Annex 3: Draft Paper

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Changing Gender Relations: Methodological Challenges for Gender Planning[1]

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Major conceptual advances in thinking about gender relations suggest the need to reassess conventional gender analyses within the context of development interventions. Evidence from development practice supports the conviction that targeting can be undermined by processes of gendered bargaining around project interventions. Academic research points to key problems and potential methods for looking at changing gender relations that might be adapted to project contexts. Existing gender planning frameworks focus on shifts in gender relations but need to address the process whereby gender relations are renegotiated if they are to inform better planning, monitoring and evaluation.

Introduction

This paper is a starting point for a research project[iii] which will attempt to develop practicable methods for analysing changing gender relations for policy research into technologies for improving the storage, processing and marketing of crops. Although the research project will focus on the crop post-harvest sector, many of the concerns raised here are relevant to a wide range of development interventions. The paper is based on existing literature and offers no new empirical findings.

It is widely believed that the impact of introducing specific technologies on the position of women has been generally negative (Palmer, 1991; Stamp, 1989). While there are guidelines available for project planners to minimise this negative impact (Moser, 1989; Feldstein and Poats, 1989; Overholt et al, 1985; ODA, 1995), we argue that they are primarily orientated towards identifying appropriate target populations to ensure the distributional equity and efficiency of project outcomes (Razavi and Miller 1994:13-16). NGO gender guidelines are more overtly concerned with women's empowerment, and hence with changes in gender relations (Eade and Williams, 1995; Williams et al 1994), but also neglect understandings of the processes of change and more subtle outcomes.

Social change is a complex process which cannot be controlled simply by directing interventions to specific individuals or groups or by engaging target groups more directly in project planning and implementation. Local populations everywhere use project interventions to serve their own purposes (cf. Long and Long, 1992) and there is considerable information on ways in which men and women try to maintain and change their relative social, economic and political positions inside households and in the community (cf. Kandiyoti, 1988; Goetz and Gupta, 1996). An understanding of how gender relations are negotiated and transformed is essential for the planning, monitoring and evaluation of development interventions that seek to preserve or improve women's livelihoods.

We begin by reviewing conceptual advances in academic research that have drawn attention to the dynamic nature of gender relations. We then demonstrate the significance of understanding changing gender relations in development practice and examine methodological difficulties and opportunities in studying these. We consider the extent which existing gender planning frameworks meet these needs. Finally, we argue that there is an urgent need to develop practicable methods for analysing changing gender relations that can be integrated into development planning.

Conceptualising Changing Gender Relations

It is now widely accepted that different members of households do not have unified interests. Rather than pooling income under the authority of a benevolent household head, households are the sight of bargaining processes which involve elements of both conflict and co-operation (Hart 1995:46). Although there are conflicts of interest between men and women within the household, negotiation must be moulded within the general format of cooperation if the household is to survive. The extent to which women risk open conflict depends on the circumstances in which they would find themselves if they lost favour or the household unit broke down. Generally women's position in the face of the disintegration of the household is relatively worse than men's and this disadvantage means that these 'cooperative-conflicts' tend to perpetuate existing gender inequalities (Sen 1990).

Nevertheless women employ a variety of strategies to optimise their livelihoods and security in the context of unequal gender relations (Kandiyoti 1988). For example, in Bangladesh within the constraints of male control over household income generating activities and over access to the market "women do have strategies to assert economic control" (Goetz and Gupta 1996:53). These strategies exploit gender-specific spheres of control and the various points of leverage to which women have access - such as appealing to male relatives for support, or withholding food or labour from their husbands. Kandiyoti has referred to such strategies as "bargaining with patriarchy" (1988) and includes within this category women's strategies that trade-off personal autonomy with the security of economic, social and physical protection by male relatives.

Women's strategies are intimately related to the general household livelihood strategies in ways that reflect the tension between the joint interests of households and the separate interests of women within households: for instance, women's crop processing activities have long been recognised as an integral part of seasonal coping strategies for households whilst women's preference for turning their savings into easily convertible stores of value under their own control can be seen as a hedge against potential crises, sometimes including family breakdown (Jiggins 1986). There are potential difficulties in distinguishing gender-specific coping strategies (by implication reactive) from gender-specific bargaining strategies (by implication proactive).

Bargaining within the household is often hidden involving emotional manipulation and unspoken power games that may not be readily detectable nor fundamentally threatening. Moreover, while certain areas of gender relations may habitually permit a degree of negotiation, others routinely do not. This points to a need for understanding the processes whereby taken-for-granted knowledge about existing gender relations can be opened up and questioned (Agarwal 1994: 58-59). Furthermore, it suggests that bargaining power cannot be treated effectively in the abstract but can only be meaningfully evaluated or monitored in relation to a particular sphere of activity in a specific social context - in other words, a woman's ability to negotiate over recompense

for work on another woman's fields may be distinct from the ability to negotiate over payment for work on her husband's fields in one social context while it may be integrally linked in another.

The rights, obligations and expectations of spouses in any particular social context form unwritten 'conjugal contracts' which specify the terms on which husbands and wives exchange goods, incomes and services, including labour (Whitehead 1981:88). 'Conjugal contracts' structure husband-wife negotiations: as Sen puts it cultural perceptions of wives' interests, obligations and rights determine both the practical implications for women who step out of line and, as a result, their effective bargaining power (1990). Agarwal builds on Sen's model, which questions women's ability to define their self-interest, by emphasising the importance of increasing women's bargaining power by removing external constraints to women acting in their own interests (1994:57). These external constraints include gendered relations with the market, the community and the state (ibid: 62).

However women and men's capacity for individual action, their agency, can lead to renegotiation of the terms of the conjugal contract. So 'conjugal contracts' need to be understood "as actual resources that are drawn on in the process of negotiation, rather than as norms that determine the outcome of a negotiation" (Moore 1992 cited Hart 1995:57). In this sense, "struggles over meanings are as much a part of the process of resource allocation as are struggles over surplus or the labour process" (Berry 1989, 1993 cited Hart 1995: 58). This is clearly demonstrated by Jones' study of intra-household bargaining in a rice-growing scheme in Cameroon which concluded that:

> "It is not only the rate of compensation and type of contractual agreement that are being negotiated but also the meaning of the contractual arrangement itself. Women are bargaining not only over the level of the 'wage' they are paid (by their husbands) but also over their right to be paid a certain amount based on the level of their labour input, in effect, they are challenging the husband's right to dispose of the product of his wife's labour, a right which was recognised heretofore by the transfer of bridewealth cattle" (1986:118).

The present bargaining power of an individual woman in relation to any particular issue is related to her own successful bargaining and that of other women's in the past on the same issue - in other words repeated and successful negotiation may open up particular areas of gender relations to questioning (Agarwal, 1994:71-80).

Women's strategies to change gender relations are not only hidden and obscure but also ambiguous. For example, Guyer notes that poor men and women engage in creating and maintaining at least some goods and relationships that are *multipurpose* and can veer from being investments, to consumption goods, to status signifiers as needed. In this way, present strategies of consumption and expenditure may express, confirm or create a potential claim over the longer term (1993:19 cited Hart 1995:60) thus keeping women's options for future bargaining open.

A final ambiguity in women's manoeuvring is found in their public representations of their activities and reveals the simplification of notions of women's practical and strategic needs found in mainstream gender planning frameworks. For example, Villarreal documents a beekeeping project aimed at women in Mexico. Women involved in beekeeping consciously portrayed their activities to the local insitution controlling communal land as of 'little importance' to ensure male-approval. The strategic manipulation of cultural ideas about the worth of women's activities was used by women to gain access to land and maintain control over beekeeping (1992:261). Similarly, von Bulow (1995) demonstrates how Chagga women use the forum of women's groups to legitimise actions which are at the borderline of acceptable female behaviour at the same time as they succeed in increasing their status as respectable modern women.

It is clear from this brief that a key determinant of gender policy outcomes is whether and how the terms of access to and control over resources and labour are renegotiated. Therefore the relevant focus for gender planning should be on: "how definitions of rules, rights and obligations are reinforced, renegotiated and, on occasion, openly challenged." (Hart 1995: 41). Implicitly such an approach recognises that development interventions, not only have different impacts on different household members, but that

they "may also provoke a renegotiation of the rules governing access and control over resources and labour" (ibid:56). We now turn to look at selected evidence from development experience to demonstrate that this is indeed the case.

Changing Gender Relations in Development Interventions

In thinking about the implications of processes of changing gender relations for programmes intending to improve the storing, processing and marketing of crops, we found it useful to look at recent work in the micro-credit sector. Projects for micro-credit, like those introducing crop post-harvest technologies, have become increasingly woman-targeted, with the aim of contributing to macro-policy goals relating to gender. However, unlike the crop post-harvest sector, there has been significant research into micro-credit programmes which has provided a more nuanced account of their apparent 'success'.

Goetz and Gupta illustrate that input-delivery focused programmes, in this case micro-credit programmes, cannot simply assume that easing women's access to these resources can be translated unproblematically into their control (1996:61). They present qualitative evidence on the capacity of 275 purposively selected women to maintain managerial control over loans from women's micro-credit programmes in Bangladesh. Borrower's loan histories were used as the basis for creating an index of loan control, the scores of which were related to other circumstances or characteristics of individual women in order to investigate their impact on women's ability to keep control over their loans. The results illustrate the importance of complex understandings of how a new resource articulates with the ongoing negotiation of gender relations (1996:48).

In some cases, for instance, women used new-found credit resources to negotiate a better deal in an entirely different arena:

> "an apparent loss of control [over the loan] may disguise a negotiated transfer, where the nature of the negotiation and the transfer, and the rights and privileges gained in return, may indicate a power achievement for the woman borrower" (1996:48 emphasis ours).

The ambiguities captured by their analysis informed a number of clear policy-relevant conclusions for micro-credit programmes, such as the importance of adequate skills training in accounting procedures before loans are made and the critical role of female support networks for women pursuing sole managerial control over their loans in the face of male disapproval.

Ackerly's quantitative analysis of women's empowerment, also in the context of participation in group guaranteed lending schemes in Bangladesh, measured women's knowledge about accounting for her loan activity as a proxy indicator for empowerment (1995). Her research demonstrates that there is room for policy choices to enhance women's empowerment in policy practice despite the fact that "women are in effect a means to credit for the family and they are a means to reduced collection costs for the lending organisations" (1995: 60). Although Ackerly's work focuses on outcomes rather than processes, her work clearly points to the importance of cultural and gendered constructions of technologies or resources in affecting the valuation of outcomes. The significance of gendered ideologies about resources and technologies is undervalued in conventional analyses of gender roles and thus neglects the potential for conflict when women enter realms of activity previously considered to be the preserve of men (Goetz and Gupta 1996:58-59).

Further work by Goetz, on a fish-smoking project in Guinea, demonstrates how conventional gender planning frameworks can disastrously mis-specify the situation. The gender analysis which informed project planning undermined a functioning system by "focusing on the gender division of tasks without considering their interdependencies" (Goetz 1989 paraphrased by Razavi and Miller 1994:27). The subsequent failure of this project, which intended to introduce a labour-saving technology into the states of production in which women were concentrated, can only be explained by taking into account the complex bargaining relationship women had with men. Perceiving women as the beneficiaries of outside funds, fishermen increased their prices beyond a level that the new women's fish-smoking cooperative could afford. The implicit assumption that a project intervention directed at women at one

stage of the production process in which they were the prominent actors would have no impact on other stages was wrong. Nevertheless this assumption implicitly underlies understandings about what constitutes gender-sensitive planning both in the crop post-harvest sector as well as in more general development planning.

In the crop post-harvest sector, Ladipo (1991) describes the impact of maize-shelling technology targeted at women in western Nigeria. Although women had traditionally shelled maize manually, they had done so an obligation to their husbands. This free labour had traditionally been partly compensated for by women's small-scale marketing of maize as a food stuff. However an earlier maize project had introducing a new maize variety suitable for fodder whose marketing became dominated by men. It was in this context that the women's cooperative acquired the maize sheller. Men objected to their loss of control over shelling and the direction of new technology towards women. They demanded free shelling and eventually seized the machine. The women were forced to sell the machine, although they were able to resist purchase by their husbands and very little manual shelling of maize resumed. The leverage women acquired through the project and the maize sheller enabled them to attempt to sustain a claim to recover some of their 'lost' income from maize marketing. Ultimately they failed in this enterprise, but husbands could no longer anticipate that wives would honour their obligation to shell maize manually.

However, this is not the end of the story. In the 1990s, when another maize variety was introduced which was acceptable as food, the women's co-operative has actually come to control several aspects of maize production and marketing through their creation of large maize storage facilities, in a context where men are forced to enter into forward-buying arrangements to purchase expensive inputs to maize cultivation. Ladipo speculates that their next investment may, once again, be a maize shelling machine!

The history of this project indicates both the importance and limitations of new points of leverage for women in the form of external resources. Women's co-operatives *are* significant as women-controlled organisations of economic strength. However, the existence of a shared need to 'renegotiate' gender relations (women's desire to regain

control over maize marketing and men's needs for entering into forward-buying) and the fact that 'renegotiation' of gender relations was occurring outside the domestic setting (in this case as a 'market' transaction not a husband-to-wife interaction) also seems critical to women's success in 'regaining' their control over maize income.

Creevey's analysis of eight women's micro-enterprise projects, of which five were crop post-harvest activities, found that even where women appeared to lose control over the activities concerned in 'outsiders' eyes, the women themselves "quite inconsistently... felt they had gained in authority and improved their family positions" (1996:214). Although their autonomy may have decreased, "men's attention to their work and their income is in itself a sign that what the woman does has become more important" (ibid). Clearly, valuing women's experiences of change presents a challenge that development planners need to take seriously in identifying appropriate gender interests, goals and indicators of 'success'.

Experience in both the micro-credit and crop post-harvest sectors confirms that increasing the targeting of inputs to women may on its own be insufficient to ensure a gender equitable outcome for interventions. The evidence demonstrates the urgency of mainstreaming more sophisticated assessments of the gender impact of development interventions. "Intervention in the form of new resources to either men or women will upset pre-existing systems of exchange, sometimes with negative consequences" (Razavi and Miller 1994:26) and as a result there are real 'second generation' problems for women to whom resources are targeted in retaining control over these new resources (Goetz and Gupta 1996:61). Attention needs to be paid to the circumstances in which women can successfully renegotiate for this control. This begs the question of how to evaluate 'success' in addressing gender policies, how to monitor ongoing programmes, and what constitutes an appropriate information base for planning to address macro-policies on gender.

Methods for Analysing Changing Gender Relations

Approaches for monitoring changing gender relations are not self-evident, nor is it clear how understandings of changing gender relations can be incorporated into planning processes. However, academic research points to possible methodological problems and solutions for analysing changing gender relations. Most of the work reviewed here says little *explicitly* about methodology but *implicitly* suggests conceptual frameworks and, through empirical data, suggests indicators for approaching the analysis of changing gender relations.

The key problems for analysing changing gender relations in the context of development interventions relate to monitoring ongoing changes, recording low visibility strategies and covert negotiations, and valuing changes and strategies for change.

The analysis of changing gender relations clearly necessitates some form of *process* monitoring, however the lifetime of individual projects may not be congruent with the timespan appropriate for monitoring changes occurring in gender relations as a result of those interventions. However, work on the impact of women's micro-credit programmes in Bangladesh demonstrates the feasibility of collecting qualitative and quantitative data that provides considerable insight into changing gender relations within the means and timeframes relevant to project interventions (Ackerly, 1995; Goetz and Gupta, 1996).

Historical and longitudinal data can be meaningfully reconstructed through secondary data, narratives and personal histories. In-depth anthropological research may provide rich detail of particular processes of change in gender relations, but is less able to reflect the degree of generality of processes of changing gender relations. Experience demonstrates the possibility of analysing the impact of development interventions on changing gender relations, and in a few instances indicates that such data collection could become a useful part of the routine monitoring practice of projects (cf. Jackson 1996).

More complex is the issue of recording the 'hidden' elements of processes of changing gender relations. As noted earlier, critical elements of change may not be articulated and the meaning of particular actions, words or silences may be taken-for-granted. Guyer notes that analysis of changing patterns of interaction at the microlevel and their relationship to political and economic changes at the macro-level "is problematic because the data are limited with which to trace subtle and cumulative changes in a sphere as intimate as domestic relations" (1988:155). This difficulty can be at least partially addressed by the meticulous and detailed collection of information relating to particular activities and the narratives surrounding them (cf. Guyer 1988). Whilst long term anthropological research is neither necessary nor practical for these purposes, it will be necessary to build up rich and detailed knowledge of particular contexts in order to probe 'hidden' processes of changing gender relations.

The social embedded-ness of negotiation over gender relations means that low-level domestic struggles may not be explicitly articulated or acknowledged and will only be revealed by carefully probing what may appear to be self-explanatory changes. Skjonsberg's detailed and participatory time allocation studies in Zambia generated rich qualitative data on the strategic behaviour of women (1995). The relatively objective and intense observations of women's and men's daily activities was especially effective at uncovering the frequent divergence of actual behaviour from well-articulated social 'rules'. For instance, Skjonsberg documents the way in which gendered conflicts in particular spheres may be transferred into seemingly more acceptable spheres. This research shows how detailed observation of the extremely concrete, and often 'mundane', activities can lead to an extremely nuanced account of women's agency.

In examining processes of change, especially within domestic settings, the collection and analysis of different narratives about the past, present and the future will be of particular significance. Not only are narratives necessary to piece together events in the past or ongoing negotiations behind household walls, they are also central to probing the arena of perceptions, meanings and values. Chen and Mahmud present a method for assessing change in women's lives as a result of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee's (BRAC's) interventions. They envisage using women's life histories to

construct a series of five matrices that aim to 'map' processes of change. The focus is on individual change and the identification of critical pathways, but only hints at institutional and ideological changes which are of course fundamental to women's lives. Aside from life histories, other kinds of tools have been used in various sectors to probe perceptions, meanings and values such as attitude statements and focus groups. However, the use of these tools has rarely been adequately situated in a structural and dynamic understanding of the wider context of gender relations.

Recently, discourse analysis has been recognised as a powerful tool for examining how meanings are negotiated at the interface between development interventions and local people as well as within local society. For example, Jackson (1996) analyses the daily diaries kept by three fieldworkers in a large ODA financed project in East India between 1989 and 1995. The emerging account reveals fieldworkers' difficulties in pursuing a particular policy goal emphasising mainstreaming of gender in a participatory project where women had their own ideas of what they needed - namely women-targeted activities against male alcohol abuse and domestic violence. She concludes that "if the ability to enrol project staff in activities not directly related to the central concerns of the project is an indicator of participant agency than one might conclude that women proved rather stronger than men in this regard" (1996:895.7).

The question of valuing the significance of ongoing changes in gender relations is also concerned with the relationship between the individual or collective ability and willingness to seek change and both household welfare and the general social, economic and political environment. Methodologically, this implies that analysis of interactions at the micro-level *must* be situated within an understanding of local social context that disaggregates 'women' and the households to which they belong, and of the wider environment and its dynamic impact upon local interactions. For example, Guyer's work in Cameroon strongly indicates that women seek to renegotiate the level and destination of their partner's earnings as their income falls relative to men's, or as structural features of the general economy and society change (1988:13).

Guyer's analysis is a good example of a 'promising' method for monitoring ongoing changes in gender relations in relation to a particular sphere. This practical, time-bound investigation collected data on incomes and expenditures for 27 women in 2 villages for 2 key months of the year. The limited sample is purposive and includes women from their late teens to very advanced ages, of different marital status and married to husbands with a range of incomes (ibid:163). The analysis focused on individuals, traced their *inter*actions over time and importantly, treated individuals as having links with resources, services and networks outside the household, rather than as being entirely enclosed within it (ibid 172, 160). The collection of quantitative data was explicitly *relational*, separating out transfers from husbands, other kin, non-kin and wives from earnings. It was interpreted through *qualitative* understanding of the general historical context, the local social, economic and political environment and specific details of women's individual circumstances and strategies. Despite the difficulties of such an analysis, Guyer's approach demonstrates that it is possible and practicable to monitor "the ongoing process of bargaining about the organisation of interpersonal transfers and responsibilities under shifting conditions" (ibid:171).

Gender Frameworks:

There are already a number a gender frameworks for the analysis of gender relations for development planning, monitoring and evaluation in existence. However, a major barrier to translating information about changing gender relations into beneficial programming is their current failure to addresses the concerns identified above.

The most well-known framework used for gender planning is that of Moser (1993) based on the work of Molyneux. It aims to ensure the inclusion of gender concerns in the formulation of policy and is based on the understanding that men and women perform different roles and have different needs. Central to the "Moser Method" is the identification of women's triple roles, and the distinction between practical needs - those women identify in their accepted social roles- and strategic gender needs - those needs women identify that would change existing gender relations. Alternative policies - which are classified by their key purpose - welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and

empowerment - are then evaluated in terms of their impact on women's practical needs - such as their workload - and/or strategic needs - such as their control over household income.

The Harvard framework, referred to elsewhere as the 'gender roles framework' (Razavi and Miller 1994) and detailed in Overholt et al (1985), is concerned to make women visible. The framework is based on the understanding that the household is not an undifferentiated grouping of people with a common production and consumption function. The cornerstone of the framework is data which highlights the key differences between the incentives and constraints under which men and women work. The data collection centres on the completion of an activity profile aimed at detailing gender-based divisions of labour, the gendered allocation of resources (both resources and benefits) and the gendered control of decision-making. The final component is a list of factors such as population increase and environmental degradation, which affect the different opportunities and constraints on men's and women's participation in development. Modifications of the Harvard framework have been widely adopted by agencies working in rural settings. Within farming systems research and extension it is the accepted way in which gender issues are addressed and the adapted framework appears as part of standard monitoring practice (see Feldstein and Poats 1989 for details of the adapted framework and case studies).

Together, these frameworks provide a checklist for planners to ensure that obvious errors, in targeting project partners or initiating action which, at the outset, appears to increase gender inequities, are avoided. Since the checklist includes both paid and unpaid work and covers both reproductive and other roles, for all individual household members, the frameworks have assisted programmes to incorporate some understanding of the subordination of women in many societies and the way in which this has been sustained, and even promoted, through interventions.

Nevertheless, frameworks that do not go beyond documenting roles and access to and control of benefits fail to address the subtleties of the relations between men and women, the meanings attached to the various roles and benefits and to any change in

these activities. They are to be applied at different stages within the project management cycle, thus documenting shifts that have occurred in gender relations, but not probing the *processes* whereby these different outcomes have emerged. They also tell us about the separation of responsibilities and obligations between men and women in respect of incomes, expenditures and activities but not about what Razavi and Miller refer to as "togetherness" (1994:14). The frameworks might, therefore, improve the definition of project objectives, and anticipate, at a certain level, the effects on women. However, implicit in the data collected, on labour use and financial contributions and benefits for instance, is the sense that if the correct units of production, consumption and distribution are identified, and become the focus of project activity, there will be no increase in gender gaps, discrimination and subordination. Such an analysis ignores conceptual and empirical findings about changing gender relations and the central importance of struggles over meaning in the gendered struggle for resources.

Both the Moser and Harvard frameworks share the limitation that they fail to reflect the mechanisms by which women and men *themselves seek to change gender relations* in order to arrive at their own empowerment. The Oxfam Gender Training Model suggests that the gendered Capabilities and Vulnerabilities Analysis "brings into focus people's strengths" (Williams et al 1994:249. This approach enables agencies to map the physical and material, social and organisational and psychological and attitudinal capabilities and vulnerabilities of men, women and children. The less well known 'Women's Empowerment Framework' detailed by Longwe (1991) is more directly concerned with detailing gender gaps, gender discrimination and gender subordination in women's empowerment (at the level of welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control) and calls for programmes to work more directly towards achieving these aims. However Williams et al critique Longwe's framework as "not allowing for the way situations change over time" (1994:250).

The Oxfam Handbook for Development and Relief (Eade and Williams 1995) offers a conceptual understanding of gender that is based on a desire to transform gender relations that also explicitly recognises that interventions may often provoke unintentional changes in gender relations. In their comparison of the better known

gender frameworks Eade and Williams rightly critique their separation of practical and strategic gender interests (209) and point up their neglect of interdependence between men's and women's lives in households and kin groups (207), however, they do not challenge the emphasis on identifying shifts in gender relations.

Unlike other frameworks which generate snapshots of gender relations and can be employed iteratively to identify shifts, the Zambian Association for Research and Development's (ZARD's) criteria for measuring women's development explicitly focus on 'progress' on an expanded set of indicators (basic needs, leadership roles, consciousness, needs assessment, planning, sexual division of labour and control over factors of production) (ibid:211-212). While this represents an important step forward, the issues of valuing changes and understanding the processes of change are overlooked.

Existing frameworks tell us little about how responsibilities and obligations are negotiated, and, therefore, how they might be renegotiated. They also provide little guidance on how to interpret the information collected beyond using it for targeting. For this, an understanding of current gender ideologies about gender roles and norms, and about how and under what circumstances these can be negotiated, would go a long way towards providing a basis for analysing the information acquired from using this framework. This information forms the basis of a training approach to operationalise gender, social relations analysis.

The central concern of social relations analysis is to understand the basis for women's disadvantaged position in society. In doing so social relations analysis "gives as much weight to process - how things get done - as to outcome - what gets done" (Kabeer 1991:194). Its focus is on the redistribution of power, not resources, and it approaches this by taking a holistic approach to social relations going beyond the preoccupation of production to "the social relations of everyday life" (Pearson, Whitehead and Young, 1981:x) and including relations within a range of institutions, including marriage, the market and the state. Finally, it places understandings of gender difference within the broader framework of differentiation within society as a whole, and is based on an

appreciation of the differences between women. We learn from this approach, therefore, that there is no direct relationship between a woman's ability to earn an independent income and her power in household decision-making which requires a change in the overall terms of exchange and co-operation, and that interventions which introduce new resources to either men or women can have negative consequences because of the "togetherness" or "social connection" (Razavi and Miller, 1994) and joint interests (Whitehead, 1981) between the parties concerned.

Social relations analysis has not been widely adopted with development programmes and projects because it deals with more abstract aspects of meaning around gender relations, sees women's self-empowerment as a political project and does not offer 'quick fix' recommendations for action. Whilst social relations analysis has been effective in achieving a shift in thinking from women in development (WID) to gender an development (GAD) approaches, there remains long way to go in operationalising its more complex understanding of gender in such a way that it can be integrated into development policies (ibid:42).

Concluding Remarks

Currently dynamic aspects of gender relations that are central to the gendered outcomes of development interventions are neglected in the existing gender planning frameworks. Whilst there are a number of conceptual and methodological issues which make the analysis of changing gender relations especially difficult, a growing academic literature suggests ways in which this might be done. Despite strong indications that the methodological problems surrounding such an analysis are not intractable, practicable approaches for analysing changing gender relations are not widely known at present. It is the intention of our research to start to fill this gap by an adaptive process of drawing on existing techniques rather than developing a new 'tool', such as PRA, or reinventing the wheel.

The case for developing a more sophisticated approach into gender impact analyses - the retrospective evaluation of a project's effect on gender relations - is unquestionable.

However, the inevitably retrospective and ambiguous nature of changing gender relations means that methodologies intended to inform development policy and practice must consider whether and how such understandings could be incorporated into the planning of interventions. Necessarily, there must be a degree of uncertainty over whether such an analysis can generate clear policy recommendations for planning future interventions. However, the assumption must be that if we understand more about the processes of negotiation over gender relations and the impact of past interventions of these processes, this will provide us with clues to strategic interventions. The ambiguities arising out of more complex analyses should not be regarded as problems to be resolved methodologically. Indeed the evidence presented above strongly suggests that these ambiguities are an intrinsic and valuable component of the data that provide valuable insights into the gendered impact of development interventions.

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