way in which family planning associations contextualise a gender aware approach in the presence of pluralistic and disparate women's organisations, which challenge the inter-relationship between men and women. In this context sexual and reproductive health is often confined within the 'welfare' debate rather in an ostensibly gender debate.

The above point is similarly applicable to the way in which gender equity, gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment is contextualised within the South Asia region. These concepts are fluid and have different meanings in different contexts as is evident in a publication *Real Lives* on Women and Girls in South Asia, where a Sri Lankan FPA staff member states that:

> 'men have great fear that women's empowerment represents a threat to their family life. On the contrary, women's empowerment should lead to the strengthening of family life. Even women's development groups are misguided. When a woman faces any difficulties in the home some of these women's groups tell her to get up and leave the husband. This is wrong, this is not empowering for women. I feel that there is an absolute necessity to preserve the family unit. What we need to bring about is better communication and understanding between husband and wife and mutual respect. This is the foundation upon which women's liberation should be built' (SARO - IPPF, 1997: 14).

This comment highlights a marked difference in perspectives with regard to empowerment and gender equity from one region to another. In this context empowerment is associated with the need for better communication between 'husband and wife' so that the family unit can prosper. Moreover, there is an explicit equating

of the family unit with women's liberation rather than seeing the family unit as one source of women's oppression.

It appears that the majority of the SARO's projects, which focus upon women, are in general concerned with literacy, income generation or skills development; these are termed 'empowering projects'. This is evident in the way in which the region's projects such as 'The Girl-Child Project' and 'Promoting Girls' Education' focus specifically on the above issues. For instance the Pakistani FPA's project on the girl-child sets out to raise girls and women's awareness about their lives and rights. The FPA's activities involved in this project have been centred around orientation workshops where girls discuss issues of health, hygiene, nutrition, education, first aid, food preservation and women's rights (SARO - IPPF, 1997: 3). The focus here is on incremental empowerment and the connection between sexual and reproductive health empowerment and economic empowerment.

South Asia, whilst being extremely diverse in many respects, has a significant number of core similarities between the member states and its member FPAs. This is particularly seen in their status as 'developing' countries and their focus on population growth as a priority over individual rights, which have often been perceived as secondary or a by-product of 'greater' social objectives. This priority with economic well-being is borne out by Caplan in her examination of women's groups in India. In this study of five women's organisations, Caplan (1985) illustrates the significance of the women's movement. In assessing the emergence of the women's movement, Caplan found that women had to compromise and adapt a language and devise goals and aims, which would not alienate male control. Consequently, Caplan argues that there was no attack on the patriarchal bases of Indian culture.

Another key finding in Caplan's study is that Indian women have tended to extend their domestic role into the public sphere, which is materialised in carrying out social work on behalf of the poor with a specific focus upon welfare activities. Voluntary social welfare defines and mediates relations between the classes particularly effectively as it consists largely of philanthropy carried out on behalf of the working class by the upper classes. Social welfare activities have enabled women of the bourgeoisie to inculcate their own ideology of womanhood and the family into

members of the lower classes. The emphasis for poor women is laid on solutions such as marriage, family planning and domestic training as opposed to developing skills in a productive sphere (Caplan, 1985: 16). A combination of the Indian government and upper class women's concern with the increase of the national population growth in particular amongst the poor, shaped the agenda of family planning. Although India is only one example of the activities carried out by the women's movement within South Asia, it does highlight the complexity of class, caste and gender as well as a general discourse on the way in which womanhood is perceived.

7.4.2 The Experience of the International Planned Parenthood Federation's South Asia Region

This section will assess the way in which gender sensitive development has been conceptualised by SARO and its FPAs and moreover to what extent the GEP has played a role within this region and how it has impacted the region's activities. One of the key challenges for the region's FPAs has been the hostility of potential service-users towards family planners. There has been little trust in family planning due to the turbulent history of the region. Family planning has often been associated with force and consequently some of the FPAs in South Asia have had to re-build their image and approach to their service users focusing on showing the client value of rights-based service delivery. IPPF's strategic plan, *Vision 2000*, as well as the ICPD Platform for Action became the backbone for the region's own strategic plan. This addressed issues, which were previously not considered as essential in the practice of family planning such as counselling in sexuality, prevention of unsafe abortion, screening for reproductive tract cancers and emergency contraception (SARO - IPPF, 2001: 10).

In 1994, SARO's mission statement was proposed as the following:

'The International Planned Parenthood Federation's South Asia Region (IPPF-SAR), consisting of non-governmental member family planning associations in the region, commits itself to the realization of family planning as a basic human right and as an essential measure for the health and well-being of individuals and families. To this end, IPPF – SAR further commits itself to:

ensure that family planning remains in the forefront of social, economic and environmental development policies and plans of countries in the region. Promote and support measures aimed at making family planning services available and accessible to all. Promote and support quality of care with emphasis on the client's rights to informed choices, sustainability of services and maintenance of the essential standards of services throughout the region. Work towards the establishment of equal rights for women and for their empowerment to exercise control over their own reproductive and sexual health choices. Promote and support measures aimed at preparing the young generation for responsible adulthood/parenthood' (SARO - IPPF, 1994:19).

Considering the turbulent history of the region in terms of family planning, this is a significant shift in discourse from the earlier and more narrowly defined approach of family planning. Yet, this Mission Statement required a whole new approach in which SRH was now at the forefront of the region's strategy. This was not an easy task and required a whole new way of thinking and operating. The FPAs' key concern had so far been that of family planning and the new approach of sexual and reproductive health required new skills and techniques including 'tools', which could address issues of gender, youth and quality of care.

7.4.3 The South Asia Region and the Gender Equity Policy

According to a survey carried out in 1999 by the Global Advocacy Division on the Gender Equity Policy[76], SARO reported that although steps had been made to implement the policy, obstacles were also encountered. For instance the FPA in Bangladesh reported that lack of good public transport is a problem for many women as it restricts their mobility and therefore their political availability. This is further compounded by cultural restrictions, which impede women's movement, if unaccompanied. The Pakistani FPA found it difficult implementing the policy due to the fact that there is a lack of suitable trained and qualified females, which was an

[76] This survey was carried out by Naana Otto-Oyortey and myself in 1999 as part of monitoring the way in which the regions and its local FPAs managed to implement the Gender Equity Policy since 1995. The results of this survey have since been written up in a report 'IPPF's Gender Equity Policy: A Five-Year Review' in 2001 (IPPF, 2001e).

issue in terms of recruiting women for decision-making bodies. This is reflected in the way in which the region has faced challenges in meeting the objective of the Gender Equity Policy with regard to achieving 50% of males and 50% of women on decision-making bodies. The majority of the region's decision-making bodies remain predominantly male; in 1999 the executive committee consisted of 60% male members and 40% female members; 62% of the region's volunteers were males whilst the remaining 38% were females (IPPF, 2001e: 5). Moreover, the senior management within the region's FPAs still remains predominantly male, 14% of the Executive FPA Directors are female as opposed to 86% of their male counterparts (IPPF, 2001e: 45).

It was clear from this survey that the policy was perceived within the region as yet another 'Western' tool, which did not specifically work within a South Asian environment. The reasoning behind this for the South Asia region as a whole is that their particularised context cannot synergise the conceptualisation found within IPPF's GEP. What this means is that the presumptions and measurables, which comprise the GEP are incommensurable with the social reality of South Asia. For example the 50:50 split is almost inconceivable where movement is so problematic. However, what appears to be happening with the region may in itself be quite radical, in that the challenges of the Cairo Platform for Action are being effectively negotiated through various activities concerning youth, sex education and counselling (SARO - IPPF, 1997: 6). This in itself is a large step, for the region, towards an agenda promoting gender sensitive practices. Whilst the region appears to have struggled with the GEP, through its innovative approach to its own circumstances it has been able to construct a platform, which is both stretching, but also aligned to the region's social realities.

There is clearly a concern in the SARO as to what motivates the GEP and the ambiguity of its application across such varying cultural and social circumstances. It appears that there is confusion as to what gender mainstreaming entails and how it should be incorporated into the region's work as a strategy. One member of staff at the Regional Office pointed out that:

'we keep hearing the word 'gender mainstreaming', but no one seems to be able to explain what it actually means'. (Interview with member of staff from the South Asian regional office, August 1999)

This statement is indicative of two issues concerning gender mainstreaming and IPPF's GEP. Firstly, the nature of the gender mainstreaming strategy, which underpins the GEP is not clear and does not resonate with the region. Secondly, it highlights the incommensurability between the concepts that compose gender mainstreaming and the experiences of service users throughout this region. As a consequence, put together, these issues obscure and obstruct progress for gender mainstreaming as standardised within the GEP even though the region is making headway in constructing a rights-based strategy for change.

Moreover, gender mainstreaming as conceptualised within the GEP does not sit comfortably within the SARO's overall programme language due to its vague notions of 'difference' and its emphasis on an implicit conceptualisation of a universal notion of womanhood. This has certain implications for the way in which the SARO has conceptualised gender sensitive development; it tends to avoid language and phrases, which communicate negative connotations and associations. Although the South Asia region has a lively pluralistic women's movement, feminism as conceived in Western terms often carries negative associations of being anti-male and anti-family as well as something being associated with social dislocation (Goetz, 1998: 45). SARO's resistance to feminism is predicated on feminism's Western conceptual framework rather than a resistance to feminism per se where the essence of the analysis is a description of the difference between men and women in social and cultural terms. It could be argued that SARO's approach to the Cairo Platform for Action in fact draws on a feminist analysis although one, which is sensitive to local and regional particularities.

7.5 The Significance of Local Knowledge

As seen throughout the previous section each of the regions has a different social and cultural reality as well as a different way in which gender has been contextualised. The critical issue here is the extent to which policies formulated at the centre, which are intended as instantiations of gender mainstreaming, have the

capacity to accommodate the degree of difference, which exists throughout the Federation's member countries.

7.5.1 'Universalising' Notions of Difference

Different kinds of interpretations of gender have emerged within and between the two regions and this is clearly reflected in the way in which gender is tackled and interpreted. The WHR is opening up dialogue with feminists, actively questioning current power relations between men and women and the way in which this affects women and men's access to services. SARO is, on the other hand, addressing the empowerment of women and male participation in a language, which is more culturally specific to the needs of the various FPA areas. This is significant as it illustrates that the notion of 'gender' is not a static and universal concept. Rather it differs over time and moreover according to the cultural context and should therefore not be treated within a modernist framework where 'gender' is often considered to be a universal analytical concept.

Different ways of adapting, contesting and challenging IPPF's GEP have materialised within the different regions and its FPAs, which in turn highlights the complexity of implementing a policy within a Federation. As shown earlier, the FPAs are semi-autonomous and this is particularly evident in the way in which policies are adopted. My research showed that some regions are more concerned with the new language of sexual and reproductive health as opposed to IPPF's GEP. This preoccupation with language stems from the influence of the ICPD Platform for Action, which was the initial vehicle for moving from family planning to sexual and reproductive health. This is important in that it illustrates the capacity within the ICPD for the accommodation of difference, which does not appear to be there in the GEP. In fact the GEP in focusing essentially on the quantitative aspects of gender representation misses an opportunity to becoming the kind of policy directive needed to articulate the full gamut of considerations entailed by gender mainstreaming.

What is significant is that two different regions have chosen two very different ways of adopting the Federation's GEP. Although both regions have adopted the policy, it has, to a large extent, been marginal in the efforts made by each region to promote sexual and reproductive health. That is not to say that the policy has not been

useful, rather it has been subject to the two regions' own interpretation of gender equity and consequently, two very different interpretations have emerged. The regional office in South Asia considers women's empowerment as an important component in reaching what is perceived as successful development. The WHR, on the other hand, has made a conscious effort to take on board feminist groups and their agendas and thereby creating a form of development, which is particular to that region.

It is significant that IPPF's GEP has been developed and later monitored in accordance with a linear and rational process, yet the way in which it works in practical terms has become far more fluid and less linear due to the federal character of IPPF and the power of context. Moreover, this shows that the implementation process is complex and that it is fluid and dynamic as it is to a large extent creating discourses on gender itself through the implementation process. So far it appears that the politics of IPPF's GEP need to be understood when contextualised in order to take into account what happens in the process of implementing it within the regional and local level of the Federation.

7.6 Concluding Comments

The aim of this chapter was not to 'rank' or even compare the ways in which these two regions have dealt with the gender mainstreaming strategy. The role of this chapter was to see the extent to which culture and context are critical dependencies for effective gender sensitive development. Moreover, the aim was to understand how different regions have responded to their particular contexts in their interpretation and adaptation of the central level's prescription in the form of the GEP The two regions are very different from each other in almost all respects, not least in their socio-economic profile. This inevitably impacts the FPA activities and the way programmes are structured and delivered. This is only part of the explanation as to why the two regions have dealt with the same requirements so differently. What the chapter shows is that gender mainstreaming, as a strategy, cannot be effective when it implies a set of universal narratives for all women in all circumstances. This is compounded when the implicit narrative that underpins the gender mainstreaming strategy tends to be dominated by a Western conceptualisation.

On an organisational level IPPF has the capacity to allow regions to negotiate strategic discourses on a regional and local level, allowing for the regions to influence the direction of the policy as it affects them. This can be seen readily within the SAR where empowerment particularly is a high priority, but one, which is set within the context of societies, which value the family and the status of women within them. This can be contrasted to the way in which the WHR has embraced the various feminist movements across the region in order to widen their appeal and enhance their delivery capability. Both these actions are instrumental in their own contexts and represent ways of advancing their cause whilst working within the given circumstances.

This chapter's contribution to understanding the notion of gender mainstreaming within IPPF was to look at the ways in which negotiation, interpretation and adaptation play a significant role in the transformation of the centre's core gender mainstreaming tool i.e. the GEP in local particularised contexts. The GEP is comprised of a set of quantitative guidelines, which are predicated on a universalist interpretation of gender, that is they presume a broadly homogenous notion of womanhood and therefore construct strategic aims, which are similarly narrow in their notion of change. Both the WHR and SARO have in different ways transformed the GEP to suit their particular contexts – the ways they have undertaken this are apposite in illustrating the problems associated with gender mainstreaming in general.

Clearly, the idea that gender can be defined with certainty and that definition will hold true in all contexts is highly problematic. This is born out in the above discussion through the ways in which each region has adapted the GEP to their needs. The WHR used it as a vehicle for accelerating an already scoped and agreed programme of change, whereas the SARO have taken elements of it to support their central theme of empowerment. What is absolutely clear from the discussion is that context must drive and influence policy not vice versa and moreover, statically defined notions of what constitutes women's and men's needs will quickly become meaningless in the absence of the particular.

Conclusion: Opening Windows for a Transformative Agenda - Strategising Gender Mainstreaming

At the outset of this thesis I set out two parallel and mutually dependent aims; the first concerned the nature, content and possibility of constructing and implementing a development praxis, which is gender mainstreamed. The second concerns the extent to which IPPF has managed to assimilate this contested and complex strategy in implementing policies and programmes. I proposed that the two issues should be construed as mutually dependent, because the possibility of gender mainstreaming is directly connected to its application in a practical context i.e. the concept alone can only add value to the development canon if it is efficacious in the context of substantial change.

Throughout this analysis several significant findings have been highlighted. Some of these findings weigh considerably against the possibility of gender mainstreaming, whilst others suggest ways in which this strategy could add value to the development project albeit through an understanding of the strategy's failings. Whilst, this may appear to be a rather contrived conclusion, it is aimed at gaining something positive from what, I have argued, is a somewhat depressing analysis of gender mainstreaming. The failings of gender mainstreaming are themselves both instructive and to a certain extent only partial. This statement should not be misinterpreted as a recanting of the comments seen above, but rather a more measured response to the very real and difficult circumstances, which face NGOs and their staff each day. In order to take something substantial from both this conclusion and the thesis as a whole, it is important to look once again the factors, which militated against gender mainstreaming being wholly successful.

On examining these factors then, holistically against the gender mainstreaming strategy's ambitions, there is a substantial warrant for arguing that gender mainstreaming can only be as effective as its protagonist claim under some very specific circumstances. These circumstances entail complete cognisance of the need to account for cultural specificity in the construction of any development policy or programme for change. The need to appreciate the nature and content of difference

across varying circumstances works against the implicit universalism at the heart of the gender mainstreaming strategy, which constantly abstracts concepts such as equity, equality and gender relations away from the particular towards the general. In summary then, gender mainstreaming; by virtue of its conceptual content, is in fact self-contradictory.

The conclusion that the possibility for an NGO to become gender mainstreamed should be highly qualified, is the result of analysing the way in which IPPF has attempted to gender mainstream and identifying obstacles, which have militated against its success. Thus, the possibility of gender mainstreaming as a foundation for a development strategy is in itself a remote and very complex prospect and the transferability of the strategy to large NGOs has proved highly problematic for several key reasons. I have demonstrated and argued at several points within the thesis that the most significant reason for this is the ambiguity with regard to interpretation of what gender mainstreaming actually is and the contradictions, which circumscribe the various interpretations of it.

Throughout this analysis I have attempted to illustrate the ways in which gender mainstreaming presents development NGOs with a paradox in terms of interpretation over meaning and an apparent insurmountable problematic in terms of implementation. These two issues, interpretation and implementation, are interconnected through the problem of meaning within gender mainstreaming itself. At the heart of the problem is a dichotomy between interpretations, which favour the 'mainstreaming' elements of the strategy over the theoretical 'gender' interpretations. This extends beyond academic debate concerning gender mainstreaming into the practical domain of NGOs and other organisations attempting to adopt gender mainstreamed inspired principles.

Inconsistency in defining the strategy is further compounded by some specific issues, which are a function of the role of particular NGOs and the nature of NGOs themselves. These issues are clustered around specific thematics; macro-themes such as context, history and donors and micro-themes such as programme content, policy statements and monitoring and evaluating techniques. Without exception these issues

were present in the analysis of IPPF and there is good reason to infer that most will feature in large NGOs where change is being negotiated.

It is important to understand the various ramifications of both the problem of interpreting gender mainstreaming and the various problems, which further militate against the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming for any NGO in attempting to follow this development route. Undoubtedly, the most significant aspect involves interpretation of the concepts, which compose the strategy itself, and also the methodology at the heart of the strategy - this single issue cannot be over-stated. The various interpretations of the strategy entail a multiplicity of prescriptions for change ranging from a radical version of equal opportunities to bottom-up, discourse-orientated-agenda-setting. These interpretations are critical in reviewing and understanding what an organisation wishes to achieve and how they interpret their ability to instigate change. In the case of IPPF gender mainstreaming is remarkably complex namely because the 'business' of the NGO itself is highly gendered, in the sense that its services all centre around sexual and reproductive health. Whilst, this made the exploration of gender mainstreaming more complicated, it ensured that the discussion had to be thorough in separating out the problems associated with the 'business' of IPPF and with the issues associated with the Federation's efforts to sensitise their work to gender.

In arriving at the conclusion I have outlined above, there are several factors, which need further consideration; the first concerns the interpretation(s) of gender mainstreaming itself. This needs some further discussion before turning to look at ways forward and some of the more concrete issues, which problematise gender sensitive development in general.

Finding One's Bearings!

At the beginning of this thesis the whole notion of a gender mainstreaming strategy was questioned, highlighting the previous strategies of WID and GAD, which had made attempts to challenge gender inequality, in particular in the context of development thinking. It has been demonstrated throughout this thesis that the gender mainstreaming strategy has been positive in the sense that it has opened up

institutional dialogue. Yet, it has simultaneously become evident that the gender mainstreaming strategy has, through pragmatic negotiation, become very similar to the earlier approaches of WID and GAD.

The similarity with previous development models is not a coincidence. It rests wholly on an intentional misinterpretation of the central tenets of gender mainstreaming. The feminist conception of gender mainstreaming is essentially a bottom-up strategy, which places the expectations and experiences of individuals at the starting point of any strategy for change. Furthermore it is holistic in that it places these experiences in the context of culture and social situations, thus enabling a reasoned dialogue to take place, which allows for difference and particularity. Undoubtedly, assimilating this kind of radical strategy into any NGO would be a significant challenge. It calls for a re-appraisal of the way the NGO relates to its service users, its donors and the governments and partner organisations it deals with. It also calls for a different way of working with regard to prioritisation of resources, not least in the context of client-led, sustainability orientated, change programmes. It is implicit within this programme of action that there is a need for a wholesale reconstruction of every aspect of an NGO's work. This is, to say the least, extremely ambitious especially where this reconstruction faces resistance at every level of engagement; internal and external to the NGO. In fact, it could be argued that the strategy of gender mainstreaming and all it entails has, in many ways, been fully understood, but has at the same time been subject to considerable resistance.

Many NGOs have made steps to attempt to assimilate some gender mainstreaming orientated activities into their organisational practices. Yet, often these changes are only superficial and may be restricted to changes in language. These changes have tended to only affect the syntactic level; the semantic content of the language used within NGOs has only been partially transformed. This means that the structural barriers to transformative change, such as patriarchy and substantive empowerment, have gone relatively unaffected by the gender mainstreaming strategy. This has proved relatively impervious to the apparent language offensive, which has been one interpretation of the gender mainstreaming strategy and conceptualisations. In many instances, the gender mainstreaming strategy has led to a re-packaging of the WID/GAD concepts founded on the same modernist top-down principles of

development practice. Where NGOs have made more effort to embrace a more radical interpretation of the new strategies, they have more often than not had to acknowledge the need for pragmatism in the face of external calls from donors to deliver 'quick-wins' with easily discerned results.

I have illustrated and argued extensively that one of the sources of this misinterpretation of gender mainstreaming within development NGOs is a paradox in terms of interpretation over meaning and an insurmountable problematic with regard to implementation. The two issues of interpretation and implementation are interconnected through the problem of meaning within gender mainstreaming. A dichotomy between interpretations, which favour the 'mainstreaming' elements of the strategy over the theoretical 'gender' interpretations extends beyond academic debate over gender mainstreaming into the practical domain of NGOs and other organisations attempting to adopt gender mainstreamed inspired principles. The contemporary articulations of a gender mainstreamed inspired strategy are predicated on certain key themes; universality, consensus and material conditions, each of which, whilst contested, are culturally specific to the West. Gender mainstreaming, then when articulated as a development strategy, which is rooted in this backdrop, has certain implications, which create a paradox for development practitioners. The paradox is contained within the terms of gender and mainstreaming, the former is interpreted as a concept, which accounts for differences, whilst the latter implies a singular approach to change, which involves organisational re-structuring rather than bottom-up narrative sensitivity.

In order to move a gender mainstreaming development strategy forward, it is particularly important to use this research to understand the key 'points of pain' or obstacles for embracing new strategic methods. The analysis within the previous chapters allows us to appreciate and understand the various problems NGOs face in trying to shift themselves paradigmatically to new strategic territory. In understanding the limitations of gender mainstreaming and more importantly appreciating where those limitations derive, this research can provide a basis for building new ways of founding development practice, which takes account of the inadequacies highlighted by gender mainstreaming. Moreover, in acknowledging the priority of context and culture over certain mainstreaming tendencies, significant value can be derived from

the preceding discussion and the wider discussions concerning gender sensitive development. Priority of context facilitates the effective use of resources within the communities, which are primary beneficiaries of the projects. Once priority is acknowledged then other issues concerning the problematic nature of mainstreaming itself can be explored.

Understanding the Obstacles and 'Points of Pain'

The nature of the obstacles to change is directly related to the interpretations of the gender mainstreaming strategy outlined above. NGOs that are large and complex in organisational terms would undoubtedly encounter the most 'pain' in affecting the kind of bottom-up change, which is implied by this strategy. As seen in this study there are a significant number of aspects, which need to be negotiated in order to affect a transformative agenda. The most critical aspects can be thematically organised into two mutually dependent groups, micro-obstacles and macro-obstacles.

Amongst the micro-themes are issues such as monitoring and evaluation techniques, programme content and policy directives. In the case of monitoring, the most significant obstacle is derived from the problem of meeting donor requirements. Project design tends to become like a 'corporate package' with deadlines, targets and time limits. All of these parameters when conceived of within a non-gender mainstreamed framework, work against gender-sensitive principles. Gender relations are not contextualised, and this obstructs more fundamental changes such as addressing the power relations between men and women across class and culture. Within these confines it is difficult for NGOs to make a thorough gender analysis within the initial project design due to the bureaucratic limitations, which they often face in trying to assimilate and off-set donor and client needs. The latter inevitably concedes to the former.

Without a thorough gender analysis, the bottom-up driven priorities are subsumed or replaced by those proposed within donor terms and conditions. The ability of the NGO to ensure the programme takes sufficient account of the need for gender empowerment and participation is severely restricted unless dialogue can take place between client and programme approvers at the outset of programme design.

Utilising policy directives such as IPPF's Gender Equity Policy can, on the other hand, have the opposite of the desired effect if they are not built from within the organisation. The problem here revolves around ownership and direction. Directive orientated policy statements are notoriously difficult to administer and monitor especially where the focus is as complex as gender. In order to meet the needs of administration and monitoring, such documents tend to over focus on the quantitative, when their real focus is actually the qualitative aspects of service delivery particularly empowerment predicated sustainability. Directives, which are aimed at changing the cultural values of an organisation, need senior sponsorship and to be 'owned' by a substantial proportion of the organisation, particularly those who will be effected by its provisions. In the case of gender orientated change, the impetus for the directive and its championing should be based on a cross directorate partnership involving all levels of the NGO, so as to be as inclusive as possible.

These two descriptions of the 'micro-obstacles' of monitoring and policy statements are further problematised when contextualised within highly complex NGOs, which often have extensive histories and complicated organisational structures. As discussed in *Chapter Two*, NGOs are seen by governments and inter-governmental organisations as extremely effective distribution channels for donor aid. Whilst this clearly pays tribute to the professionalism of NGOs, it also puts them under considerable donor pressure to account for their actions. This was seen in the way in which IPPF's priorities changed according to donor preferences, for example the change of emphasis from gender to youth and from youth to HIV/AIDS.

Another notable point of friction is the relationship between the volunteers and the centre. This was observed throughout the thesis as a whole, where these tensions are often exacerbated by the variety of national contexts in which NGOs have to operate. Attempting to provide sustainable and radical solutions in the context of highly complex global organisations, such as NGOs, inevitably involves compromises and uneven distribution of resources. Moreover, these tensions between the centre and the local distribution points also manifest themselves in varying interpretations of policy as well as governance. In the area of policy interpretation, IPPF's Gender Equity Policy stands out as one specific example of where two regional offices dealt very differently with the same set of guidelines. In one region, the management

assimilated the Gender Equity Policy relatively quickly and in fact went beyond the Gender Equity Policy within some of their programmes. In contrast another region interpreted the Gender Equity Policy in a more creative way, which accorded to its specific regional contours.

The Importance of Agenda Setting

The ability to lead in agenda-setting is a critical part of the gender mainstreaming strategy in that setting and controlling direction is one of the pre-requisites of an organisation that attempts to gender mainstream. In *Chapter Four*, I outlined the importance of alliance building for NGOs to be effective and argued that NGOs have to make strategic alliances in order to influence the political agenda. Evidence showed that if NGOs do not follow this 'route', then they are unlikely to survive financially and may struggle to have a voice at the international level. However, there is a paradox at the centre of this strategy. Large NGOs, which are at the forefront of their particular sector or sphere of influence, are also the focus of a multiplicity of competing discourses, some of which contradict each other and, thus, militate against their effectiveness in radical agenda setting.

In a very real sense, larger NGOs such as IPPF have been very effective in that they have responded to change successfully and subsequently have managed to grow, but this appears to have been at the expense of their initial radical agenda. From its very inception the Federation has had to create alliances with governments in order to become a global organisation. The shift from a pioneer organisation to a 'world player' had significant implications for IPPF. For IPPF its transformation from being a relatively radical pioneering movement to an internationally recognised NGO came about as a consequence of their enhanced status at the UN. This status brought with it a considerable number of opportunities to expand its service delivery capability, but also affected the scope of IPPF's activities as they increasingly relied on their UN credentials to attract funding. Invariably government funding was 'restricted' so that its purpose was pre-defined by the donor.

The Federation has had to respond to external changes in order to become 'accepted' and at the same time the radicalism, which initially characterised the

movement was slowly being replaced by the more orthodox conception of the development project. This has affected the way in which gender relations have been conceptualised by the Federation throughout the whole of its history. There is a downside to success for NGOs, their size and status often inhibits them from being able to implement or attempt large scale transformative change.

The Overemphasis on Managerialism

NGOs' ability to control and shape change is also questioned within the thesis as a whole. Evidence suggests that NGOs are reflectors of change, rather than agents of change. Whilst they advocate for change, they are still to a large extent driven by the donor agenda and the limitations set for them by host governments. Donors are also highly influential in the way that projects are managed and implemented. There is an implied premise within donor rhetoric that inequity can be 'fixed' by strict planning and monitoring processes.

This is reflected in the way in which grassroots terms such as participation, empowerment and pluralism have been co-opted at the international level. Yet, at the same time NGOs and their projects are being monitored with strict rational and modernist evaluation tools as requested by the donor community. This in turn restricts the ability for NGOs to make a real change in terms of gender equity as a goal in itself. As a consequence this has left little scope for research to be done on the actual effect of gender mainstreaming on the service users, which NGOs represent. This is also evident in the way in which IPPF's Gender Equity Policy was conceptualised – there was little concern about the way in which, if at all, this policy has benefited the service users themselves. This is often due to the funding distributed to NGOs, which tends to be conditioned by quantitative results, which very rarely takes into account the complexity of 'measuring' gender equity.

To be or not to be Gender Mainstreamed - Is this the Question?

Given the limitations of gender mainstreaming set out above, it is important to look at what gender mainstreaming can contribute to the development discourse.

There are many possible ways in which it has informed development thinking in relation to gender-sensitive practices.

The two most important contributions of gender mainstreaming to development revolve around the concepts of 'difference' and 'bottom-up' and these are empowerment and participation. Both empowerment and participation allow NGOs a bridge from the narrative of Northern donors and organisational practices to service users and their experiences. In building this bridge, NGOs can facilitate a compromise, which can at least partly satisfy the needs of all concerned. This outcome will be informed and shaped not only by the donors and the NGOs themselves, but also by the service users and recipient communities, so that the direction of change is mutually acceptable. It is imperative that further research is orientated around this challenge in that it explores the effect of policies and programmes on service users themselves and allows them the voice necessary for full participation so that the NGO/service user balance is truly reflected in future development activity.

The essence of acknowledging the importance of gender mainstreaming is also in acknowledging the plurality of gender voices throughout the world. Effective and substantial development have to be predicated on the many different discourses, which exist throughout the South and are not reducible to a universal set of characteristics or requirements. This will involve entering into discursive partnerships between NGOs and service users in order to deliver change, which is suitable and moreover sustainable in that it has at its centre a reflexive dimension founded on local particularities.

Responding to Change - the Challenge for the International Planned Parenthood Federation

Given IPPF's recognised dominance of the sexual and reproductive health development sector, they have a unique position with regard to pioneering the need for programmes, which can respond to difference. This unique position globally is enhanced by their federal structure in that they have a network needed to engage with client communities in order to develop programmes, which are founded on the

principles of participation and empowerment. The Gender Equity Policy did attempt to direct activities in a gender sensitive way. Yet, the degree of abstraction needed for it to stand in all circumstances as a single set of directives meant that it lacked the degree of granularity and detail needed to augment IPPF's activities in this space.

In a similar way in which IPPF's size assist them in pioneering change it can also be an asset in seeking ways of securing the kind of unrestricted funding that has 'less strings attached'. This kind of funding could be used to resource projects, which are self-defined by FPAs and also self-assessed or at least assessed at arms length with regard to the Central Office. It is acknowledged that the likelihood of this happening in any sizable way is small. However, where pilots can be funded and their results are discernible, these can be used to leverage unrestricted funding. Clearly there is a limitation here in that the results will need to be easily discernible in order for them to be presented to donors. This process will also need to be accompanied by a rigorous communication to donors, setting out why these kinds of projects are valuable to service users.

There is also a sense in which size can be a disadvantage in that it can encourage organisations to become isolated and potentially removed from grassroots thinking. IPPF itself grew out of a grassroots movement and could benefit substantially by building alliances on an NGO level and at the FPA level. Organisations like Marie Stopes International have significant infrastructures for the delivery of services, which when combined with IPPF's specialist services could compliment each other and increase the volume of delivered services. Moreover, this type of partnership would also allow both organisations to reduce their costs and thus free up funding to utilise elsewhere. In order to enhance gender awareness within IPPF and its policies and programmes, it needs to build the momentum around gender issues on a discursive level by bringing in groups and individuals who are involved within the grassroots movement.

Gender Mainstreaming - Further Explorations

The findings, analyses and conclusions within this thesis reflect only a relatively limited exploration of the concept of gender mainstreaming. The thesis is not intended to be exhaustive. Throughout the period of research, gender and development thinking has continued to change, the latter changes are not necessarily reflected in this work.

Key areas for further consideration and research, especially in order to build on the positive aspects of gender mainstreaming, are:

1. Extensive research into the effect certain gender mainstreamed policies have on service users, service users and communities in the South. I have only managed to touch on this within this thesis. Where I have, the focus was essentially theoretical or based on the assessment of IPPF staff. This leaves an important area for analysis, possibly the most important area. Proving that the intentions of NGOs do resonate with service users and accord with service users' aspirations has often been overlooked in the gender and development space.

2. In addition, more analysis should be undertaken to understand how 'difference' could be accounted for by organisations, especially NGOs that focus on groups, which have traditionally been labelled as 'marginalised'. This point is related to that above concerning service users. NGOs, especially those, who take gender seriously, need to appreciate the context of their policies and programmes more fully. Assumptions and unintentional prejudices about the experiences of women and men can lead to activities, which simply consolidate, and institutionalise marginalisation, rather than change it.

3. There is also a need to explore more fully, the effect of power and its negotiation between the North and the South. Again, this relationship implies so many assumptions without actually reference to reality. How individuals, communities and countries see themselves should be central to leveraging change, which is sustainable and benefits the maximum number of people as possible.

References

Acker, J., Barry, K. and Esseveld, J. (1991), 'Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist Research', in M.M Fonow and J.A. Cook (eds), *Beyond Methodology*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Action Aid (2000), *Trustees' Report and Accounts 2000*, London: Action Aid.

Actionaid (2000), *Gender Policy*, London: Actionaid.

Afshar, H. (1996), 'Women and the politics of fundamentalism in Iran', in H. Afshar (ed.), *Women and Politics in the Third World*, London: Routledge.

Alcoff, L. and E. Potter (1992), *Feminist Epistemologies (Thinking Gender)*, London: Routledge.

Althusser, L. (1969), *For Marx*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Alvarez, S. (1990), 'Contradictions of a "Women's Space" in a Male-Dominant State: The Political Role of the Commissions on the Status of Women in Post-authoritarian Brazil', in K. Staudt (ed.), *Women, International Development, and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Alvesson, M. and Due Billing, Y. (1997), *Understanding Gender and Organisations*, London: Sage.

Andreas, C. (1985), *When Women Rebel: The Rise of Popular Feminism in Peru*, Westport Conn: Lawrence Hill.

Apthorpe, R. (1986), 'Development Policy Discourse', *Public Administration and Development*, 6: 377-89.

Archibald, L. and Crnkovich, M. (1995), 'Intimate Outsiders: Feminist Research in a Cross-Cultural Environment', in S. Burt and L. Code (eds.), *Changing Methods: Feminist Transforming Practice*, Petersborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.

Arnfred, S. (2000), 'Questions of Power: Women's Movements, Feminist Theory and Development Aid', in *Discussing Women's Empowerment – Theory and Practice*, Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

Aviel, J. (1981), 'Political Participation of Women in Latin America', in *Western Quarterly*, Volume 34, No 1: 169 - 181.

Bacchi, C.L. (1996), *The Politics of Affirmative Action: 'Women', Equality and Category Politics*, London: Sage.

Back, K. (1989), *Family Planning and Population Control: The Challenges of a Successful Movement*, Boston: Twayne Publishers.

Baden, S. and Goetz, A.M. (1998), 'Who needs (sex) when you can have (gender)? Conflicting discourses on gender at Beijing', in C. Jackson and R. Pearson (eds.), *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*. London: Routledge.

Bagihole, B. (1997), *Equal Opportunities and Social Policy*, London: Longman.

Barrett, M. (1980), *Women's Oppression Today*, London: Verso.

Barret, M. (1991), *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault*, Oxford: Polity Press.

Barrios de la Chungara, D. (1983), 'Women and Organisation', in Davies, M. (ed.) *Third World: Second Sex*. London: Zed Books.

Beneria, L. and Sen, G. (1981), 'Accumulation, reproduction and women's role in economic development: Boserup revisited', in *Signs*, 7 (2): 279-98.

Benholdt-Thomsen and Mies, M. (1999), *The Subsistence Perspective: Beyond the Globalised Economy*, London: Zed Books.

Berer, M. (1990),'What would a Feminist Population Policy be like', in *Women's Health Journal*, no 8, April-May-June, 4-7.

Berer, M. (1993), 'Population and Family Planning Policies: Women-centered Perspectives', in *Reproductive Health Matters* 1: 4-13.

Bhasin, K. (1993), 'Some Thoughts on Development and Sustainable Development', in *Women in Action*, 1: 10-8.

Blackburn, J. and Holland. J. (1998), *Who Changes? Institutionalising Participation in Development*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Bleier, R. (1991), 'Science and Gender', in Sneja Gunew (ed.), *A Reader in Feminist Knowledge*, London: Routledge.

Bobbington, A, and Thiele, G. (1993), *NGOs and the state in Latin America*, London: Routledge.

BOND (2001), http://www.bond.org.uk/lte/guidancenotes/logframes1.html.

Boserup, E. (1970), *Women's Role in Economic Development*, New York: St Martins Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991), *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Braidotti, R. (1991), *Patterns of Dissonance*, London: Polity Press.

Breitenbach, E., Brown, A.; Mackay, F. and Webb, J. (2002), *The Changing Politics of Gender Equality in Britain*, Hampshire: Palgrave.

Bryson, V. (1992), *Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction,* London: Macmillan.

Bunch, C. and Carillo, R. (1990), 'Feminist Perspectives on Women in Development', in I. Tinker (ed.), *Persistent Inequalities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burchell, G. (1991), 'Peculiar Interests: Civil Society and Governing ''the System of Natural Liberty'', in G. Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect,* Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Burgess, R. (1984), *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research,* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Burghart, R. (1993), 'His Lordship at the Cobbler's Well', in M. Hobart (ed.), *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance*, London: Routledge.

Butler, R. and Wilson, D. (1990), *Managing Voluntary and Non-Profit Organizations*, London: Routledge.

Camacho, R. , Lara, S. and Serrano, E. (1996), *Las Cuotas Minimas de Participation de las Mujeres: Un Mecanismo de Accion Afirmativa,* San Jose: Centro Nacional Para El Desarollo de la Mujer y la Familia.

Cancian, F. (1992), 'Feminist Science: Methodologies that Challenge Inequality', *Gender and Society,* No 6, pp. 632-42.

Caplan, P. (1985), *Class and Gender in India,* London: Tavistock Publications.

Carby, H.V. (1997) 'White Woman Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood', in H.S. Mirza (ed.), *Black British Feminism*, London: Routledge.

Center for Reproductive Law and Policy (1999), *Silence and Complicity: Violence against Women in Peruvian Public Health Facilities.*

Chambers, R. (1993), *Rural Development: Putting the Last First,* London: Longman.

Chambers, R. (1997), *Whose Reality Counts?: Putting the Last First*, London: Intermediate Technology.

Chambers, R. (1998), 'Foreword', in J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.), *Who Changes? Institutionalising Participation in Development,* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Chowdhry, G. (1999), 'Engendering Development? Women in Development (WID) in International Development Regimes', M. Marchand and J. Parpart (eds.), *Feminism, Postmodernism, Development*, London: Routledge.

Clarke, J. (1997),'The State, Popular Participation and the Voluntary Sector', in D. Hulme and M. Edwards (eds.), *NGOs, States and Donors,* London: MacMillan Press in association with the Save the Children Fund.

Cleland, J. and Jejeebhoy, S. (1996), 'Maternal Schooling and Fertility: Evidence from Censuses and Surveys', in R. Jefferey and A. Basu (eds.), *Girls' Schooling, Women's Autonomy and Fertility Change in South Asia*, New Delhi and Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Cockburn, C. (1989), 'Equal Opportunities: The Short and Long Agenda', in *Industrial Relations Journal.*

Cockburn, C. (1991), *In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations,* London: MacMillan Press.

Cohen, A.P. (1993), 'Segmentary Knowledge: A Whalsay Sketch', in M. Hobart (ed.), *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance*, London: Routledge.

Colgan, F. and Ledwith, S. (1996), 'Women as Organisational Change Agents', in S, Ledwith and F. Colgan (Eds), *Women in Organisations: Challenging Gender Politics*, Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Collins, P.H. (1991), 'Learning from the outsider within: the sociological significance of black feminist thought', in M.M Fonow and J.A. Cook (eds), *Beyond Methodology,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Collinson, D.L. and Knights, D. and Collinson, M. (1990), *Managing to Discriminate*, Routledge: London and New York.

Commins, S. (1997), 'World Vision International and Donors': Too Close for Comfort?, in D. Hulme and M. Edwards (eds.), *NGOs, States and Donors*, London: Save the Children.

Conly, S.R. and De Silva. S. (1998), *Paying their Fair Share? Donor Countries and International Population Assistance,* Washington: Population Action International.

Correa, S. (1994), *Population and Reproductive Rights: Feminist Perspectives from the South*, London: Zed Books.

Correa, S. (2000), *Weighing up Cairo: Evidence from women of the South,* New York; DAWN.

Coward, R. (1983), *Patriarchal Precedents*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Craig, G. and Mayo, M. (1995), *Community Empowerment: A Reader in Participation and Development,* London: Zed Books.

Crewe, E. and Harrison, E. (1998), *Whose Development? An Ethnography of Aid*, London: Zed Books.

Crush, J. (1995), *Power of Development,* London: Routledge.

Cubitt, T. (1995), *Latin American Society*, Essex: Longman Group Limited.
Czarniawska-Joerges, B. (1992), *Exploring Complex Organisations, A Cultural Perspective*, London: Sage.

Danida (2000), *The Challenge of Working with Gender*, Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Deverell (1969), 'IPPF, a World Pioneer', in Berelson (ed.), *Family Planning Programs*, London: Basic Books.

DeWalt, K.M and Dewalt, B. R (1998), 'Participant Observation', in H. Russell Bernard (ed.), *Handbooks of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, London: AltaMira Press.

Dixon-Mueller, R. (1993), *Population Policy and Women's Rights: Transforming Reproductive Choice*, Westport: Praeger.

Dreyfu, H. and Rabinow, P. (1982), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Brighton: Harvester Press.

Duden, B. (1997), 'Population', in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, London: Zed Books.

Duelli-Klein, R. (1983), 'How to do what we want to do: thoughts about feminist methodology', in G. Bowles and R. Duelli-Klein (eds), *Theories of Women's Studies*. Routledge: London.

Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. (1995), *NGO Performance and Accountability: Beyond the Magic Bullet*, London: Earthscan and West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. (1997), 'Conclusion: Too Close to the Powerful, too far from the Powerless?', in D. Hulme and M. Edwards (eds.), *NGOs, States and Donors*, London: The Save the Children Fund.

Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. (1997a), *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort*, London: Macmillan Press in association with the Save the Children Fund.

Elly, M. (2000), *Doing Qualitative Research: Circles within Circles*, London: Falmer Press.

Elson, D. (1995), 'Rethinking Strategies for Development: From Male-biased to Human-centred Development', in D. Elson (ed.), *Male Bias in the Development Process*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Engels, F. (1972), *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Editor, E. Leacock. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

England, K. (1994), 'Getting Personal: Reflexivity, positionality and feminist research', in *Professional Geographer*, 46: 80-89.

Epstein, J. and Stewart, A. (1991), 'Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Social Sciences: Current Feminist Issues and Practical Strategies', in M.M Fonow and J.A. Cook (eds), *Beyond Methodology* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Escobar, A. (1984), 'Discourse and Power in Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of His Work to the Third World', in *Alternatives*, 10(3): 377- 400.

Escobar, A. (1991), 'Anthropology and the Development Encounter', in *American Ethnologist*, 18/4: 658-82.

Escobar, A. (1995), *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (1997), 'Planning', in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary*, London: Zed Books.

Esteva, G. (1997), 'Development', in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, London: Zed Books.

European Commission (1998), *Gender Mainstreaming: Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices*, Strasbourg: Final Report of Activities of the Group of Specialists on Gender Mainstreaming.

Fairclough, N. (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ferguson, J. (1994), *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development', Depolitization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ferguson, K. (1984), *The Feminist Case against Bureaucracy*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Flax, (1987), 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory', in *Signs*, 12: 621-43).

Foley, D. (1989), *Non-Governmental Organizations as Catalysts of Policy Reform and Social Change: A Case Study of The International Planned Parenthood Federation*, Unpublished PhD Thesis.

Fonow, M.M. and Cook, J.A. (1991), *Beyond Methodology*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Forbes, I. (2002), 'The Political Meanings of the Equal Opportunities Project', in E. Breitenbach, A. Brown, F. Mackay and J. Webb (eds.), *The Changing Politics of Gender Equality in Britain*, Hampshire: Palgrave.

Foucault, M. (1973), *The Birth of the Clinic*, London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1979), *Discipline and Punish*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1979), *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality, Volume 1*, London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, (Ed.) Colin Gordon, New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1986), *The History of Sexuality, Volume Two, The Use of Pleasure*, Harmondsworth: Viking.

Fowler, A. (1992), 'Distant Obligations: Speculations on NGO Funding and the Global Market, *Review of African Political Economy*, No 55: 9-29.

Fraser, N. (1989), *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Friedmann, J. (1992), *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Garber, B. and Jenden, P. (1993), 'Anthropologists or Anthropology? The Band Aid Perspective on Development Projects', in J. Pottier *Practising Development*, London: Routledge.

Garcia-Moreno, C. and Claro, A. (1994), 'Challenges from the Women's Health Movement: Women's Rights versus Population Control', in G. Sen, A. Germain and L. Chen (eds.), *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment and Rights*, Harvard University Press.

Gardner, K. and Lewis, D. (1996), *Anthropology, Development and the Postmodern Challenge*, London: Pluto Press.

Gasper, D. and Apthorpe, R. (1996), 'Discourse Analysis and Policy Analysis', in L. Apthorpe and L.D. Gasper (eds.), *Arguing Development Policy - Frames and Discourses*, London: Cass.

Gaventa, J. (1999), 'Crossing the Great Divide: Building Links and Learning Between NGOs and Community-Based Organisations in North and South', in D. Lewis (ed.), *International Perspectives on Voluntary Action: Reshaping the Third Sector*, London: Earthscan.

Ginsberg, F.D. and Rapp, R. (1995), *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*, London: University of California Press.

GLAD (1995), *Expenditure Summary, 1995-1997*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Goetz, A. (1992) 'Gender and Administration', in *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.23, no. 4:6-17.

Goetz, A. (1994), 'From Feminist Knowledge to Data for Development: The Bureacratic Management of Information on Women and Development', *IDS Bulletin*, Volume 25, Number 2, p.27-36.

Goetz, A. (1996), 'Dis/Organising Gender: Women Development Agents in State and NGO Poverty-reduction Programmes in Bangladesh', in S. Rai and G. Lievesley (eds.), *Women and the State: International Perspectives,* London: Taylor and Francis.

Goetz, A. (1997), *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development,* London: Zed Books.

Goetz, A. (1998), 'Mainstreaming Gender Equity to National Planning', in C. Miller and S. Razavi (eds.), *Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions,* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Goetz, A. (2001), *Women Development Workers: Implementing Rural Credit Programmes in Bangladesh,* Dhaka: The University Press Limited.

Goetz, A. and Sen Gupta, (1996), 'Who takes the credit? Gender, Power and Control over loan use in rural credit programmes in Bangladesh', in *World Development,* Volume 24, No 1.

Gordon, I., Lewis, J. and Young, K. (1993), 'Perspectives on Policy Analysis', in Michael Hill (Ed.), *The Policy Process,* Hemel Hempsted: Harvester Wheatshaft.

Gordon, L. (1990), *Woman's Body, Woman's Right,* New York: Penguin Books.

Green, A. and Matthias, A. (1997), *Non-Governmental Organisation and Health in Developing Countries,* London: MacMillan Press.

Grillo, R. (1989), *Social Anthropology and the Politics of Language,* London: Routledge.

Grillo, R, (1997), 'Discourses of Development: The View From Anthropology', in R. Grillo and R. Stirrat (eds.), *Discourses of Development*, Berg: Oxford.

Grillo, R.D. and Rew, A. (1985), *Social Anthropology and Development Policy,* London: Tavistock.

Gupta, J. (1993) 'People like you never agree to get it: an Indian Family Planning Clinic', in *Reproductive Health Matters*, No 1, May, 39-43.
Habermas, J. (1981), 'Modernity versus Postmodernity', in *New German Critique* 22: 3-14.

Hakim, C. (1996), *Key Issues in Women's Work: Female Heterogeneity and the Polarisation of Women's Employment*, London: Athlone.

Hall, A. and J. Modgley (1988), *Development Policies and Sociological Perspectives,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hannan, C. (2000), *Promoting Equality between Women and Men in Bilateral Development Cooperation: Concepts, Goals, Rationalities and Institutional Arrangements. Part One: Theory, Practice and Priorities for Change*. Lund: Lund University.

Hannan-Andersson, C. (1992), *Gender Planning Methodology: Three Papers on Incorporating the Gender Approach in Development Cooperation Programmes*, Lund: Institutionen for Kulturgeografi och ekonomisk geografi vis Lunds Universitet.

Haraway, D. (1988), 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', Feminist Studies 14(3).

Harding, S. (1987), *Feminism and Methodology,* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Harris, O. (1981), 'Households as Natural Units', in K.Young, C. Wolkowitz and R. MacCullagh (eds.), *Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination in International Perspective*, London: CSE Books.

Hartman, B. (1995), 'Women, Population and the Environment', in N. Visvanathan, L. Duggan, L. Nisonoff and N. Wiegersman (eds.), *The Women, Gender and Development Reader,* London: Zed Books.

Hartmann, B. (1995), *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs*, Boston: South End Press.

Hartsock, N. (1990), 'Foucault on Power: A Theory for Women?', in L.J. Nicholson (ed.), *Feminism/ Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.

Harvey, L. (1990), *Critical Social Research,* London: Unwin, Hyman.

Health Education News (1989), 'Liberate Women and Liberate Us All Argues the Reluctant Dr. Mahler', Number 76: p.4-5. May.

Healy, P., McDougall, G. and Thomas, M. (1982), *Planning Theory: Prospects for the 1980s,* Oxford: Pergamon.

Hekman, S. (1990), *Gender and Knowledge: Elements of a Postmodern Feminism,* London: Polity Press.

Helmich, H. and Smillie, I. (1999), *Stakeholders: Government-NGO, Partnerships for International Development*, London: Earth Scan.

Helzner, J. and Shepard, B. (1990), 'The Feminist Agenda in Population Private Voluntary Organizations', in Staudt (ed.), *Women, International Development, and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Helzner, J.F. and Ortiz-Ortega, A. (2000), *Opening Windows to Gender,* IPPF/WHR Working Paper No.1, New York: IPPF/ WHR.

Hewitt, T. and Smyth, I. (1992), 'Is the World Overpopulated?', in Tim Allen and Alan Thomas (Eds.), *Poverty and Development in the 1990s,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Higer, A.J (1999), 'International Women's Activism and the 1994 Cairo Population Conference', in M.K. Meyer and E. Prugl (eds.), *Gender Politics in Global Governance,* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Hobart, M. (1993), *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance,* London: Routledge.

hooks, b. (1991), *Yearnings: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics,* Boston: South End Press.

Hulme, D. and Edwards, M. (1997), 'Conclusion: Too Close to the Powerful, too far from the Powerless?', in D. Hulme and M. Edwards (eds.), *NGOs, States and Donors,* London: The Save the Children Fund.

Huston, P. (1992), *Motherhood by Choice: Pioneers in Women's Health and Family Planning,* New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York.

International Medical Advisory Panel, IPPF (2000), *Statement on Dual Protection against Unwanted Pregnancy and Sexually Transmitted Infections, including HIV,* London: International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1953), *Second Annual Report 1953-1954,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1962), *Annual Report,* London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1973), *Annual Report,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1977), *International Planned Parenthood Federation: Act 1977 and Regulations,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1977a), *IPPF and its Future: A Forward Look at the Role of the International Planned Parenthood Federation in the next 10-15 Years,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1979), *A History of the IPPF in the World Family Planning Movement,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1980), *IPPF in Action: Annual Report,* London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1983), *The International Planned Parenthood Federation and the United Nations,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1985), *Annual Report,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1986), *Annual Report: 1986,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1986a), *Renewing the IPPF Secretariat,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1987), *Family Planning in a changing World*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1989), *Annual Report 1989*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1991), *Annual Report 1991*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1992), *Presentation by Kaval Gulhati, Chair IPAP Sub Panel on Involvement if Women, Members' Assembly, 26th of October, 1992, New Delhi, India*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1992a), *Member's Assembly, 21st-26th October 1992, Women's Involvement in IPPF*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1993), *International Women's Advisory Panel Report to Central Council*, 21st-23rd *of November 1993*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1993a), *International Women's Advisory Panel – Minutes: 12th – 13th of October, 1993, White House Hotel, Regent's Park, London*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1993b), *Central Council, 21st-23rd of November, 1993 - International Women's Advisory Panel: Report to Central Council*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1994), *International Programme Advisory Panel: Report of the Ninth Meeting 20-23 March 199, Peshawar, Pakistan*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1994a), *Minutes of Meeting: International Women's Advisory Panel Meeting with Regional Representatives,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1994b), *International Programme Advisory Panel: Report of the Ninth Meeting 20-23 March 199, Peshawar, Pakistan*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1994c), *International Women's Advisory Panel Meeting with Regional Representatives: Third Meeting 20-23*

September 1994, Regent's Park, Hilton Hotel, London, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1994d), *A Holistic Approach to Women's Health*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1995), *Gender Awareness for Population and Development*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1995a), *IPPF Charter on Sexual and Reproductive Health*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1995b), *Sexual and Reproductive Health: Family Planning Puts Promises into Practices*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1995c), *Gender Equity Policy*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1995d), *Progress Report on Women's Involvement in IPPF Europe Region*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1995e), *Vision 2000 and the ICPD Programme of Action*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1995f), *Post-ICPD Challenges: A Media Seminar*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1996), *Annual Report*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1996a), *Vision 2000: Strategic Plan*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1997), *IPPF Annual Report*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1997a), *Director General's Speech to General Council, 1997*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1997b), *Sexual and Reproductive Health: A New Approach with Communities*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1997c), *IPPF Annual Report 1997 Supplement*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998), *IPPF Annual Report*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998a), *IPPF Annual Report 1998 Supplement*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998b), *The new IPPF Governance Structure*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998c), *Review of IPPF Governance and Volunteer Structure: Consolidated Report of the Task Force*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998d), *Terms of Reference of the IPPF International Medical Advisory Panel*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998e), *Profiles of Delegates*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998f), *IPPF's Technical and Linkages Division: Global Advocacy, Scientific Expertise, Youth and Gender*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998g), *Advocacy Campaign on Gender Equity, Women's Empowerment and Male Participation*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998h), *IWAP Statement: Holistic Approach to Women's Health*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998i), *Minutes of IWAP meeting: September 1998*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998j), *A Handbook on Gender Equity, Women's Empowerment and the Involvement of Men in sexual and reproductive Health and Rights*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999), *Annual Report*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999a), *Implementing the Vision 2000 Strategic Plan: Compendium of Activities*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999b), *IPPF Annual Report Supplement*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999c), *IPPF Governance and Volunteer Structure as Adopted by the Central Council on November 29th, 1998*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000), *Programme Budget 2000*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000a), *Joint Review of the International Planned Parenthood Federation and the U.S. Agency for International Development Partnership*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000b), *6 Billion*, London: IPPF.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000c), http://www.ippf.org/initiatives/sustainability/2000feb/index.htm, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001), *Annual Report 2001*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001a), *Information Sheet on the Mexico City Policy*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001b), *Human Resources Memorandum – January 2001*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001c), *Policy Handbook: As Amended and Approved by Governing Council, May 2001*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001d), *IPPF Annual Report Supplement*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001e), *Gender Equity Policy: Progress Report – Governing Council, 18th-20th May, 2001*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001f), *The International Planned Parenthood Federation's Gender Equity Policy: A Five Year Review Report*, London: Unpublished Working Paper.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001g), *Analysis of V2F Funding by IPPF Objective*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

International Reproductive Rights Research Action Group (1998), *Negotiating Reproductive Rights: Women's Perspectives across Countries and Cultures*, edited by R. Petchesky and K. Judd. London: Zed Books.

Itzin, C. and Newman, J. (1995), *Gender, Culture and Organisational Change: Putting Theory into Practice*, London: Routledge.

Jackson, C. (1998), 'Rescuing Gender from the Poverty Trap', in C. Jackson and R. Pearson (eds.), *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*, London: Routledge.

Jackson, C. and Pearson, R. (1998), *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy,* London: Routledge.

Jahan, R. (1997), *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development,* London: Zed Books.

James, W. (1999), 'Empowering Ambiguities', in Angela Cheater (ed.), *The Anthropology of Power,* London: Routledge.

Jaquette, J.S. (1989), *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy,* Boulder, Colo: Westview Press.

Jaquette, J.S. (1994), *The Women's Movement in Latin America,* London: Westview Press.

Jeffrey, R. and Jeffrey, P. (1997), *Population, Gender and Politics: Demographic Change in Rural North India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jeffery, P. and Jeffery R. (1998), 'Silver Bullet or Passing Fancy? Girl's Schooling and Population Policy', in C. Jackson and R. Pearson (eds.), *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*, London: Routledge.

Jensen, K. (1999), *Draft Evaluation of the International Planned Parenthood Federation Sexual and Reproductive Health Community Participation Approach in the Dominican Republic,* Unpublished report produced in London: IPPF.

Johannsen, A.M. (1992), 'Applied Anthropology and Postmodernist Ethnography', in *Human Organization,* 51: 71- 81.

Johnson, S. (1995), *The Politics of Population: Cairo 1994*, London: Earthscan Publications Limited.

Kabeer, N. (1992), *From Fertility Reduction to Reproductive Choice: Gender Perspectives on Family Planning*, Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.

Kabeer, N. (1997), *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, London: Verso.

Kardam, N. (1995), 'Women and Development', in Peter R. Beckman (ed.) *Women, Gender and World Politics.* Washington DC: Bergin & Garvey.

Kardam, N. (1997), 'Approaches to institutionalising gender', in *BRIDGE*, p.1-2, Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.

Karl, M. (1995), *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Empowerment*, London: Zed Books.

Koczberski, G. (1998), 'Women in Development: A Critical Analysis', in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 19, No 3, pp395-409.

Korten, D. (1990), *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda,* Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Korten, D. (1991), 'The role of Non-Governmental Organisations in Development', in S. Paul and A. Israel (eds.), *Non Governmental Organizations and The World Bank: Cooperation for Development,* Washington DC: World Bank.

Kuhn, A. (1986), 'Structures of Patriarchy and Capital in the Family', in A. Kuhn and A. Wolpe (Eds.), *Feminism and Materialism,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lassonde, L. (1997), *Coping with Population Challenges,* London: Earthscan
Latouche, S. (1997), 'Standard of Living', in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary,* London: Zed Books.

Lavrin, A. (1993), 'Women in Latin America: Current Research Trends', in E. Acosta-Belen and C. Bose (eds.), *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean,* Oxford: Westview Press.

Lee Bacchi, C. (1996), *The Politics of Affirmative Action: 'Women', Equality and Category Politics,* London: SAGE Publications.

Leeson, P.F. and Minogue, M.M. (1988), *Perspectives on Development,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Leonard, P. (1997), *Post Modern Welfare: Reconstructing an Emancipatory Project,* London: SAGE.

Lind, A. (1992), 'Power, Gender and Development: Popular Women's Organization and the Politics of Needs in Ecuador, in A. Escobar and S. Alvarez (eds.), *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America,* Boulder: Westview Press.

Logan, K. (1989), 'Latin American urban mobilisations: women's participation and self-empowerment', in Gmelch and Zenner (eds), *Urban Life: Readings in Urban Anthropology,* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Long. N and Long A. (1992), *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development,* London: Routledge.

Longwe, S.H. (1997), 'The evaporation of gender policies in the patriarchal cooking pot', in *Development in Practice,* Volume 7, number 2 May Issue.

Luckmann, B. (1978), 'The Small Life-Worlds of Modern Man', in T. Luckmann (ed.), *Phenomenological Sociology,* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lukes, S. (1974), *Power: A Radical View,* London: MacMillan.

Lummis, (1997), 'Equality', in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A guide to Knowledge as Power,* London: Zed Books.

MacCormack, C. and Strathern, M. (1980), *Nature, Culture and Gender*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Macdonald, M. (1994), *Gender Planning in Development Agencies*, Oxford: Oxfam Publication.

Macdonald, M., Spregber, E., Dubel, I. (1997), *Gender and Organizational Change: Bridging the Gap between Policy and Practice*, Amsterdam: KIT Press.

MacLaren, A. (1994), 'Not a Stranger, a Doctor': Medical Men and Sexual Matters in the Late Nineteenth Century', in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds.), *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality,* London: Routledge.

Mahler, H. (1994), *Letter sent to FPAs,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Malthus, R. (1798), *Essay on the Principle of Population,* London: Penguin.

Maquire, P. (1987), 'Different Lenses for Viewing Reality', in P. Maquire (ed.), *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*, Amherst: Center for International Education.

March, C.; Smyth, I; Mukhopadhyay, M. (1999) *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*. Oxford: Oxfam Press.

Marchand, M and J. Parpart (1995), 'Exploding the canon: An Introduction/ Conclusion', in M. Marchand and J. Parpart (eds), *Feminism/ Postmodernism / Development,* 1-22. London: Routledge.

Marchand, M. and Parpart, J. (1995), *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*, London: Routledge.

Marcuse, H. (1964), *One-dimensional Man*, London: Sphere.

Mathur, H.M. (1990), *The Human Dimension of Development: Perspectives from Anthropology,* New Delhi: Ashok Kumar Mittal Concept Publishing Company.

Mauss, M. (1990), *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, translated by W.D. Halls, Foreword by M. Douglas, London: Routledge.

Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, (2002), *Course Manual*, Arusha: MS Training Centre for Development Co-operation.

Menon-Sen (1999), 'Finding a Foothold: The Ecology of Gender mainstreaming in a Large Organisation', Unpublished Conference Paper given at DPU on 'Mainstreaming Gender in Policy and Planning: South – North Experience', London: UCL.

Merrick, T.W. (1990), 'The Evolution and Impact of Policies on Fertility and Family Planning: Brazil, Colombia and Mexico', in Godfrey Roberts (ed.), *Population Policy: Contemporary Issues,* New York: Praeger.

Mies, M. (1983), 'Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research' in G. Bowles and R. Duelli-Klein (eds), *Theories of Women's Studies*, Routledge: London.

Mies, M. (1991), 'Women's Research or Feminist Research? The Debate Surrounding Feminist Science and Methodology', in M.M Fonow and J.A. Cook (eds), B*eyond Methodology,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Miller, C. (1998), 'Gender Advocates and Multilateral Development Organizations: Promoting Change from Within', in C. Miller and S. Razavia (eds.), *Missionaries and Mandarins*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications Limited.

Mirza, H.S. (1986), 'The Dilemma of Socialist Feminism: A Case for Black Feminism', in *Feminist Review* 'Feedback: Feminism and Racism', No. 22, 1986.

Mohanty, C. (1988), 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in *Feminist Review*, No. 30: 61-88.

Molyneux, M. (1985), 'Mobilisation Without Emancipation? Women's Interests, State and Revolution in Nicaragua', *Feminist Studies*, 11 (2): 227-54.

Moore, H. (1988), *Feminism and Anthropology*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Moreno, E. (1995), *Mujeres y Politica en Costa Rica*, San Jose: FLACSO.

Moser, C. (1995), *Gender Planning and Development*, New York: Routledge.

Mosse, D. (1994), 'Authority, Gender and Knowledge: Theoretical Reflections on the Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal', in *Development and Change,* 25/3: 497-525.

Mueller, A. (1986), 'The Bureacratization of Feminist Knowledge: The Case of Women in Development', in *Resources for Feminist Research*, 15 (1): 36-38.

Mulindwa, P. (2001), *The impact of use of current management practices by donors on the operations of the grassroots organizations in Uganda,* unpublished paper to be presented at ISTR conference in Cape Town, South Africa.

Nelson, N. and Wright, S. (1995), *Power and Participatory Development: Theory and Practice,* London: Intermediate Publications.

Nelson, P. (1997) 'Conflict, Legitimacy and Effectiveness: Who Speaks for whom in Transnational NGO Network Lobbying the World Bank?' in *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 26 (4), 421-441.

Newman, K. and Helzner, J. (1999), 'IPPF Charter on Sexual and Reproductive Rights', in *Journal of Women's Health and gender-Based Medicine*, Volume 8, Number 4.

Nicholson, (1990), *Feminism/ Postmodernism*, New York: Routledge.

Noorgaard, R.B. (1994), *Development Betrayed: The end of Progress and a Coevolutionary Revisioning of the Future,* London: Routledge.

NORAD: The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Co-operation (1980), *NORAD's Assistance to Women in Developing Countries*, Oslo: NORAD.

O'Donnell, C. and Hall, P. (1988), *Getting Equal,* London: Allen and Unwin.
Oakley, A. (1972), *Sex, Gender and Society*, London: Temple Smith.

Ortner, S, (1974), 'Is female to male as nature is to culture', in M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), *Woman, Culture and Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Østergaard, L. (1992), Gender and Development: A Practical Guide, London: Routledge.

Otoo-Oyortey, N. and Jensen, K. (1999), *Quality of Care from a Gender Perspective: Report of the Inter-Regional Working Group Meeting,* London: IPPF.

OXFAM (2001), *Annual Report*, Oxford: OXFAM Publications.

Parker, A. and Friedman, M. (1993), 'Gender and Institutional Change in International Development', in G. Young, V. Samarasinghe and K. Kustere (eds), *Women at the Centre,* 114-126, West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Parpart, J. (1995), 'Deconstructing the Development 'Expert': Gender, Development and the 'Vulnerable Groups', in M. Marchand and J. Parpart (eds.), *Feminism, Postmodernism and Development*, London: Routledge.

Parpart, J., Connelly, P. and Barriteau, E. (2000), *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development,* Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Peel, R. (1997), *Marie Stopes, Eugenics and the English Birth Control Movement,* London: The Galton Institute.

Pietilä, H. and Vickers, J. (1996) *Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations*, London: Zed Books.

Pilcher, J. (1998), *Women of their Time: Generation, Gender Issues and Feminism*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Population Concern (2001), *Financial Statements: Working to Provide Reproductive Healthcare Worldwide*, London: Population Concern.

Porter, F. , Smyth, I. and Sweetman, C. (1999), *Gender Works: Oxfam Experience in Policy and Practice,* Oxford: Oxfam Press.

Porter, R. and Teich, M. (1994) 'Introduction', in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds.), *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality,* London: Routledge.

Pottier, (1993), *Practising Development,* London: Routledge.

Poulton, R. and Harris, M. (1988), *Putting People First: Voluntary Organisations and Third World Development*, London: MacMillan.

Preston, P.W. (1994), *Discourses of Development: State, Market and Polity in the Analysis of Complex Change,* Aldershot: Avebury.

Radtke, L. and Stam, J. (1994), *Power / Gender: Social Relations in Theory and Practice,* London: Sage Publications.

Rahnema, M. (1997), 'Participation', in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, London: Zed Books.

Rai, S.M. (2002), *Gender and the Political Economy of Development,* Oxford: Polity Press.

Ramamurthy, P. (2000), 'Indexing Alternatives: Feminist Development Studies and Global Political Economy', in *Feminist Theory*, Volume 1, Number 2: 239-256.

Ramazanoglu, C. (1993), *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of some Tensions between Foucault and Feminism*, London: Routledge.

Rao, A, Stuart, R. and Kelleher, D. (1999), *Gender at Work: Organizational Change for Equality*, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Ravindran, T.K. Sundari, (1993), 'the Politics of Women, Population and Development in India', in *Reproductive Health Matters*, 1: 26-38.

Razavi, S. and C. Miller. (1995), *From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse*, Geneva: UNDP.

Redclift (1989), *Sustainable Development,* London: Routledge.

Reproductive Rights International Tribunal (1984), *Divided in Culture United in Struggle: Report of the International Tribunal and Meeting on Reproductive Rights, Amsterdam 22 – 28 July, 1984,* Amsterdam: Women's Global Network on Reproductive Rights.

Rew, A. (1997), 'The Donor's Discourse: Official Social Development Knowledge in the 1980s', in R.D. Grillo and R.L. Stirrat (ed.), *Discourses of Development,* Oxford: Berg.

Rodriguez-Trias, H. (1995), 'Foreword', in B.Hartmann (ed.) *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: The Global politics of Population Control,* Boston: South End Press.
Rogers, B. (1980), *The Domestication of Women*, London: Kogan Page.

Rossilli, G. (1999), 'The European Union's Policy on the Equality of Women', in *Feminist Studies*, Volume 25, Number 1: p. 171-182.

Rubin, G. (1975), 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex', in R. Reiter (ed.), *Towards an Anthropology of Women*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Sachs, W. (1997), 'Introduction', in W. Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power,* London: Zed Books.

Sacks, K. (1975), 'Engels Revisited: Women, the Organisation of production and Private Property', in R.Reiter (ed), *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, 211-234, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Salas, R.M. (1971), 'UN Fund's Work and Activities', in *Population 70: Family Planning and Social Change*, by The Family Planning Association of Hong Kong (Eds.), Tokyo: IPPF Western Pacific Region.

SARO - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1994), *Strategic Plan 1994 – 2002,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – South Asian Region.

SARO - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1996) *Women's Perspectives on Family Planning and Sexual and Reproductive Health: A Workshop,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – SAR.

SARO - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1997), *Real Lives – Women and Girls in South Asia,* Issue 1, February, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation - South Asia Region.

SARO - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998), *Report of the South Asia Regional Workshop on Sexual and Reproductive Health, Colombo, Sri Lanka 5-11 April, 1997*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – South Asia Region.

SARO - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998), *South Asia Regional Report to Central Council 1998*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – South Asia Region

SARO - International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001), *South Asia Regional Office – Programme of Action 2001-2002,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – The South Asia Region.

Savage, M and Witz, A. (1992), *Gender and Bureaucracy*, Oxford: Blackwells.

Save the Children Fund (1994), *Information Sheet: 15: Eglantyne Jebb, Founder of Save the Children*, London Save the Children Fund.

Save the Children Fund (2001), *Financial Accounts: 2000/01*, London Save the Children Fund.

Scheyvens, R. and Leslie, H. (2000), 'Gender, Ethics and Empowerment: Dilemmas of Development Fieldwork', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Volume 23, Number 1:119-130.

Schiebinger, L. (1993), *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*, Boston: Beacon Press.

Scott, C. (1995), *Gender and Development*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Scott, J. (1992), 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', in A. Rao (ed.), *Women's Studies International*, New York: Feminist Press.

Seale, C. (1999), *The Quality of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications.

Seidel, G. (1985), 'Political Discourse Analysis', in T. Van Dijk (ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Vol. 4, London: Academic Press.

Sen, A. (1987), *Commodities and Capabilities*, Delhi: Oxford Press.

Sen, A. (1990), 'Gender and Conflicts', in I. Tinker (ed.), *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, G. (1997), 'Subordination and Sexual Control: A Comparative View of the Control of Women', in N.Visvanathan, L.Duggan, L. Nisonoff and N. Wiegersma (Eds.), *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, London: Zed Books Limited.

Sen, G. and Grown, C (1987), *Development Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*, New York: Monthly Review.

Sherzer, J. (1987), 'Language, Culture and Discourse', in *American Anthropologist*, 89: 295-309.

Shore, C. and Wright, S. (1997), *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, London: Routledge.

Silverman, D. (1993), *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, London: Sage Publications.
Singh, N. and Titi, V. (1995), Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development, London: Zed Books.

Silverman, D. (2000), *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, London: SAGE Publications.

Smillie, I. (1989), 'Northern ''Donors'' and Southern ''Partners'': Arguments for an NGO consortium approach', in *Strategic Issues in Development Management: Learning from Successful Experiences*, London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Smillie, I. (1993) 'Introduction', in I. Smillie and H. Helmich (eds.), *Non-Governmental Organisations and Governments: Stakeholders for Development*, Paris: OEDC.

Smillie, I. (1993), 'Changing Partners: Northern NGOs, Northern Governments', in I. Smillie and H. Helmich (eds.), *Non Governmental Organisations and Government Stakeholders for Development*, Paris: OECD.

Smillie, I. (1999), 'A Sea in a Sieve? Trends and Issues in the Relationship between Northern NGOs and Northern Governments', in I. Smillie and H. Helmich (ed.), *Stakeholders: Government-NGO Partnerships for International Development.* London: Earthscan.

Smillie, I. and Helmich, H. (1993), *Non-Governmental Organisations: Stakeholders for Development*, Paris: OEDC.

Smith, J.D. (1996), 'Should Volunteers be Managed', in D. Billis and M. Harris (eds.), *Voluntary Agencies,* London: MacMillan.

Snitow, A., Stansell, C. and Thompson, S. (1983), 'Introduction', in A. Snitow, C. Stansell and S. Thompson (eds.), *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Snyder, M. (1995), *Transforming Development: Women, Poverty and Politics,* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Soonawala, R.P. (1993), 'Family Planning: The Indian Experience', in P.Senanayake and R. Kleinman (eds.), *Family Planning, Meeting Challenges: Promoting Choices,* Lancashire: The Parthenon Publishing Group.

Spencer, A. and Podmore, D. (1987), *In a Man's World: Essays on Women in Male-dominated Professions*, London: Tavistock Publications.

Squires, J. (1999), *Gender in Political Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Staggenborg, S. (1995), 'Can Feminist Organizations be Effective?', in M.M. Ferree and P.Y. Martin (eds.), *Feminist Organizations: Harvest of the New Women's Movement*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Standing, H. (1998), *Guidelines for the Analysis of Gender and Health*, Liverpool: Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

Stanley, L. And Wise, S. (1983), *Breaking out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research*, London: Routledge.

Staudt, K. (1978), 'Agricultural productivity gaps: A case study of male preference in government policy implementation', in *Development and Change*. 9(3).

Staudt, K. (1990), *Women, International Development and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Staudt, K. (1993), 'Strategic Locations: Gender Issues in Business Management', in G. Young, V. Samarasinghe and K. Kusterer (eds.), *Women at the Centre*, Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Staudt, K. (1998), *Policy, Politics and Gender: Women Gaining Ground*, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Stein, D. (1995), *People who Count: Population and Politics, Women and Children*, London: Earthscan.

Suitter (1973), *Be Brave and Angry*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Sweetman, C. (1999), *Gender in Development Organisations*, New York: Women. Ink.

Sykes, M. (1995), *The Origins of Affirmative Action*, http://aad.english.ucsb.edu/pages/a-action.html

Taylor, V. (2000), *Marketisation of Governance: Critical Feminist Perspectives from the South*, Cape Town: DAWN.

Tegegn (1997), *Development and Patronage*, Oxford: Oxfam.

Thambu, J. (1998), *A Discussion Paper on the Role of Volunteers in IPPF*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Tinker, I. (1976), 'The adverse impact of development on women', in I. Tinker and M. Branson (eds.), *Women and Development*, Washington DC: Overseas Development Council.

Tinker, I. (1990), *Persistent Inequalities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tong, R. (1989), *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Reader*, London: Unwin, Hyman.

United Nations (1994), *International Conference of Population and Development: Programme of Action*, New York: United Nations.

United Nations (1995), *The Beijing Declaration and The Platform for Action*, New York: Department of Public Information United Nations.

United Nations (1995a), *Human Development Report 1995*, New York: Department of Public Information United Nations.

United Nations (1999), *Human Development Report 1999*, New York: United Nations.

United Nations Development Programme (1997), *Gender Mainstreaming in UNDP's Country Programme*, New York: United Nations.

United Nations Fund for International Partnerships (1999), *Programme Framework on Population and Women.* New York: United Nations for International Partnerships.

United Nations Population Fund (1985), *Population Perspectives: Statements by World Leaders,* New York: UNFPA.

United Nations Population Fund (1994), *Programme of Action,* New York: United Nations.

United Nations Population Fund (1995), *Male Involvement in Reproductive Health, Including Family Planning and Sexual Health,* New York: United Nations Population Fund.

United Nations, General Assembly (1997), *Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997,* New York: United Nations.

United Nations, WHO and UNFPA (1999), *Women and health: Mainstreaming the Gender Perspective into the Health Sector. Report of the Expert Group Meeting 28 September - 2 October, 1998, Tunis (Tunisia),*. New York: United Nations.

Van Willigen, J. and Dewalt, B. (1985), *Training Manual in Policy Ethnography,* Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Velasco, B. and Leppe, A. (1989), 'Appropriate Technologies: A Way of Meeting Human Needs', in C. Downs, C. Solimano, G. Vergara and L. Zunika (eds.), *Social Policy from the Grassroots: Non-governmental Organisations in Chile*, 93-112, Boulder: Westview.

Verzosa, E. and Matammu-Lampauog, C. (1999), *GAD Plans and Pesos: The Plus and Minus of the Philippine GAD Budget*, Conference Paper presented at the Development Planning Unit at University College London.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1996), *Report of the Vision 2000 Fund Workshop 29-30 July, 1996,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998), *Mid-Term Evaluation Report 'Challenges for Change' A Project of the Family Planning Association of Nepal,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998a), *Report of the Mid-Term Evaluation of Small Family by Choice – Parivar Prgati Pariyojana,* London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1998b), *A User's Guide to Vision 2000 Fund*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999), *Final Evaluation Report 'Lentera Youth Project: Indonesia Planned Parenthood Federation*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999), *Mid-Term Evaluation Report 'Community Based Distribution of Contraceptives: A Project of the Family Life Association of Swaziland'*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000), *Final Evaluation Report 'Male Involvement Project: A Project of the Family Planning Association of Kenya*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vision 2000 - International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000a), *IPPF's Sustainability Initiative*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Vogel, S. (1983), *Marxism and the Oppression of Women*, London: Pluto Press.

Wadia, A. (1996), *IPPF Governance and Structure: A Personal View*, India: The Family Planning Association of India.

Wadia, A. (1997), *The Role and Relevance of the Volunteers*, Mumbai: Family Planning Association of India.

Wadia, A. (2001), *The Light is Ours: memoirs and Movements*, London: The International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Walker, B. (1999), 'Changing the Rules: Implementing a gender policy through organisational procedures', in F. Porter, I Smyth, and C. Sweetman (Eds), *Gender Works: Oxfam Experience in Policy and Practice*, Oxford: Oxfam Press.

Wallace, T. (1998), 'Institutionalizing Gender in UK NGOs', in *Development in Practice*, Volume 8, Number 2, May 1998: 159-172.

Wallace, T. (2000), *Development and Management*, Oxford: Oxfam Publications.

Wallace, T. and Lewis, D. (2000), *New Roles and Relevance: Development NGOs and the Challenge of Change*, Kumarian Press.

Wallace, T. and March, C. (1991), *Changing Perceptions*, Oxford: Oxfam Press.

Wallace, T., Crowther, S. and Shepherd, A. (1997), *Standardising Development : Influences on UK NGOs Policies and Procedures*, Oxford: Worldview.

Warwick, (1982), *Bitter Pills: Population Policies and Their Implementation in Eight Developing Countries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Watts, M. (1995), 'A New Deal in Emotions: Theory and Practice and the Crisis of Development', in J. Crash (ed.), *Power of Development,* London and New York: Routledge.

WCED: World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), *Our Common Future*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. UK, Brundtland Commission Report.

Weedon, C. (1987), *Feminist Practice and Poststructural Theory,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Weedon, C. (1999), *Feminism, Theory and the Politics of Difference*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Weeks, J. (1981), *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800,* London: Longman.

Weeks, J. (1985), *Sexuality and its Discontents: Meaning, Myths and Modern Sexualities*, London: Routledge.

Weiss, C. (1986), 'Research and Policy-making: A Limited Partnership', in F. Hellner (ed.), *The Use and Abuse of Social Science.* London: Sage.

White, A. (1996), 'Exposing Europe's Decision-makers to Public Scrutiny', in *European Voice*, 2 (16): 18-24.

White, S. (1992), *Arguing with the Crocodile: Gender and Class in Bangladesh*, London: Zed Books.

White, S. (1994), 'Making man an issue: gender planning for 'the other half', in M. MacDonald (ed.), Gender Planning in Development Agencies, Oxford: Oxford Press.

Whitworth, S. (1997), 'The International Planned Parenthood Federation', in S. Whitworth (ed.), *Feminism and International Relations: Towards A Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Organisations,* London: MacMillan Press.

WHR - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999), *1999 Annual Report,* New York: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – Western Hemisphere Region.

WHR - International Planned Parenthood Federation (1999a), *Forum: Our Vision for 2000: Meeting the Needs*, Volume XIV No 2, New York: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – Western Hemisphere Region.

WHR - International Planned Parenthood Federation (2000), *BASTA! A Newsletter from IPPF/WHR on Integrating Gender-based Violence into Sexual and Reproductive Health*, New York: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – Western Hemisphere Region.

WHR International Planned Parenthood Federation (2001), *BASTA! A Newsletter from IPPF/WHR on Integrating Gender-based Violence into Sexual and Reproductive Health*, New York: The International Planned Parenthood Federation – Western Hemisphere Region.

WIDE (2002), *Gender Mainstreaming for Invisibility or Women's Empowerment, A Report of WIDE's Annual Conference, 2001 Madrid, 4-6 October 2001*, Madrid: WIDE.

Willetts, P. (1996), 'Consultative Status for NGOs at the United Nations', in P. Willetts (ed.), *The Conscience of the World*, London: Hurst and Company.

Wilson, M. (1995), 'IPPF Looks to the Future', in *Planned Parenthood in Europe*, Volume 23 no 3.

Wolf, D. (1997), 'Daughters, Decisions and Domination: An Empirical and Conceptual Critique of Household Strategies', in N. Visvanathan, L. Duggan, L. Nisonoff and N. Wiegersma (eds.), *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, London: Zed Books.

Woost, M.D. (1997), 'Alternative Vocabularies of Development? 'Community' and 'Participation' in Development Discourse in Sri Lanka', in R.D. Grillo and R.L. Stirrat (ed.), *Discourses of Development,* Oxford: Berg.

World Bank (2000), *Advancing Gender Equality: World Bank Action since Beijing*, Washington: The World Bank.

Wright, S. (1995), 'Anthropology: Still the Uncomfortable Discipline?', in A . Ahmed and C. Shore (eds.), *The Future of Anthropology: Its Relevance in the Modern World*, London: Athlone Press.

Wright, S. and Shore, S. (1995), *'Towards an Anthropology of Policy'*, 2 (2) (Summer): 27-31.

Yates, W. (2001), *Equity Management: Affirmative Action for the 21st Century,* http://aad.english.ucsb.edu/docs/Change7.html

Zaoude, A. and Sandler, J. (2001), 'International Organisations: Women's Rights and Gender Equality', in S. Perry and C. Schenk (eds.), *Eye to Eye: Women Practising Development across Cultures*, London: Zed Books.

Zuniga, M. (2002), Presentation at meeting organised by Health Link International, February, 2002, London.

Appendix 1: Analysis of IPPF's Income and Expenditure

Income and Expenditure Analysis

This analysis is based on the 1999 Annual Report Supplement:

IPPF Income Analysis *(all figures are in US$000 unless otherwise stated)**:***

Total Income -	84,170[77]	
Of which was unrestricted -	70,160	(83.4%)
Of which was restricted -	14,010	(16.6%)

Breakdown of Income Sources:

Unrestricted:	From Governments -	68,170	(97.3%)
	From Grants -	1,890	(2.7%)
Restricted:	From Governments -	6,330	(45.2%)
	From Grants -	7,680	(54.8%)

Analysis of Governments' Unrestricted Funding:

Japanese Government -	18,200	(26.7%)
Danish Government -	10,010	(14.68%)
UK Government -	8,997	(13.2%)
Swedish Government -	8,130	(11.9%)
USA Government -	2,500[78]	(3.7%)

FPAs' Income from All Sources:

From IPPF -	49,650	(26.73%)
From Local Sources -	96,600	(50.37%)
From International Sources -	42,560	(22.9%)
Total	**185,81**	

Regions' Income by Source:

Region	*IPPF*	*Local*	*International*
Africa[1]	*$18.8m (63%)*	*9%*	*28%*
Arab[2]	*$4.2m (37.6%)*	*41%*	*22%*
EASOC[3]	*$4.94m (11.68%)*	*84%*	*5%*
European[4]	*$1.6m (46.4%)*	*18%*	*35%*
South Asia Region[5]	*$10.51m (62%)*	*14%*	*24%*
WHR[6]	*$10.01m (12.2%)*	*58%*	*30%*

[77] These figures do not reflect movements of funds to Vision 2000 Funds. Other income is not included – this amounts to c2% of total income.

[78] The majority of US Government funding goes to restricted funds, in fact over 60% of restricted funds from governments comes from the USA Government.

[1] – 63% of regional income from IPPF, majority of which is restricted funding.
[2] – 41% of income generated locally, low International income, majority from USAID. IPPF income mostly cash grants (unrestricted).
[3] – 84% of income generated locally with only 12% derived from IPPF.
[4] – 47% of income from IPPF in cash grants (unrestricted).
[5] – Majority of income from IPPF, minimal local income.
[6] – 58% of local income is from sales/fees and fundraising. International income is mostly from USAID and Private Donors.

IPPF Expenditure:

Total to FPAs -	49,370	(62.4%)
To Secretariat -	25,650	(32.42%)
ToGovernance -	2,300	(2.9%)
To International Activities -	1,770	(2.2%)

IPPF Expenditure to Regions:

Africa Region -	18,430	(38.69%)
Arab Region -	4,210	(8.8%)
ESAOR -	4,940	(10.37%)
European Region -	1,610	(3.4%)
South Asia Region -	10,440	(21.92%)
WHR -	7,990	(16.77%)

Appendix 2: IPPF's Gender Equity Policy as adopted in 1995

GENDER EQUITY POLICY[79]

Background

The IPPF Members' Assembly meeting in New Delhi in October 1992 in the year of IPPF's 40th Anniversary passed a resolution urging all IPPF Regions to adopt policies whereby by the MA in 1995, equality of gender representation has been accomplished in all IPPF Governing bodies. At their meeting in 1993, Central Council recommended that the International Women's Advisory Panel (IWAP) draft a policy to operationalise the process of empowering women to participate more effectively at all levels of volunteer and staff structures.

In line with Vision 2000, in order to operationalise the Members' Assembly resolution on gender equity by 1995 (or as soon thereafter as possible), IPPF and FPAs should:

1. Practice affirmative action in order to alter the balance in the numbers of men and women at all levels of decision-making in volunteer bodies of the Federation, in favour of at least 50 per cent women, including on:

- FPA Boards,
- FPA representation at Regional Councils/Boards/Executive Committees,
- Regional representation to Central Council,
- Central Executive Committee *
- Central Budget and Finance Committee
- Members' Assembly.

* Realising that achieving gender equity on the CEC will not be possible in the short term because of the manner in which it is composed, it is

[79] Policy adopted by IPPF's Central Council in November 1995.

recommended that as a first step the four IPPF Honorary Officers include at least two women.

Operationalising affirmative action would include:

a. as a post comes due for election, making special efforts to recruit women candidates;

b. where there is a choice of candidates, giving preference to suitable women;

c. where FPAs are permitted to send more than one representative to a regional or international body, ensuring that at least 50 per cent of those representatives are women; and

d. where FPAs are currently permitted to send only one representative to a regional or international body, either:

i. increasing the number of representatives to at least two, and making at least 50 per cent of these women, or

ii. if a man is sent in one year or to one meeting, sending a woman the following year or to the following meeting, to achieve a balance, and/or

iii. providing a representative and an alternate, at least one of whom is a woman.

2. A permanent policy change should be instituted for representation to Members' Assembly to ensure that:

a. each FPA should send two representatives, at least one of whom should be a woman and both of them should have the right to vote; and

b. gender orientation sessions should be held for both women and men, separately.

3. The status and terms of references of Regional women's panels/task forces/ committees should be changed as follows:

a. they should become statutory instead of temporary bodies;

b. they should all be guided by the same principles; and

c. they should all report directly to the Regional Councils.*

4. Employment policy should include affirmative action. Operationalising affirmative action in employment would include:

a. active recruitment of women to high-level decision-making and high-salaried posts, as well as other posts;

b. recruitment of young women;

c. recruitment of both men and women from diverse backgrounds;

d. ensuring all recruitment of senior staff is done by recruitment panels; and

e. ensuring all recruitment panels include at least 50 per cent women.

5. Where an FPA or a regional or international body finds that it is unable to fulfil any one of these policy directives, suitable sanctions should be applied.

REGIONAL WOMEN'S ADVISORY PANELS (RWAP)

PRINCIPLES

1. RWAP should review and assess the situation with regard to the involvement of women in decision making in the region and advise on mechanisms and strategies for increasing this involvement (Re-Vision 2000).

2. RWAP should advise on strategies and methods to fully institutionalise appropriate and effective gender representation at the local, regional and international level.

3. RWAP should provide expert advice for insuring gender sensitivity in programmes and recommend ways in which the women's perspective can be incorporated into the design, implementation and evaluation of regional programmes.

4. RWAP should review and assess developments affecting the status, reproductive health, and rights of woman with a view to advising the region and FPAs on appropriate directions and practices.

5. RWAP should, as necessary to meet the above principles, monitor programmes and policies, provide technical assistance to the region and FPAs (volunteers and staff), prepare reports and recommendations, and undertake other appropriate inquiries, discussions, actions and activities.

6. RWAP should be composed of no less than three women representatives of the region. A maximum of six expert volunteers is suggested for optimal Panel effectiveness. In addition to these representatives, RWAP should include one member of the Regional Council, Board of Directors or Executive Committee, male or female, chosen on the basis of demonstrated leadership in the involvement of women, and one regional staff member to facilitate Panel

operations and follow-up. The Panel should have the power to temporarily co-opt 3 members (volunteers, staff member or experts) as necessary in order to reflect a variety of fields of specialisation relevant to IPPF's activities and gender issues.

7. RWAP should report to the Regional Council.

Appendix 3: IPPF's Gender Equity Policy as adopted in 2001

IPPF GENDER EQUITY POLICY[80]

Guiding Principles

1. IPPF views gender equity as fundamental to its vision of empowerment of women and believes that the equitable participation of women in decision-making positions and processes at all socio-economic levels will enable women to acquire the relevant skills and confidence to promote their sexual and reproductive health.

2. Gender equity should be considered an integral part of all policies, programmes and structures of the Federation. Women, men, young women and young men have different needs and experiences, as well as sexual health risks specific to each sex. Gender disparities often serve as additional social, economic and bureaucratic barriers to how men and women promote and protect their sexual and reproductive health. Policies, programmes and services must strive to identify and address these gender specific differences by creating enabling environments for men and women to influence and benefit from programmes and services.

3. Gender equity connotes fairness and justice and should be applied to all issues in the Federation, whether with regard to the proportion of women and men on a board or committee, or with regard to the social division of labour. Focusing on gender equity should not be taken as an excuse to permit inequality between women and men. In an area such as sexual and reproductive health, in which women bear the largest share of the costs, dangers and burdens (physical, mental, social and economic) it is equitable and fair that women should have at least an equal share in all institutional decision-making processes.

[80] Policy adopted by the Governing Council in May 2001.

4. Gender equality on the other hand means that women and men are accorded the same status. It does not imply that women and men are the same, but that they have equal value and should be accorded equal treatment. Where women and men have unequal status and unequal access to knowledge or resources in a community, special measures and affirmative action is needed to address these gender inequalities.

5. Promoting gender equity also requires working with men as crucial partners in women's sexual and reproductive health.

Implementation

6. To operationalise this policy, IPPF and its FPAs should practice affirmative action in order to alter the balance in the numbers of men and women at all levels of decision-making in volunteer bodies of the Federation, in favour of at least 50 per cent women, including on:

(i) FPA Boards,
(ii) Regional Councils and Regional Executive Committees,
(iii) IPPF Governing Council,
(iv) IPPF Membership Committee
(v) IPPF Audit Committee

7. Operationalising affirmative action would include:

(i) as a post comes due for election, making special efforts to recruit women candidates;

(ii) where there is a choice of candidates, giving preference to suitable women;

(iii) where FPAs are permitted to send more than one representative to a regional or international body, ensuring that at least 50 per cent of those representatives are women.

8. Employment policy should include affirmative action. Operationalising affirmative action in employment would include:

(i) active recruitment of women to high-level decision-making and high-salaried posts, as well as other posts;

(ii) recruitment of young women;

(iii) recruitment of both men and women from diverse backgrounds;

(iv) ensuring all recruitment of senior staff is done by recruitment panels; and

(v) ensuring all recruitment panels include at least 50 per cent women and or someone with gender expertise

9. Gender should be mainstreamed into all IPPF programmes, budgets, strategic plans and policies and should be systematically monitored and evaluated at all levels of the Federation on a continuous basis.

10. Annual Regional Council Reports to Governing Councils should provide an update on progress made in the implementation of the Gender Equity Policy.

11. Where an FPA, Regional or Central body finds that it is unable to fulfill any one of these policy directives, appropriate sanctions should be applied.

Adopted by Governing Council in May 2001.

Appendix 4: Mandate of the International Women's Advisory Panel

Terms of Reference of The International Women's Advisory Panel (IWAP)

Function

A women's advisory panel of international experts should be established to provide continuing advice and guidance to IPPF. The Panel shall:

a) Review and assess the situation with regard to the involvement of women in decision making processes and advise on mechanisms and strategies for increasing women's involvement in decision making.

b) Provide expert advice on mechanisms for ensuring gender sensitivity in programmes and recommend ways in which the women's perspective can be incorporated into design the design, implementation and evaluation of IPPF's programmes.

c) Review and assess worldwide developments affecting the status, reproductive health and rights of women with the view to advising IPPF on appropriate directions and practices.

d) Examine and provide expert advice and make recommendations on relevant gender issues facing the Federation.

The Panel shall be made up of individuals with a high international reputation, lending authority to IPPF's capacity to take policy decisions in the relevant areas.

Composition

The Panel shall have a total of sic members and shall have the power to coopt a further three members as deemed necessary.

The Chair and Panel members shall be appointed by the CEC.

The Panel should reflect a variety of field of specialisation relevant to IPPF's activities and interests. Members should have experience in aspects of women's participation in development, and an understanding of the diverse needs and priorities of the Federation.

Tenure

The Panel shall be appointed for a term of two years and be subject to review after a period no longer than 5 years (Regulation 6(2)). The Chair shall not be eligible for appointment for more than three consecutive terms.

Method of Work

The Panel shall meet as required subject to agreement of the Secretary General. Some of the work of the Panel may be conducted by correspondence.

(Source: IPPF, 1993: 1)