

Addressing Men and Masculinities in GAD¹

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Addressing men and masculinities in our work on mainstreaming gender in policy and planning has been an ongoing challenge. In the early 1980s, the focus was very much on incorporating men as a variable in the context of a Women in Development (WID) approach that did not consider men at all. This involved arguing for the systematic disaggregation of diagnosis and the formulation of action by considering men as well as women in different development contexts. These efforts have continued into the 1990s, despite the shift to an apparent Gender and Development (GAD) approach. We are also still grappling with the layers of complexity in the social construction of definitions of masculinities and femininities, and the issues of identity and ideology they raise.

The treatment of men and masculinities in our methodology to mainstream gender in policy and planning has been an iterative process between concept and practice. This has taken place in the DPU² in the context of academic teaching, as well as training and advisory work with international agencies, governments and NGOs seeking to integrate gender perspective in their policies and operations. In this article, we would like to share our experience of working with men and masculinities in the process of developing a methodology for mainstreaming gender in policy and planning through interaction with training.

1 Why Men and Masculinities?

When we began to work on incorporating a gender perspective in policy and planning in the early 1980s,³ the state of the art was encapsulated in a WID approach that reflected only a small part of our reality. WID attempted to address the inequality between women and men in society, a position that was central to our concerns. However, at the time, it did so largely in the context of the project, with the policy and planning level hardly touched. It was also largely rural in its concerns. Its exclusive focus on women in both diagnosis of problems and separate interventions, in our view, was a partial analysis giving rise to partial 'solutions'. There were other worrying tendencies in WID. As elaborated elsewhere, not only did it exclude consideration about men and masculinities, but by the late 1980s and 1990s, it was also no longer concerned with the subordination of women.⁴ WID had also

become a narrowly-based women's sector which was (and still is) weak and marginal to mainstream development (see for example, Levy 1992, 1996; Kabeer 1995). The GAD approach in which we were involved was built on fundamentally different foundations.

We see GAD⁵ as an essential contribution to a development process through which women and men can exercise and enjoy freedom of choice in their lives, without prejudicing the choice of others.⁶ As stated by one of our Associates:

I think that the main reason for gender mainstreaming is making equity and equality in every sense a shared goal by men and women at different levels. If not, inequity and inequality will be reproduced even if we manage to reduce poverty. In this sense, I see gender mainstreaming as a tool for reaching real development'. (F Associate, Chile)

In this context, there are two reasons for our work with men and masculinities. The first is that, given the unequal relations between women and men in most contexts, involving men and challenging aspects of masculinities (and femininities), is an important dimension to improving women's lives. The second is that, like women, men also experience inequalities on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity/race, age, religion, and ability (see also Hearn and Collinson 1994). It is crucial to recognise that both men and women may be addressing different kinds of inequalities in their lives. In both arguments, the key issue is how men (and women) are involved in this process, and whether this happens within existing gender relations or through a process of reconstructing gender relations.

We have attempted to deal with two key dimensions in our GAD work. First, we are concerned with a gender mainstreaming process that involves transformation of the development agenda on the basis of diversity, equality and effectiveness. This is founded on an understanding of gender as the social relations between and among women and men, in which the dimension of men and masculinities,⁷ as well as women and femininities, is addressed in the context of other social relations such as class, age, ethnicity, race, religion and ability.


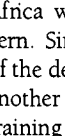

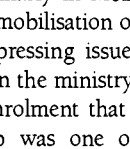

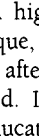
The second dimension is the cross-sectoral character of gender mainstreaming. This presents two related challenges, which are not an 'either/or'. The first relates to the process of institutionalising responsive mechanisms for taking on the inequalities expressed through the gender interests and needs of women and men within different sectors; that is, within their policies, budgets, procedures etc. The second relates to re-orienting the now established WID structures to support cross-sectoral policy and planning, by providing the inspiration and lead for gender mainstreaming without being afraid to let others – indeed, encouraging others – to take the key roles in 'owning' and implementing it.

The starting point for working with GAD is to treat 'gender' as the unit for analysis, in the context of other social relations. With respect to addressing men in GAD, we feel that it is important not to treat men as a separate unit or an additional entity ('MID'⁸ instead of WID). This would defy the purpose of dealing with the more important gender issues, which lie neither with men nor women separately, but in the relationships among and between them.

2 Addressing Men and Masculinities in a Policy and Planning Methodology to Mainstream Gender

An important step in working through how women and men are involved in development interventions, and whether they address practical or strategic gender interests and needs,⁹ is to 'let go' of the idea that gender issues are addressed through women's projects. This is not only a powerful legacy of WID, but also, at both ends of the spectrum, of pre-WID welfare intervention (see for example, Moser 1993) and many feminist-inspired interventions. This is not a rejection of women's projects *per se*, or of feminist-inspired interventions. Rather, a central notion in the DPU's methodology is that the focus of an intervention on women, men, and/or women and men, is a matter of strategic choice. This has implications for diagnosis, formulation of action and monitoring and evaluation (see Figure 1). This is a crucial shift for practitioners, and is obviously important for the inclusion of men in gender mainstreaming interventions.

Figure 1: Key methodological differences between the WID and GAD approaches

	WID	GAD
diagnosis	 women as unit of analysis	 gender relations as unit of analysis
action	 women-focused objectives, strategies and activities	 focus on women, men or women and men: decision on basis of <i>strategic choice</i>
monitoring and evaluation	 women-focused indicators measuring changes in the situation of women	 indicators comparing women and men: (combined or separate) measuring <i>relative</i> changes in the situation of women and men

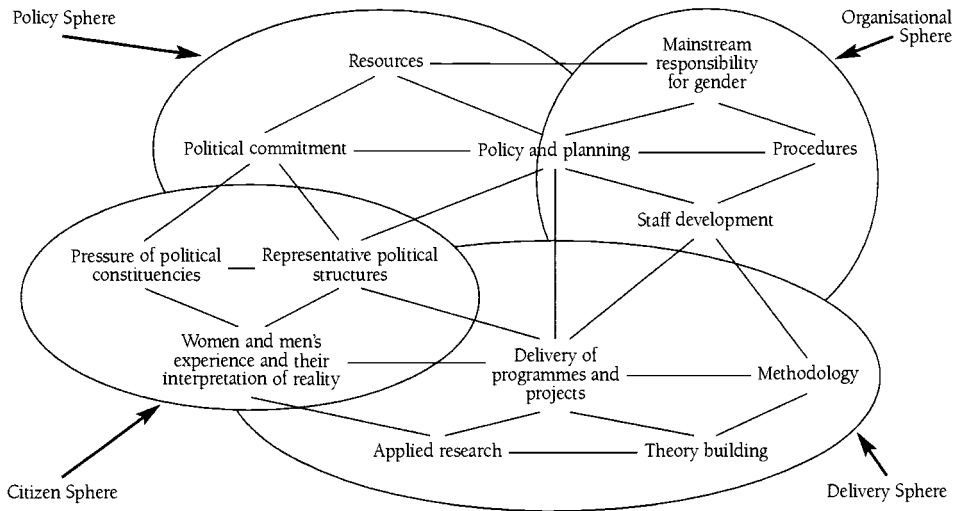
Source: DPU Gender Policy and Planning Programme, 1998

One influence on emphasising the strategic targeting of interventions is the reality participants bring into the training workshops we run. Over the years, these have provided the basis for a range of discussions on men and masculinities within GAD work. Latin American, Caribbean and African participants in particular regularly create a picture of low income men as 'alcoholics, idle and marginalised'. In Southern Africa, the consequences for policy, as well as for women and other household members, of the retrenchment of men in the mines in South Africa was another problem highlighted for concern. Similarly in Mozambique, the consequences of the demobilisation of men after the civil war was another pressing issue raised. In Namibia, when training in the ministry of education, the picture of school enrolment that participants brought to the workshop was one of regional difference as to whether girls or boys were being held back from entering or continuing schooling. Each of these realities reflect different socio-economic and political processes, but they all reflect the need for 'an understanding of the complex, iterative and dynamic relationship between gender roles and ideologies, and the crisis in gender relations that are caused by changes in the sexual division of labour' (Sweetman 1999:1).

How are the different realities, in which training participants find themselves, addressed to provide a sound basis for strategically targeting interventions? The training context is an interesting one for many reasons. For us, one of the most important is the constant demand participants create for the translation of ideas into practice. Some trainees often approach this in an ambiguous way. While part of them recognises the importance of confronting inequalities in their development work, they often seek a 'technical fix' when it comes to practice.¹⁰ It is a great challenge to get participants to retain the political as well as the technical content of a methodology, which attempts to provide ways of working with power relations in any context.

Putting the matter of strategic choice in a political and technical frame raises a number of crucial issues in our methodology. One is that the process of making strategic choices is not in the hands of policymakers and planners alone, but is a shared process of diagnosis and dialogue with women as well as men in a range of capacities. Another is that strategic choice about interventions has to be made on the basis of both the opportunities and resistance emerging from the underlying power relations in a specific context. Furthermore, in order to make

Figure 2: Spheres in the web of institutionalisation



Source: C. Levy, 'The Web of Institutionalisation', DPU Working Paper No. 74, 1996

the most of the opportunities and to confront the resistance that will inevitably arise when working to promote transformative change, strategic choices are part of an iterative, rather than a linear, policy and planning process.

An initiating component of this process is *gender diagnosis*. Central to this is the 'web of institutionalisation',¹¹ which is used to assess whether, how far and in what ways gender is currently mainstreamed in the context under consideration.¹² The 'web' emerged out of the constant demand in training to operationalise gender mainstreaming, and the absence of a conceptual tool to address the institutional and organisational dimensions of change in development. The 'web' identifies at least thirteen elements, which are crucial to the process of institutionalising transformation in policy and planning.¹³ Each element represents a site of power, underpinned by a particular conjunction of social relations, including the dimension of patriarchy.¹⁴ The elements relate to each other in a set of reinforcing triangles, making up the 'web'.

For the purposes of this article, the thirteen elements are grouped into four *intersecting* spheres (see Figure 2). The *citizen sphere* is one in which women

and men operate as individuals in households and communities, or collectively in political interest groups of various kinds. The continued domination by men and masculine values in the public expression of interests and needs, inside and outside formal political structures, is a crucial issue in this sphere, even in countries where equal rights are enshrined in political constitutions.

In the *policy sphere*, the process of formulating policy to challenge the articulation of patriarchy within the state in a participatory way is complex, particularly at national level. For example, the introduction of gender mainstreaming in donor-recipient policy dialogues is complicated by the politics of aid, as well as by male-dominated and gender-blind government to government actors. Incorporating actors operating outside of these structures in order to input women and men's interests and needs has been little explored. An additional challenge we constantly face is the implication of gender mainstreaming for both GAD and mainstream budgets. Where men are targeted on the basis of strategic choice, is funding drawn out of the already minuscule GAD/WID budgets? We argue strongly that mainstreaming gender means permeating mainstream development budgets to ensure that they are

spent in a gender-aware manner, as well as protecting GAD budgets to support activities which catalyse this process.

In the *organisational sphere* women and men are actors within organisational structures and cultures, which, even in many women's organisations, still promote masculine ways of working (see, for example, Itzen 1995). Additional issues for debate in this sphere have been the location, staffing and function of the often-called gender desks or departments in organisations (see for example, Razavi and Miller 1995),¹⁵ and the process of creating mainstream responsibility for gender issues among women and men staff in all parts of organisations (Levy 1996, 1998). In the *'delivery' sphere*, women and men are actors in different capacities, whose interests and needs are also reflected in different kinds of knowledge, which influences the formulation and implementation of programmes and projects. The lack of connection of this sphere to the citizen sphere continues to be an issue, despite all the talk of participation. In government departments and in many NGOs, programmes and projects continue to be designed on the basis of stereotyped perceptions of women and men, which are perpetuated in research in which these stereotypes go unquestioned. Thus, despite some interesting examples of incorporating gender at policy level, we regularly witness 'policy evaporation'¹⁶ in the implementation of programmes and projects.

The diagnosis of each element and their interaction within and between these makes it possible to identify the problems and potentials faced by gender mainstreaming in a particular context, including which, when and where men and masculinities present obstacles – or opportunities – for mainstreaming. This highlights the importance of strategic alliances with men as well as the non-homogeneous nature of men's resistance to gender. It also challenges two hard-dying myths: that all men resist gender equality and that all women favour it.¹⁷

Part of the diagnosis of each element focuses on identifying, with women and men themselves,¹⁸ their different *gender* roles, access to and control over resources, and gender needs. The way gender roles are conceptualised has very important implications. First, the methodology refers to the gender roles, and not just roles. In other words, the

relational dimension is stressed here, in the context of other social relations. So women may have different gender roles to other women, and men to other men, depending on their social positioning. Second, gender roles are never analysed in isolation from access to and control over resources, be they concrete (eg. income, housing, and credit) or abstract (eg. power, decision making and information). Finally, gender roles are used for diagnostic purposes and *not* as *prescriptive labels*. The aim is to provide a tool for questioning existing gender roles.

We refer to the multiple roles of women and men around reproduction, production, community management and constituency-based politics. Earlier, the DPU used Moser's notion of the 'triple role' of women (reproduction, production, community management) and the 'double role' of men (production and community politics) (Moser 1993). One reason for these adaptations was that we found that the allocations of a particular number of roles to women and men did not provide the flexibility to represent reality in different contexts in which the gender division of labour was changing. Key processes in these changes included the impacts of the global restructuring of economic relations, of conflict and war, and of the liberalisation of policy. An example of the latter was the incorporation of men as well as women into community management activities, beyond traditional collective voluntary labour, as a result of structural adjustment policies.¹⁹ We also introduced the idea of a constituency-based politics role to supersede Moser's 'community' politics role,²⁰ which we felt did not cover women and men's political roles beyond the community level, in particular in the context of the strengthening of civil society in many countries.

We have had an interesting experience with the definition of the strategic gender needs of men. As in the case of women, the definition of these kinds of needs requires a level of consciousness about the subordination of women and its injustice. This requires men to recognise the subordination of women as a problem for men themselves. If men are conscious that women's subordination impinges negatively on their identity and their needs (let alone their morality), then they may consider articulating an alternative, more equal, set of needs for themselves. This goes to the heart of redefining gender roles and access to and control over

resources, as well as redefining masculinities in the process. Since this involves giving up current aspects of power, men need to appreciate what they gain in the new situation. In the early days of our work, we were particularly challenged by Swedish and Norwegian men, and in the 1990s increasingly by other men in the context of training, who had given a great deal of thought to their strategic gender needs and pushed us to expand our own understanding of them.²¹ In almost all cases, these needs were associated with their roles as fathers.

As emphasised earlier, gender diagnosis constantly interacts with another component in the methodology, which we call *gender dialogue*. The nature of this dialogue is profoundly influenced by gender, class, ethnicity and age considerations, the outcome of which will be affected by who is involved, where and when it takes place, and how it is conducted. For example, different women and men have a different leverage in their organisation, by virtue of their sex, their social positioning, as well as their position in the organisation. The identification of strategically placed men, as well as women, is crucial to the successful implementation of interventions. The complexities of re-negotiating gender relations, and involving men as well as women in this process, often proves too much for efficiency-driven projects, or just too difficult for well-intentioned GAD interventions. The result is that many projects end up focusing on the less controversial practical gender needs of women (Guijt and Shah 1998).

The 'web', gender diagnosis and gender dialogue are just three components of a wider methodology which cannot be expanded here. What is important to re-emphasise is that this methodology is a context-driven iterative process, responding to the opportunities and resistance inside and outside the organisations involved. The aim is to put a process in train to create the conditions for transforming organisational and institutional practices so that they are more responsive to issues of diversity and equality.

3 Reflections on Men and Masculinities in the Training Workshop

As already indicated, we have learnt a great deal about men and masculinities when applying our

methodology in training. One of the first concrete confrontations with gender relations stems out of our effort to have both women and men in all our training. We seek to balance the provision of opportunities for women to receive professional training with the recognition that, as men still dominate decision making in organisations, they are also important targets for gender training. However, the final outcome will depend on the purpose of the training, and a number of attitudinal factors operating at the level of individuals, as well as funding and workplace organisations.

Over the years, a clear pattern in the *numbers of women and men* attending DPU gender courses has emerged. While we always encourage sponsors to send men as well as women, men are in the minority in most workshops. We think this is partly because women are more interested, while funders and management at the workplace still view the course as a 'women's course' (despite publicity material which refers to women and men). Tailor-made courses for specific organisations are usually more reflective of the number of women and men in the organisation at different levels.

From the perspective of women participants, the following quotations reveal an interesting range of reasons for the inclusion of men in training:

It is enriching to listen to men's views in relation to gender and inequality and also working together incorporating different points of view. (F Associate, Chile 1999)

It felt good that there were some men on the course. It was about time that they participate in such training. They also need to be enlightened about domination and subordination, the use of power, gender inequality etc. Men can be humbled, learn to share power and learn about women, femininity and feminist ways of thinking and doing. It is good to start off with a few men as allies. (F Associate, Philippines 1999)

The number of women and men on the course can influence how issues relating to men and masculinities are incorporated and debated. Where men are the minority, 'there is not always enough space for men to start articulating their feelings in relation to the issue of masculinity' (F Co-trainer, UK 1999),

They may also fear disapproval of women in the group, who may appear united in a 'sisterly conspiracy' against them. This is reflected in some of their reactions:

I was taken aback to be so much in the minority, but I took it as a challenge to understand how women perceive us. I found it difficult hearing what men were responsible for and felt I was sent to the course to defend 'mankind'. However, the class was supportive and made the debates healthy. (M Associate, India 1999)

I was the only man in the group and this made it difficult for me to express my views as a man. I sometimes felt a bit responsible to defend 'mankind', when the wrong-doings of some men were generalised to all men (M Associate, Namibia 1999)

Evaluation of our courses reveals that both women and men appreciate mixed groups in training. Women see the training as a 'safe' environment in which to challenge men and explore with them men's opinions and experiences, providing what both often refer to as 'a balance' in the debates is maintained. While the absence of men is often noted as a minus, some women still feel freer to discuss certain issues in the absence of men.

Although we try to deal with issues of men and masculinities in these different contexts in a non-confrontational way, this does not mean that men are not challenged, mostly by women participants, but also by other male participants. Having a critical mass of men allows for the expression and examination of the many types and facets of masculinities, and therefore makes deconstruction more feasible. Having access to both the views of women and men is an asset as it constantly forces trainers and trainees to ensure that stereotyping, assumptions and opinions are not presented as facts.

From the trainers' perspective, the challenge is to avoid the pitfall of stereotyping 'men and masculinities' as a monolithic piece of resistance. In the words of one of our regular co-trainers, 'often men are put in the accused chair – this is very easy to happen unless the trainer is conscious of trying to avoid it. I have even seen male trainers do this' (F

Co-trainer, UK 1999). When men are present, the challenge is to facilitate their contributions without allowing them to dominate. This domination can happen even in groups where men are the minority, particularly when all women and men come from one country or one organisation where men are in higher hierarchical positions, in both cases upholding the norms of their operating environments.

The *sex of the trainers* themselves can have a bearing on how these issues can be drawn out in training. We found some differences in how male trainers themselves perceive their advantages in doing gender training:

I do not think that the sex of the trainer as such makes a difference. Though women tend to train in gender with more passion than men. I think this passion may turn off male trainees. (M Associate, Colombia 1999)

Male trainers might be good in certain workshops. However one must avoid male tokenism. (M Associate, UK 1999)

Male trainees get confounded by seeing a man doing gender training and advocating for transforming gender relations in the favour of all, but especially of women. (M Associate, Tanzania 1999).

Where training as a foreigner in-country, not only are there obvious advantages of training with a local counterpart, but some of our UK women associates have commented on the advantages of training with a local man:

An African male trainer talking to African men with a twinkle in his eyes saying 'come on, let's be honest about this' makes a difference. I think it is important to train in mixed teams, including mixed ethnicity. (F Associate, UK 1999)

The number of experienced male gender trainers in our network is still small, and in most cases they are overwhelmed with work. In some contexts the presence of a male trainer may be more important than in others.

We have found that the sex composition of groups, group dynamics and the role and sex of the trainer

are not the only important factors in dealing with these issues successfully. The *training methodology* itself can also be supportive of the way men and masculinities is drawn out in our workshops. The training approach we use is an iterative process moving between concepts and their application in a particular context, based on the gender policy and planning methodology described in the previous section, which is adapted to suit the purpose, length and target group of the course. We combine presentations with the examination of cases from different contexts, and work with participants' own experience, in plenary and small groups. All these mechanisms allow for different ways of raising and dealing with gender issues, including those of men and masculinities. We usually start with the micro level (members of the household and communities), moving to the macro-policy level and the institutional level (connecting all levels together).

Starting with the micro-context offers a number of advantages in addressing men and masculinities. For instance, the use of the 24-hour clock exercise does not only lead to a comparison of women and men's different tasks, use of public/private spaces, access and control over resources, etc. As participants discuss what is expected of and considered 'normal' for women and men of different ages, classes etc., they also start unpacking aspects of masculinities and femininities in their own contexts. It is also here that the marginalisation of low-income men first emerges. These issues are then raised and assessed later within wider socio-economic and political processes.

Sceptical women and men are drawn into the process through an examination of their practice. 'Men find the issues raised in training difficult at the start – they act all superior at this stage. However, the substance of the training impresses them and after a few exercises they start changing their attitude, get excited and get convinced' (F Associate, Nigeria 1999).

Our concern for a systematic inclusion of issues of men and masculinities in the GAD debates influences the choice of materials we use, such as case studies, extracts of policies and videos. Despite a growing knowledge base on men and masculinities, this knowledge has still to be translated into training materials. Simply including references to men is not enough. In all cases, one of our key aims is to ensure

that our diagnostic and strategy development tools make it possible to understand and tackle mechanisms perpetuating inequalities, whether sustained by men or even by women in some cases. To do this, we ensure that all the materials we hand out refer systematically to gender relations between and among different groups of women and men. To highlight the importance of having a complete gender diagnosis, we ask trainees to identify what information is missing on gender relations (which often turns out to be about men and masculinities in WID focused documents), and we ask them to formulate questions about the 'missing information' (on men, women or the relations between them, as relevant), as a first step for finding out more.

A further complicating issue in training can be that 'men themselves do not know how to express how they feel about their masculinity' (F Associate, Chile 1999). Even though the entry point of the DPU methodology is focusing on practitioners and their development work, clearly *personal* issues do emerge. 'In the process of learning the methodology, women and men start to think about their own personal lives, not only in their workplace but in their own homes and in society in general' (F Associate, Philippines 1999). For some men the process can be quite profound:

I realised that a male identity through the process of socialisation is bestowed with tremendous power and control. I tried to look at it in my own personal life and had to make some amendments and attitudinal change. I am still looking at my identity as a 'man'. For every gendered change you have 10 gendered stereotypes flung. This is what makes the search ongoing. (M Associate, India 1999)

If this was the impact of training on some women and men operating in the different spheres of the 'web', then the transformation process, which GAD seeks to generate, may be well underway.

4 Conclusion

Throughout this article we have argued for GAD as a positive and transformative force in policy and planning, and discussed the inclusion of men and masculinities as an important contribution to it. In holding this position, we have been faced by

opposition from a number of quarters. Some WID protagonists choose to deal with women discretely with their separate needs, because they have no intention of dealing with issues of equality addressed by GAD. Clearly, this is a different group from those feminists and feminist WID protagonists (not necessarily the same) who have different reasons for seeing GAD as threatening. We share many of their concerns.

GAD can be objectionable if it is de-politicised and starts to be presented as a technical issue. GAD can be dangerous if it emphasises difference at the expense of inequality, so diverting attention away from women's subordination. GAD can jeopardise decades of work when it is used as a rationale for dispensing with the organisational structures created for WID, without proper thought to its replacement. GAD can hold risks when it adds the issue of men and masculinities to already overloaded gender desks or minuscule WID/GAD budget lines, without breaking out of the women's/gender sector and tackling mainstream responsibilities and budgets.

These are all situations about which to be vigilant in our practice. We need to be open and reflexive in facing the complexities of working with gender in policy and planning, and to recognise that some of our new ways of working may hold dangers like these. However, although these concerns should be part of an ongoing debate, they should not hold back our work on mainstreaming gender in policy and planning, and the incorporation of men and masculinities in it.

In a recent workshop a female participant asked one of her male colleagues who was resisting 'adding on gender' to his current responsibilities: 'why don't you think about it as an enrichment of your work rather than as an enlargement of it?' Mindful of the fundamental change in consciousness that this shift would require, her words in many ways echo our own experience. We think that, looking at both women and men has enriched our understanding, analysis and responses to inequalities between and among women and men in different social relations. We also think that the incorporation of men and masculinities into public policy adds to the debate on inequalities, rather than masks it, and puts the position of women into even sharper focus.

Notes

- 1 The article is supplemented by interviews and questionnaires with selected women and men who have participated in our gender training or with whom we co-train. Given the nature of the article, we will refer to their inputs as Male (M) or Female (F) Associate, followed by their country.
- 2 The Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London, is an international centre specialising in academic teaching, practical training, research and consultancy in sustainable urban development and regional development policy, planning and management.
- 3 The initial team included Caroline Moser, who left the DPU in 1987, and Caren Levy.
- 4 We refer here to the shift from WID Equity to anti-poverty and efficiency approaches. While the former was concerned with some redistribution of resources to poor women, the latter seemed to emphasise only the 'delivery capacity' of women. (see for example, Buvinic 1983; Moser 1993; Young 1993).
- 5 At the end of the 1990s, GAD, like WID, has developed diverse approaches e.g. GAD Integration, GAD Equality, and GAD Anti-poverty.
- 6 This is encapsulated in the definition of social justice used by Iris Marion Young (1990) as it relates to 'the degree to which a society contains and supports the institutional conditions necessary for the realisation of [these] values...(1) developing and exercising one's capacities and expressing one's experience...(2) participating in determining one's actions and the conditions of one's actions' (Young 1990: 37).
- 7 This is based on the understanding that not all men conform to the same characteristics of masculinities. See how 'hegemony of masculinity' is treated by Connell (1987) and Cornwall (1997). The same applies to femininities.
- 8 MID (Men in Development), an acronym used by Sweetman, 1999, p. 7.
- 9 The distinction between practical and strategic gender interests was made by Molyneux (1985), and built on by Moser (1986 and 1993), using the term practical and strategic gender needs in a planning context. Though we more generally use the term needs, we also refer to interests depending on the issues and context under examination.
- 10 This is not confined to gender issues in policy and planning. There are ongoing debates about the depoliticisation of policy and planning, and the view of these processes as 'technical'. An understanding of gender is a crucial dimension of these debates.
- 11 This 'tool' was developed by Caren Levy (see Levy 1996, 1998).

- 12 The 'web' can be used in different contexts, for example, for addressing gender mainstreaming in organisations and their partners, in sectors, in national government policy.
- 13 More recently, the 'web' has also been used by colleagues working with environment and culture.
- 14 This recognises the debates about how patriarchy might be defined and interpreted in the context of socio-economic and political change (see for example, Castells 1999).
- 15 Contrary to past practice, a controversial issues has been the recent trend in some organisations to appoint a man to the GAD desk or in leadership positions in GAD departments. Their experience of representing gender mainstreaming in their organisations, in contrast to women in similar positions, raises many interesting issues which are still to be researched.
- 16 A term used by Phil Evans in a recent presentation of the experience of DFID (Evans 1999).
- 17 See Kandiyoti's argument in her discussion of patriarchal bargaining. (Kandiyoti 1988).
- 18 This refers to women and men among the different actors who are important in relations to each element, e.g. government departments, NGOs, CBOs.
- 19 Nevertheless, within community managing activities, a division of labour still appears to be operating, with men primarily involved in the provision of infrastructure and women in the provision (doing different activities) as well as the maintenance.
- 20 This terms came out of discussions between Jo Beall, Caren Levy, Marni Pigott and Nadia Taher in the early 1990s.
- 21 This took place in the context of training in NORAD and SIDA between 1989 and 1993, in Namibia in the early 1990s, and among trainees from different countries in the 1990s in courses in London.

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