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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

GENDER & DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

A Research Paper presented by

Michael Hutchinson-Frazier

(The United States of America)

In partial fulfilment of the Requirements for Obtaining the Degree of:

Master of Arts in Development Studies

Specialisation: Women & Development

Members of the Examining Committee: Dr. B. Holzner

Dr. L. Ling



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Enquires:

Postal Address:

Institute of Social Studies P.O. Box 29776 2502 LT, The Hague The Netherlands

Telephone: -31-70-4260460
Telefax: -31-70-4260799
e-mail: postmaster@iss.nl

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12 2518 AX, The Hague The Netherlands

Acknowledgment

This paper is first and foremost dedicated to my grandmother Jerome Stow Frazier, your, Native American heritage has had unexplained effects upon my person.

I would like to thank my family specifically my parents, Shirley Ann Hutchinson Watts, and Charles Edward Frazier, for their support and their patience in allowing me to travel, live, and explore globally without an enormous amount of restrictions. I would like to thank both parents for surmounting all of the difficulties we have experience, thank you for teaching me how to internalize the diverse nature of our surroundings.

A further thanks to my mentors, who have supported, encouraged and instilled confidence in me to move forward with a vision towards celebrating differences and cultures. Carol Jean Gourley Larson, who's constant international perspective, permeated my thought process, influenced my decisions, guided me towards a more civilized advanced mode of living and thought.

An enormous thank you to my Directors at UNESCO, Dr. Breda Pavlic, and Dr. Sabiha H. Syed. Each director individually pushed, and taught me the importance of Development and to constantly question why one chooses the area of Development as a career choice.

I appreciate The Institute of Social Studies, for giving me the opportunity to interact with my colleagues who have originated from 60 different cultures. All of my instructors; a warm thank you to Dr. Lily Ling, and specifically the Women and Development Program.

A final thank you to Dr. Brigitte Holzner, who worked with me on a weekly basis, supported my questions, encouraged, and constructively gave criticisms, which forced me to act upon my instincts and to cite, cite, cite each concept.

A Kind Thank You,

Michael Hutchinson-Frazier The Hague, The Netherlands 23 November 2001

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

"All nice people like Us are We And everybody else is They."

P.I. Rose, 1964

1.1 Background of the Problem

The nature of development in the past has primarily focused on the needs of men who were often the main beneficiaries of development resources. The inequalities women faced economically, socially, and culturally began to be the focus of study by policy planners and feminist located in the North and South. Feminist Policy planners placed more emphasis on women's productive contribution, thereby highlighting the importance of directing scarce economic resources to women.

The Women in Development (WID)¹ approach to development in the past 30 years was based upon a policy of access, or getting more women into development agencies, including more women as clients of development programs, advocating for more developmental resources to reach women directly. A further a strategic aim of WID, was to prioritize development needs from women, over what women need from development. WID produced not only a political strategy, it generated new research, including analytical evaluations of the impact of women i.e., rural women in development projects (Goetz 1997: 3).

A shift in discourse from WID to GAD² (Gender and Development) arose from the sluggish rate of change women were experiencing materially. The slow rate of return led to the conclusion that women's lesser power in society, which is often

¹ The term "women and development" was coined in the early 1970s by a Washington-based network of female development professionals. On the basis of their own experiences in overseas missions they began to challenge "trickle down" theories of development, arguing that modernization was impacting differently on men and women. Drawing on such evidence, women's circles in the United States lobbied Congressional hearings, resulting in the 1973 Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) set up a women in development office to promote these objectives – the first office of its kind (Razavi 1995: 6-7).

² The gender roles framework was developed by researchers at the Harvard Institute of International Development in collaboration with the Women in Development Office of USAID. The term "gender

institutionalized in gender, class, and race relations, restricted the ability of women to profit from improved access to social and economic resources made available through WID (Goetz 1997: 3). Therefore, the GAD approach recognized the importance of addressing the social relations influencing men and women congruently. GAD went beyond questioning women's position in the development process, and their equal access to development resources as men, to questioning and challenging male social, cultural and economic profit from the same development resources directed towards men (Goetz 1997: 3). The shift from WID to GAD involved mobilizing constituency support to press for changes externally and internally, for example; promoting hiring strategies aimed at women development professionals, to reassess development policy, and to collect data on women's situations. There was a need to promote change in the assessment and categorization of gender accumulated data in the development process (Goetz 1997: 4). It is important to stress that institutions have not necessary been 'right' for men either. Men's choices have been shaped for them by limiting their access to development resources according to gender, class, and race in a variety of contexts (Goetz 1997: 1).

Many development organizations in Europe felt it was inevitable for women to contribute to the decision making process in order to address their interest and needs. It was felt that women should be present in all areas of the development process internally and at the grass-roots level of development policy implementation. This decision making process has to be internalized at the institutional level of North/South Development Organizations. In order to integrate this gender perspective institutionally, gender experts have been strategically placed within development organizations, public polices statements were reassessed, more resources for women were earmarked, choosing gender sensitive themes for lobbying and campaigns, and placing women in policy making and managerial positions were internalized.

To implement the above aims, an internal affirmative action policy (as in the case of Novib) was used as a method of placing women and men in strategic positions in development organizations (Novib 2000: 10).

roles framework" is not always used but the general theoretical approach is the same (Razavi 1995: 15-16).

Presently, there has been a policy shift to attach diversity to gender directives in development organizations, in hopes of including more men and women of color to reflect the organization's constituents and the changing socio-cultural dynamics of European society.

Organizations aiming to managing gender and diversity in their structures could begin by striving to become an organization which emphasize collective learning, resulting in communicating a clear and comprehensive understanding of the concepts of gender and development including diversity, race, ethnicity, and diverse identities in its organization. There is a necessity for development organizations to systematically address the term affirmative action prior to usage. Affirmative Action is to be redefined according to the development organization's socio-cultural position in its society. In addition policy planners are to recognize and understand their organization's conceptual knowledge of ethnicity and race, and to prepare the organization to incorporate diverse identities in its organizational structure.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The researcher questions the usage of the phrase 'affirmative action', and its applicability for European development organizations. Using the term affirmative action as a strategic implementation policy in European development organizations, as a tool to analyze policy from a gender perspective, to choose gender sensitive themes, and to promote women through quotas and percentages, should be modified to encompass a European socio-cultural environment.

The phrase 'affirmative action' was initially used by President Lyndon Johnson in the 1965 Executive Order 11246, which requires 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, color or national origin" (NOW 2001: 3).

This governmental policy was implemented in the United States in 1965 to "combat discrimination and to promote equal opportunity" (APA 2001:2). Furthermore, Americans have a comprehensively different relationship with people of color than

Europeans. Europeans have only had a 30 to 50 year history of people of color living within the European Union. Of the 375 year history of people of color living in North America, 245 involved slavery, 100 involved legalized discrimination ("separate but equal" 1896, the US Supreme Courts decision in Plessy v. Ferguson), and only 30 years involving anything else (Wilkins 1995:6).

Secondly, the researcher questions the policy of affirmative action as a Northern European development strategic measure without modifications in regards to women being promoted and placed in leadership positions of development organizations³. Thirdly, what are some of the effects employees encounter due to affirmative action policy's targeted towards women to fill positions within organizations? Presently, several Northern European development organizations use affirmative action policy's to implement gender and development and have linked the concept of diversity to gender and development initiatives. This conceptual linkage of gender and diversity is to be effectively managed organizationally, to fit the socio-cultural environment of Northern European developmental organizations.

1.3 Thesis of Paper

To manage gender and diversity in Northern European development organizations, it is necessary to assess the organization's conceptualization of gender and development, ethnicity, race, affirmative action, and organizational learning, prior to formulating and implementing a diversity policy.

1.4 Objectives

1. The researchers objectives are to explain some possible outcomes of implementing affirmative action within development organizations and its intended beneficiaries; indicating that affirmative action is not a neutral term to be imported from one society to another without extensive modifications of its intent and meaning.

³ In 1967 President Johnson expanded the Executive Order 11246 to include affirmative action requirements to benefit women (NOW 1991:1).

2. Revealing the necessity of development organizations to effectively assess the concepts of Gender and Development, Diverse Identities in Organizations, Organizational Learning, Affirmative Action, and Racism, during the process of structuring organizational culture.

1.5 Research Question

"What are some of the socio-cultural constraints European development organizations could experience by implementing a policy of affirmative action, and gender and development without extensive modifications of these concepts to the organizations socio-cultural context?"

1.6 Justification of Research

The justification of this paper is to underscore the importance of European development organizations, to emphasize collective learning within its organization, and to position the organization to understand societies cultural changes, and its impact on an organization aiming to manage diversity with its workforce. I have question the usage of affirmative action policies in European development organizations, for affirmative action is presently a highly debated issue being discussed in the Untied States regularly. The concept of affirmative action often becomes personal and internalized by the intended recipients and by business and organizations required to implement the legislation. It is important to demonstrate a clear working definition of affirmative action deriving from laws established in the Untied States, prior to implementation into development organizations. It is equally relevant to highlight the importance European development organizations to modify their initiatives and policies originating from outside the socio-cultural context of usage.

1.7 Positioning Myself

My interest in the topic of affirmative action in a European context began when a program specialist working at Novib came to speak to our Women and Development class. She discussed the importance of Novib's affirmative action program within the

organizations and on its hiring practices. She to lectured the class on affirmative action, and the obligations Novib has to interview candidates for advertised vacancy's who were not qualified for the position, yet receive an interviews because they were from a minority segment in society. I was curious as to why she or Novib had interpreted affirmative action as a tool for hiring and interviewing unqualified minorities? After her lecture was completed she left a brochure Novib had published entitled 'More power, less poverty Novib's gender and development policy until 2000. 'As I read through Novib's institutional policy concerning gender, GAD as one of Novib's three priority themes.4 GAD is used to increase women in middle and senior management positions and an internal affirmative action policy was implemented, which resulted in an increase of women in middle and senior management positions from 12 percent 1991 to 40 percent in 1996. I was interested in understanding why Novib used affirmative action to place women in management positions when this was not the original intent of the US affirmative action legislation. Further, our class went to the WIDE (Women in Development Europe) Conference in Madrid, Spain and several gender specialist from The Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland discussed the importance of using affirmative action to place women in managerial and leadership positions in organizations. I began to realize that affirmative action used as an implementation tool for gender and development polices was an accruing trend used in many European development organization.

1.8 Scope & Limitations of Study

The scope of this paper is to explain the importance of modifying external concepts and initiates to the indigenous socio-cultural environment of development organization situated in the North or the South. I have used the United States originated affirmative action legislation used to redress racial inequalities that are systemic in the American society, because Northern European development

⁴ In terms of gender and development, Novib promotes the following actions: establishing and strengthening women's organizations; women's participation in decision-making processes; women's increased access to and control over economic, natural resources and basic social services (basic health care, basic education, clean drinking water, sanitation and nutrition); women's increased control over their own bodies; gender sensitization of women and men, including elimination of gender stereotypes; and more public support and political willingness in the North and South to combat unequal power relations between women and men (Novib 2000: 9).

organizations view affirmative action as a means of promoting women in the field of development and to redress women's position in society.

This paper is not a comprehensive evaluation of Novib's polices and aims, nor an indepth evaluation of The Netherlands Culture. The singling out of Novib's brochure *More power less poverty* is not intended to give the impression that Novib is particularly remiss or progressive in their approach to gender, development, and diversity. Furthermore, I would like to express the scope of this paper as a step in the vast, mostly unfamiliar study of gender and diversity in development organizations in the North as well as the South, and this thesis is by no means comprehensive.

1.9 Methodology and Data Sources

Secondary data sources were used to gather information concerning affirmative action, gender and development, organizational learning, race, and diverse identities in organizations. Five semi-structured interviews were conducted as open-ended forms of dialogues. Unexpected relevant issues were followed up with further questions or probing. I interviewed two key informants who are independent consultants working in The Netherlands and have carried out external evaluations of several development organizations based in The Netherlands. I further conducted two interviews with a Dutch Historian who was instrumental in addressing and crystallizing some of the socio-cultural terran of the Netherlands.

1.10 Organization of Paper

This paper begins with the background and statement of the problem, objectives of research, position of researcher, the scope and limitations of study, and the methodology and data sources. In Chapter 2, I will highlight several theoretical methods, organizational learning, gender and development, affirmative action, and racism, concluding with diverse identities in organizations. In Chapter 3 The Netherlands will be used as an illustration specifically Novib's brochure *More power less poverty* to illustrate how affirmative action is used as a strategy to place women in management and leadership positions in development organizations. I will discuss some practices and strategies such as white women representing gender and diversity,

and some exclusionary practices arising from this practice. In Chapter 4, I will emphasize a method of managing diversity in development organizations and Chapter 5 contains the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2 Conceptualization of Theoretical Framework

"We all have multiple identity. Multiple identity offers the opportunity for flexibility in the way in which we interact with various people. Even if we seem to be totally different, there is often a common base."

Philomena Essed, 1994

2.1 Introduction

Multiple identities and diversity in organizations currently in Sociological study of organizational development has become more prominent in the United States and more recently in Europe due to the changing nature of our global society. Immigrants of second and third generation Americans are finding access into its society due to education and financial progression. A similar trend of first generation immigrants entering into European society is raising similar questions of how to effectively manage diversity in its socio-cultural context.

Prior to the entrance of minorities into development organizations, it is necessary to assess the level of organizational learning occurring within organizations. The organization is to be positioned for an acceptance of collective and individual learning by its employees. This initial step is crucial prior to an implementation of a policy of gender and development. Once gender and development as an institutional aim is established various methods can be assessed according to the position of the organization. As outlined in Chapter 1 affirmative action has been used by some European development organizations to address the inequalities women and men experience in society and in development organizations. Furthermore it is important for European development organizations to be made aware of race, ethnicity, and racism and to strategically develop institutional measures to counter negative resistance strategies by its general staff, policy planners, and directors. Understanding divers identities in organizations will help eliminate many unexpected outcomes of development organization's ability to effectively mange diversity.

2.2 Organizational Learning: Affirming an Oxymoron

Karl E. Weick and Frances Westley's article on the theoretical conceptualization of *Organizational Learning: Affirming an Oxymoron*, explain the contradictions inherent in organizational learning. Organizations and learning are essentially antithetical processes, meaning the phrase 'organizational learning' qualifies as an oxymoron.

To learn is to disorganize and increase variety. To organize is to forget and reduce variety. In the rush to embrace learning, organizational theorists often overlook this tension, which explains why they are never sure whether learning something new or simply warmed-over organizational change. The reluctance to grapple with the antithesis has led to derivative ideas and unrealized potential (Weick and Westley 1997: 440).

The word 'affirming' in Weick and Westley's article is linked to Cohen and Sproull's (1991) agenda. Meaning that existing discussions of organizational learning, specifically those linked directly to information processing and indirectly to rational choice assumptions, which threaten to create an idealized sequence which is often shown organizations do not follow. The potential in organization is ripe for more 'negative themes of counter evidence'. If the basic phenomenon is oxymoroinic, then the temptation to unmask should be even stronger. If caution is not exercised the ability to grasp learning will be an assertion that, not only are organizations non-rational, they are as well, non-learners as well (Weick and Westley 1997: 440).

The article asserts that organizations learn in almost the same way that individuals learn. Meaning organizations can point to individual action as the datum to be explained. When either group feels the need to claim an organizational referent, the error of reifying, confusing the map with the territory, or committing the error of hypostatization (treating that which cannot be denoted as if it could (Weick and Westley 1997: 441).

An image of an organization conductive to learning is intrensitly associated with culture and the artifacts, or knowledge in culture that the artifacts draw references about learning. Cook and Yanow's (1993) work define culture as 'a set of values, beliefs, and feelings, together with the artifacts of their expression and transmission

(such as myths, symbols, metaphors, and rituals), these created inherited, shared, and transmitted beliefs are transmitted within one group of people, and this is used to distinguish that group from the others. Therefore learning is inherent in culture (Weick and Westley 1997: 442).

Attention to culture is necessary when conceptualizing organizations, and this makes it easier to discuss learning. Organizational systems, as systems of learning help researchers to understand the nature of organizations, and the nature of learning. Culture as concept, is much easier to categorize than organizations and structures due to the visible tangible products inherent in social systems. Culture is often the embodiment of language the words, phrases, vocabularies, and expressions individual groups develop and use to distinguish others. Material artifacts, or the objects cultures produce, and the architectural designs originating from a specific region aid in categorizing individuals. Finally, coordinated action routines, from predictable social exchanges, formal and highly stylized rituals, (which are socially structured) methods of greetings and socializing with acquaintances are essential to the systematic study of organizational learning.

Six conditions in which organizational learning is most likely to occur are outlined by the authors: 1) small wins as learning moments, 2) language and learning, 3) Learning and artifacts, 4) learning and action routines, 5) humor as a moment of learning, and 6) improvisation as a learning place. (Weick and Westley 1997: 443).

Small wins as a learning moments in an organizational context often works against institutional structures. Within complex environments of organizations restrict the control of major changes planned by managers. There are typically so many variables to be manipulated simultaneously before major changes occur that learning is often strained. New initiatives and major planned changes in organizational cultures is often behind and slower than the environment in which changes are to occur.

Meaning that once an organization decides to institute a policy of change, the organizational environment has already began to change prior to the institutionalization of the policy. A small win is not simply a large task i.e., (gender and diversity) broken down into a series of smaller steps, logically related and

institutionally thought-out. The fallacy of controlled incremental steps is the assumption that the steps will be carried out in a stable environment. Therefore, small wins are opportunistic, and often revolutionary and stand alone, yet are logical. Because small wins are opportunistic, and opportunities are widely distributed in organizations, small wins resemble uncorrelated probes in an evolutionary system. Since they are diverse rather than homogeneous explorations, (Weick 1997) the are more likely to uncover unanticipated properties of the organizational environment and promote learning.

Language and learning is a central cultural system of organizational structures, because it is both vital to both learning and to organizations. To learn is to use language to communicate at the interpersonal and the intrapersonal level (Weick and Westley 1997: 445). Language is used as tool at the interpersonal and intrapersonal levels in society, in organizations, and of individual's percept, meaning learning is embedded in relationships or relating. Organizations move form vague to specific language to communicate its ideas. Weick and Westley define language specialization in organizations as a paradoxical meaning, "we loose some awareness as we increase variety and specificity but such loss is necessary to carry out the partitioning and labeling that we conceive of as rational or logical thinking" (Weick and Westley 1997: 447). Learning is 'connected to the dynamics of communication and to the tension levels of consciousness' (Weick 1997), specifically, if we are to learn, or to learn to 'see' more, we must forget what we have learned from past social To learn to communicate we must eliminate the dogmatism of indicators. repetitiveness and old habits. Further learning requires the ability to see and not to see, to name and not to name, to organize our thinking and to disorganize it (Weick and Westley 1997: 447).

Learning and artifacts is the organizational identity of its members, or what members perceive as central, enduring and unique to its organizational structure. "It is a subset of collective beliefs that comprise an organization's culture" (Dutton and Penner 1993: 95). Therefore, identity is created and distributed by the cultural systems. Identity is described as image aiding in sense making 'By projecting itself onto its environment, organization develops a self-referential appreciation of its own identity, which in turn, permits the organization to act in relation to its environment' (Ring and

Van de Ven: 1994:100). Organizations as individuals, learn about their core attributes when they are capable of seeing what they can and cannot enact. The identity of an organizations is often the embodied by a symbol, or logo, representing the identity of the organization and the internal culture of what the organization is capable of accomplishing, i.e., (Oxfam/Netherlands new logo of parentheses representing hands encompassing the world with an accompanying quote, "How large is your world").

Learning and action routines are essential for development organizations wishing to incorporate gender and diversity as a directive. Action routines are related with the patterns, cycles, and organizational life. Learning amidst the constancy of organizational routine allows opportunities to open and close, patterns to form and dissolve which were unexpected. When order and disorder are juxtaposed this is a learning moment, or when the unexpected occurs. Weick and Westley describe this occasion as a survivable error. An example of a survivable error is a near miss between two airplanes. This mixes the order of safety or the constant with disorder of a non-fatal loss of this separation. A moment is created when air traffic system can see what it has forgotten, and what can be learned from the near miss. This concept is essential for organizations with gender and diversity aims for acknowledging and incorporating diversity in development organizations. A near-miss highlights the requirements of European development organizations to fuse different cultures, identities, and working styles, which will cause disorder in the existing structure. An effective development organization will have the skills and sophistication to incorporate differences and to learn from them.

Humor as a moment of learning is a 'sense of anarchy, or a sense of chaos' (Davis 1958). A joke on a purely linguistic level indicates that it can have the design of naming the unnamed, and to confuse sense with non-sense, and create disorder of our ordered thought systems (Weick and Westley 1997: 451). Sociological and anthropological studies of humor and its functions in social situations revel that in interpersonal relations as well as intrapersonal relations, humor acts to simultaneously blur and support social distinctions. Jokes provide an 'institutionalized means for the expression of social tension,' particularly in very structured, authoritarian situations (Daniels and Daniels 1964). Studies in humor in organizations suggests that it is a vehicle for expressing criticism and contradiction of existing policies and procedures,

of unmasking ambiguities, of making hitherto unrecognized connections (Lindstead 1985).

Improvisation as a learning place is to learn from doing. This is essential for organizations with gender and diversity policies. 'Failure to learn how to learn, faster, and to learn coinciding with action is crucial' (Weick and Westley 1997:453). In European development organizations aiming for diversity in its organizational structures are to effectively learn by hiring employees who have no socio-cultural affiliation with the development organization, yet are proficient in their positions.

Once a development organization has positioned itself to accept collective learning, the organization will more readily accept new policies, which are to have a comprehensive impact upon all it employees. Gender and Development is a policy which has experienced resistance, due to the concept of 'gender', the lack of gender training available, an attitudinal barrier, and receptiveness of men and women bureaucrats to gender training (Goetz 1998: 82).

2.3 Gender and Development

Women in Development (WID) and Gender in Development (GAD) refer to two approaches used in development policy-making from a feminist perspective (Goetz 1997: 2). The conceptual framework of GAD was constructed around several key propositions. Firstly, a focus on women alone was inadequate to understand the opportunities for women for agency or change.

Secondly, women are not a homogeneous category but are divided by class, color and creed. Thirdly, any analysis of social organization and social process has to take into account the structure and dynamic of gender relations. The totality of women and men's lives has to be the focus of analysis, not merely their productive, or their reproductive activities. Women are not passive, nor marginal, but active subjects of social processes (Young 1979, and Young 1993: 134).

GAD advocates dismantling or restructuring societal constraints supporting women's disadvantages. Changing societies laws, religious and political institutions, systems

of thought, socialization practices, these measures will involve a tremendous struggle for both women and men as they negotiate and adapt to changes in the nature of gender relations in the public and private spheres (Young 1993: 135). The reorganization of societies is necessary in the GAD approach, to allow all segments of society to acquire a higher standard of living, and to meet the basic needs necessary for a sustainable existence.

Young explains, "The [GAD] approach also recognized that differences between women can give rise to sharp contradictions, which make the task of creating a movement that incorporates diversity but also shares a common vision a difficult one" (Young 1993: 136).

[...] if only one gender takes decisions about development options, the choices and solutions arrived at will differ from those agreed upon when both genders are involved. However, if both genders are involved, a much more complex process of bargaining and making tradeoffs, negotiating and reaching painful compromises is inevitable (Young 1993: 142-143).

GAD tries to comprehend the main features of a society, its organization, and its economic and political life, in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of the society. GAD seeks to analyze culturally specific forms of social inequality and divisions, to see how gender is related to or interlocked with other forms of social hierarchy.

Kate Young discusses international development as complex process involving the social, economic, political and cultural betterment of societies. She clarifies the concept of betterment as "the ability of the society to meet the physical and emotional and creative needs of the population at a historically acceptable level, and to free human labor time from the incessant treadmill of basic needs production" (Young 1993: 136).

In development organizations GAD research and activism involves various means to promote its aims. The '[mobilization of] constituency support to press for change from the outside, or on internal strategies such as hiring of more women development professional, increasing sophisticated policy development, and the collection and

provision of data on women's situation to help promote change in development organizations (Goetz 1997: 4).

One basic problem is not women's integration into development, or their invisibility, or their lack of training, education, credit, self-esteem, but the structures and processes that give rise to women's disadvantage. One source of disadvantage is the pervasive ideology of male superiority, physical and intellectual, which appears to be found in different degrees in almost all cultures and economies, shaping women's view of themselves and their capacities. Another is the control men as a gender exercise over valued political, economic and social resources, and thus over the distribution of power. From this perspective, changing the symptoms of disadvantage – giving women training, credit, etc., – is not a solution but only a useful first step in women's empowerment.

Deep-seated resistance has hampered the effects of GAD in development organizations and in society. Often policy planners are not convinced by statistical and empirical data demonstrating the importance of incorporating gender, or mainstreaming gender into development policies. Few women are represented in the decision-making process of development organizations and gender concerns are often transmitted to WID bureaus and WID projects (Goetz 1997: 4).

Young quotes Rathgeber, when expressing the overall effect of the GAD approach as leading fundamentally a reexamination of social structures and institutions.

This reexamination would eventually lead to a loss of power for the entrenched elite's, affecting men and some women as well. The GAD approach will demand a degree of commitment including structural changes and shifts in power which Rathgeber feels is unlikely to be found in national or international agencies (Rathgeber 1990: 495).

In response to societal and organizational resistance strategies GAD proponents are producing carefully tailored training packages, guidelines, analytical frameworks and methodological 'tool kits' for development decision makers (Goetz 1997: 4). Many GAD proponents view the reluctance of individual societies and development organizations to accept aggregated data on the lack of women's access to resources as attitudinal. It is assumed that once sexist attitudes have changed resistance will be

minimal. However, the search for simple formulae and tools to integrate gender-sensitive data and practices, projects and development policies, thereby overriding prejudices embedded in many organizations cognitive cultures, underestimate the role of discriminatory gendered patterns in accountability structures and bureaucratic procedures often used to derail GAD efforts (Goetz 1997: 4).

In response to the resistance of GAD many development organizations have implemented an internal affirmative action policy to increase women in middle and senior management positions. Novib purses an affirmative action policy in internal staff and the appointment of consultants, in choosing gender sensitive themes for lobbying and campaigns, and establishing that a minimum of 15 percent of Novib's counterpart funding will support women's organizations (Novib 2000: 12).

It is necessary for development organizations to contextualize policies stemming from outside the organizations cultural context. The usage of affirmative action implies cognitive cultural significance stemming from America is often negative and counterproductive, due to the lack of a clear understanding, and historical significance affirmative action legislation.

2.4 Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is the set of public policies and initiatives designed to help eliminate past and present discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. More recently, affirmative action has been used as a catch-all phrase in the United States referring to laws, customs, and social policies intended to alleviate discrimination that limits opportunities for a variety of demographic groups in various social institutions (APA 2001:2).

Affirmative Action derived from White House Order 11246 of 1965 (later amended), mandating employers to undertake legal responsibility for monitoring the utilization of individuals from target groups (i.e., minorities) to reflect the availability of talent in the national and regional community. More recently, some affirmative action laws and regulations have involved the use of preferential treatment, privilege, and set asides to achieve workforce diversity. Some organizations use 'set-aside programs'

as an expedient method of addressing discrimination when better remedies are not legally available (APA 2001:8-9).

Affirmative Action policies were legislated 40 years ago, due to the historical legacy of institutionalized racial discrimination of the preceding 350 years of people of color living in the United States.

> The basis for the exclusion is often a person's racial or gender classification, but over the years it has also encompassed many other cultural and demographic attributes. Included in the range of social ills that affirmative action programs have attempted to rectify are discrimination on the basis of such attributes as race, gender, ethnicity, culture, poverty, socio-economic status religion, age, and physical capacity. Policies to redress these social ills cover many sectors of life, interventions in business, education, government contracting, the military housing, public service, and politics (Helms 2000: 8).

The Thirteenth Amendment to the American Constitution made slavery illegal; the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equal protection under the law; the Fifteenth Amendment forbids racial discrimination in access to voting. The 1866 Civil Rights Act guarantees every citizen "the same right to make and enforce contracts... as is enjoyed by white citizens..." In 1896, the Supreme Court's decision in Plessy v. Ferguson upheld a "separate, but equal" doctrine that proved to be anything but equal for African Americans. The decision marked the end of the post-Civil War reconstruction era as Jim Crow laws spread across the South. In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 which outlawed segregationist hiring policies by defense-related industries which held federal contracts. Roosevelt's signing of this order was a direct result of efforts by Black trade union leader, A. Philip Randolph. In 1953 President Harry S. Truman's Committee on Government Contract Compliance urged the Bureau of Employment Security " to act positively and affirmatively to implement the policy of nondiscrimination..." In 1954 the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education overturned Plessy v. Ferguson (APA 2001: 3).

The actual phrase "affirmative action" was first used in President Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Executive Order 11246 requiring 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, color, or national origin (APA 2001: 1).

In 1967, President Johnson expanded the Executive Order requirements to benefit women. Other equal protection laws passed to make discrimination illegal were the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Title II and VII of which forbid racial discrimination in "public accommodations" and race and sex discrimination in employment, respectively; and the 1965 Voting Rights Act adopted after Congress found "that racial discrimination in voting was an insidious and pervasive evil which had been perpetuated in certain parts of the country through unremitting and ingenious defiance of the Constitution" (NOW 2001: 4).

The amorphous nature of affirmative action is in itself a subtle denial of society's history of various kinds of oppression. So, too, are the recent efforts to substitute socio-demographic, and socio-economic attributes for race and culture in affirmative action policies.

Socio-economic class does not carry the same historical baggage as race and culture. It was racial classification, not socio-economic status, preventing Thurgood Marshall's admission to the University of Maryland's law school. It was on the basis of the color of his skin and his ethnicity. Substituting socio-economic class for race or culture, ignores society's history of differential oppression of people of color outside the cultural majority (Helms 2000: 8).

It is important for European development organizations to understand the length of time accumulated prior to affirmative action legislation, and to understand that affirmative action was a grass-roots movement in America. The understanding of the American affirmative action process is key for European organizations, wishing to implement affirmative action policies, and to recognize how these policies were molded and shaped for a specific society, encompassing a specific demographic segment of North American society. Further, American affirmative action legislation was spearheaded from the 'bottom up', and not from the 'top-down'. Ethnic minorities and women openly protested on behalf of acquiring equal civil rights. The present direction of affirmative action in European development organization's, takes the form of granting or giving minorities and women rights.

A distinct difference between European affirmative action polices and American affirmative action legislation is, US affirmative action legislation is binding, and a legal means to redress social ills. Affirmative action in European development organizations is not a legally binding legislation. Secondly, the 'top-down' nature of European developmental affirmative action, people of color and women are not actively participating in the decisions-making process, nor are minorities present in developmental organizational culture.

2.5 Racism

Traditionally, the notion of racism was applied to those forms of group dominance in which specific differences of physical appearance (mostly color) were used to construe primary in-group and out-group membership (Miles 1989). Although such differences between-in vs out-group, may be minimal, sometimes even nonexistent. Their social construction is based on various cognitive operations to define social, racial difference, such as the use of prototypes, exaggeration of inter-group differences, and minimization of in-group variation (Hamilton, 1981; Jones, 1972; Miller, 1982; Tajfel, 1981).

These socio-cognitive constructions may vary considerably for different cultures or countries. Whereas, in the United States and Europe, one fundamental difference may be construed between black and white or between African and European (Caucasian) groups, the differentiation in the Caribbean or Brazil may be much more detailed i.e., (distinguish between many different groups of blacks). Group differentiation and categorization based on appearance seldom come alone. They are often associated with differences of origins of the group (or its ancestors), and especially with sets of attributed cultural characteristics, such as language, religion, customs, habits, norms, values, or even character traits and their associated social practices (van Dijk 1993:22).

Wallerstein emphasizes the origins of ethnic, color based societies, which represent the prevalent forms of racism in the United States and Europe. White/Western hegemony is not a random psychological aberration but the systemic consequence of a global historical development over the last 500 years (Wallerstein 1974). With the

expansion of European capitalist modernity throughout the world, resulted in the subsumption of all 'other' peoples to its economic, political and ideological logic and mode of production. Wallerstein asserts that whiteness and Westernness are closely interconnected; they are two sides of the same coin. Westerness is the sign of white hegemony at the international level, where non-white, non-Western nations are by definition subordinated to white, Western nations.

It is the globalization of capitalist modernity which ensures the structural insurmountability of the white/non-white and Western/non-Western divide, as it is cast in the very infrastructure – institutional, political, economic – of the modern world (Ang 1995: 65).

It is important to conceptualize race, like gender, is not simply a matter of individual attributes or identity, it is a source of social identity, and power which involves relations of domination and oppression. Such relations are often invisible many white people, who may be reluctant to recognize racial differences lest this be seen as a form of 'prejudice' (Bryson 1999:52). Race theorists have argued that antiracist struggles require whites' acknowledgement that they are white; and their experience, perceptions, and economic position have been profoundly affected by being constituted as white (Frankenberg 1993). Race may be a social construction without biological validity, yet it is real and powerful enough to alter the fundamental shape of all our lives (Gooding-Williams 1995; Taylor 1996; Alcoff 1996). Part of white privilege has been precisely whites' ability to ignore the ways white racial identity has benefited them (Alcoff 2000: 264). Furthermore, the claim to a colorblind perspective by whites works just to conceal the partiality of their perceptions (Alcoff 2000: 267).

Like sexism, racism is a social-political system of domination that comes with expected performances, attitudes, and behaviors, which reinforce and re-inscribe unjust hierarchies. Feminists have long paid attention to the ways gender roles encourage habits and nurture systems valuing men's ideas, activities, and achievements over those of women. The existence of sexism and racism as systems requires everyone's daily collaboration (Bailey 2000: 289).

In the *Post-Colonial Critic*, Gayatri Spivak calls for a shift in locations, clarifying the radical possibilities that surface when positionality is problematized. She explains that "what we are asking for is the hegemonic discourses, and the holders of hegemonic discourse, should de-hegemonize their position of the other" (hooks 1995: 49).

Generally, this process of repositioning has the power to deconstruct practices of racism and make possible the disassociation of whiteness often associated with terror in the black imagination. As critical intervention it allows for the recognition that progressive white people who are anti-racist might be able to understand the way in which their cultural practice re-inscribes white supremacy without promoting paralyzing guilt or denial (hooks 1995: 49).

bell hooks describes a vision of cultural homogeneity that seeks to deflect attention away from or even excuse the oppressive, dehumanizing impact of white supremacy on the lives of black people by suggesting black people are racists too indicates that the culture remains ignorant of what racism really is and how it works. It shows that many people are in denial. She questions, "why is it so difficult for many white folks to understand that racism is oppressive not because white folks have prejudicial feelings about blacks (they could have such feelings and leave us alone) but because it is a system that promotes domination and subjection?" hooks explains, "[the] prejudicial feelings some blacks express about whites are in no way linked to a system of domination that affords us any power to coercively control the lives and well-being of white folks. That needs to be understood" (hooks 1995: 154-155).

Alison Bailey in her article Locating Traitorous Identities: Toward a View of Privilege-Cognizant White Character explains the necessity of whites learning about the lives of those living on the margin through traitorous behavior. This entails an understanding of the material conditions giving rise to outsider-within analyses: and to gain such an understanding, traitors⁵ must be "world travelers." In the essay,

⁵ "I address the problem of how to locate "traitorous" subjects, or those who belong to dominant groups yet resist the usual assumptions and practices of those groups. I argue that Sandra Harding's description of traitors as insiders, who "become marginal" is misleading. Crafting a distinction between "privilege-cognizant" and "privilege-evasive" white scripts, I offer an alternative account of race traitors as privilege-cognizant whites who refuse to animate expected whitely scripts, and who are unfaithful to worldviews whites are expected to hold." *Alison Bailey 2000. Locating Traitorous Identities: Toward a View of Privilege-Cognizant White Character.*

Playfulness, 'World'-Traveling, and Loving Perception, Maria Lugones offers an account of identity where subjects are shifting and multiple.

She recognizes individual identities as pluralities taking place through a process called "world" traveling. Lugones believes that women, black and white, fail to love one another due to a failure to identify with women who inhabit worlds they do not share cognitively. "It is a failure to see oneself in other women who are different" (Bailey 2000: 295). Lugones's work addresses this failure, which she attributes to seeing others, who occupy worlds outside the ones in which we feel comfortable, with arrogant eyes. Because arrogance blocks coalition building, world traveling must be done with loving perception (Bailey 2000: 295). This supports Bailey's assumption that whites do not 'travel' outside their worlds, thus restricting the ability to understand the privilege position they retain.

One of the failures of whites being able to see their race as a privilege is due to the inability world traveling. In the United States, people of color world travel out of necessity, but white privilege ensures that most whites need to world travel only voluntarily (Bailey 2000: 295). Bailey continues to examine the effects of world traveling, which forces whites to put their privileged identities at risk by traveling into worlds where they often feel ill at ease with or off-center being in. Like virtuousness⁶, traitorousness requires developing new habits; and one crucial habit might be to resist the temptation to retreat back into those worlds where whites feel at ease. In the process of traveling, white privilege identity falls apart, privilege-evasive scripts no longer work, and the luxury of retreating to a safe space is temporarily removed. "Travel makes privilege-evasive scripts visible allowing us to get a glimpse of how we are seen through the eyes of those whom we have been taught to perceive arrogantly" (Bailey 2000: 296).

bell hooks advocates white and black women to collectively work to change society, "so that we could know one another better and be able to offer acknowledgement and respect, then we would be playing a major role in ending racism.

⁶ "For Aristotle, virtues arise through habit, not nature. Virtue is a disposition to choose according to a rule; namely, the rule by which a truly virtuous person possessed of moral insight would choose. All

As long as white and black women are content with living separately in a state of psychic social apartheid, racism will not change. If women willingly allow racist/sexist thinking to shape our relationships with one another, we cannot blame patriarchy for keeping us apart. Interrogating female xenophobia (fear of difference) must be a significant part of future struggles to end racism and sexism" (hooks 1995: 224).

2.6 Diverse Identities in Organizations

Nkomo and Cox insightfully analyze organizations and diversity in their article *Diverse Identities in Organizations*. Since the release of the Workforce 2000 Report and other publications predicting a more diverse workforce in the United States and throughout the world, diversity has gained currency as a topic of study of organizations (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 338). Presently the theoretical knowledge and research on diversity in organizations has been vague, the concept lacks rigor, and needs much historical specificity. Some of the dilemmas affecting the study and the naming of diversity lies in the vastness of what is defined as diverse.

First who is the 'diverse' in organizations? Who indeed is being studied? Current research and theoretical approaches imply traditional employee populations — white, male Western, heterosexual, middle/upper class, abled — are the norms against which some become 'diverse' or 'others'. Second, to the extent our understanding of 'others' is embedded in notions of dominant identity, it sets limits on the possibility of the representation of 'others' outside of this knowledge (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 349).

Diversity is underdeveloped as a scientific construct drawing its present meaning from the work of organizational practitioners. The concept of diversity is situated within two streams of thought, a narrow definition, and a broad one. Narrow definitions of diversity emphasize race, ethnicity, and gender. Nkomo and Cox (Cross et al. 1994: 22) refer to diversity as 'focusing on issues of racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, ableism, and other forms of discrimination at the individual, identity group and systems levels'.

things that come to us by nature we first acquire potentially; it is only later that we exhibit the activity.

Cox focuses on cultural diversity, which he defines as 'the representation, in one social system, of people with distinctly different group affiliations of cultural significance' (Cox 1993: 5-6 and Nkomo and Cox 1997: 339). Thomas gives a broader interpretation of diversity: 'diversity includes everyone, it is not something that is defined by race or gender. It extends to age, personal and corporate background, education, function and personality. It includes lifestyle, sexual preference, geographic origin, tenure with the organization, exempt or nonexempt status, and management or nonmanagement' (Thomas 1991: 10 and, Nkomo and Cox 1997:338).

Despite the confusion over what constitutes diversity, it is somewhat clear that scholars are referring to 'diversity in identities' based on membership in social and demographic groups and how differences in identities' based on membership in social and demographic groups and how differences in identities affect social relations in organizations. We define diversity as a mixture of people with different group identities within the same social system. The concept of identity appears to be at the core of understanding diversity in organizations (Nkomo 1997:339).

Nkomo and Cox outline five theories which encompass or highlight variations of how to conceptualize identities, individual and collective, which are at the core of diversity in organizations. The work includes 'social identity theory', 'embedded inter-group theory', 'racioethnicity and gender research', 'organizational demography', and 'ethnology' (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 339).

Social Identity Theory (SIT) explains theories of group identity and its effects on human behavior. SIT is a cognitive theory which explains how individual classify themselves and others into distinct social categories. These categories have distinct social effects on human relations and reactions (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 342). The belief of one being defined by others influences an individual's self-identity. If a person does not identify strongly with being male or female, this does not mean that his/her gender, and visual appearance will not be important to other people and how other people relate to the individual. Gender in a sense can affect an individual's life experience regardless if one associates him/herself to a particular gender.

Uniformity, or assimilation of identities in organizations can be problematic for individuals do not leave their racial, gender or ethnic identities at the door when they enter an organization (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 342). An important contribution of SIT to the field of diversity research is the notion that people within social groups differ in the relative importance that any particular social identity has in their self concept (Jackson 1981). Asforth and Mael (1989) identify three general consequences of group identification which are relevant to organizational behavior/outcomes:

1) Individuals tend to choose activities and institutions which are congruent with their salient identities; 2) identification affects outcomes such as intra-group cohesion and cooperation; and 3) identification reinforces attachment to the group and its values and increases competition with out-groups (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 341).

The group identifications may lead to some difficulty in relations between people of different salient group identities, meaning identities with sub-groups (micro-identities in the organization context) may take precedence over the common organizational identity (macro-identity), which could hamper the ability of people to work together in teams composed of members from different group identities and macro-group identification (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 342).

Embedded inter-group relation theory is associated with the inter-group perspective. An identity group is a group whose members share some to the same common biological characteristic such as sex, and have participated in equivalent historical experiences, and are currently subjected to similar social forces, often resulting in the same consonant world views (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 342).

Some of the most common recognized identity groups are those based on gender, family, ethnicity, and age (Alderfer and Smith 1982). Embedded inter-group theory has been used to study women and minorities in predominantly white male organizations, meaning, racial group identity influences cognition's of race relations within organizations. For example, in organizations there exists of both parallel and nonparallel perceptions between black and white racial groups.

Each racial group reported that members of the other group socialized more with each other than with members of the other race. Each racial group tended to see this pattern as weaker in its own group than in the other group. Identity group membership was the most powerful predicator even when there were objective facts about an issue (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 342).

Organizational Demography research studies the causes and consequences of the composition or distribution of specific demographic attributes of employees in organizations, i.e., age, tenure, education, and functional background. Organizational Demography is a macro-based analysis and treated as a nominal scale variable which signifies social categories based on physical or work history characteristics. Several weaknesses of organizational demography are that members of identity groups vary in the extent of the outward display of cultural and diverse characteristics used to categorize individuals into a certain group. Further, it is increasingly difficult to place individuals into specific groups or ethnic categories based specifically upon appearance, race, sexuality, and gender, for individuals self-perceptions are difficult to place in macro based analysis of organizations. The central thrust of empirical work on organizational demography has been to determine the impact of the demographic composition of organizations or work groups on work outcomes (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 343).

Racioethnicity and gender as a study of organizations began primarily in the late 1960's early 1970's in the United States and in Europe nearing the same time. The goal of this study was to document differential treatment in organizations based upon racioethnicity and gender. The main emphasis was based upon the psychological expressions of racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. One fundamental issue was assumed to be the assimilation of white women and racial minorities into, including those who were different into organizations (Nkomo and Cox 1997: 344). Dichotomous thinking in organizations and diversity is an excellent example of problematic strategies restricting diversity implementation in organizations.

Diversity as a concept could be the total description of an organization's workforce, and not a method of naming minority groups. To understand the applicability of diversity, relational concepts such as affirmative action, and gender research, should

be distinguished from diversity research. Researchers must be clear on how diversity relates to such topics as affirmative action, equal opportunity, discrimination, research on racioethnicity and gender (Nkomo 1997: 351). Cox and Nkomo have discussed the greatest difficulty of diversity and affirmative action. They point out that while affirmative action is within the umbrella of diversity, the two concepts are not equivalent. Those doing work on or with diversity in organizations are more comprehensive in the types of human group identities addressed, and affirmative action applies specifically to a remedial tool legislated to achieve equal opportunity. Diversity represents a much more expansive concept, which should be aimed at understanding the multidimensional structure and effects of differences in organizations (Nkomo 1997: 352).

2.7 Conclusion

Organizational learning theoretically underpins present strategies suggested by consulting firms, and evaluation learning. "To learn is to disorganize and increase variety. To organize is to forget and reduce variety" (Weick and Westley 1997 446). The tension produced by this paradigm could lead to the antithesis of derivative ideas and unvalued potential within a workforce. What individuals learn has intersubjective meanings embedded in culture.

GAD focuses on both men and women where WID/WAD concentrates on women independent of their relationships of economic dependency upon men in society. GAD recognizes the control men as a gender exercise over women through economic, social, and political resources. GAD recognizes that women are not a homogeneous category, but are divided by class, color, and creed.

GAD recognizes the unequal power relations between men and women, economically, socially, and culturally. GAD initiates change between unequal power relationships and investigates the need to include men in the process.

Affirmative Action originating in the USA is used to eliminate past and present discriminatory processes based on race, ethnicity, color, sex, and religion. Affirmative Action policies were enacted by law, and spearheaded from the grass-

roots, to eradicate the unjust in American civil society. Affirmative Action materialized after 300 years of racial discrimination in North America, predominately in USA. As Historian Roger Wilkins has pointed out, Blacks have a 375- year history on the continent of North America predominately in the United States: 245 involving slavery, 100 involving legalized discrimination, and only 30 involving anything else (Wilkins, 1995).

Racism or exclusion, due to ethnicity and difference, based upon the socio-cultural definitions of individual societies categories of majority and minority inhabitants is not entirely a matter of individual attributes or identities, but a source of social identity and power involving relations of domination and oppression, constructing the 'other.

Organizational diversity should be de-linked from concepts of affirmative action, and gender. Affirmative Action is a metaphor within the umbrella of diversity, yet the concept is not an equivalent. Diversity, as a consultant explained to the researcher is a nice term. Cultural diversity is even nicer, not threatening, or complicated. One of the reasons for the present non-threatening definition is the lack of specificity of the concept. Diversity at present is underdeveloped scientific concept. Narrow definitions emphasize race, ethnicity, and gender. Broad definitions include everyone, and 'were are all different' (Nkomo and Cox 1997).

Organizational learning is key for positioning an organization to accept new policy's and strategies. If a new policy is to be gender and development the organizations is to be aware of the resistance strategies inherent with the GAD approach.

Many organizations have decided upon a policy of affirmative action as an impetus to assist development organization's policy of gender and development. The effect of racism is to analyzed which is often in cognitive social relations in organizations. Therefore an organization is to position itself to accept diverse identities in its organizational structure, which could counter many resistance strategies inherent in the GAD approach.

CHAPTER 3 Women, Gender, Development: Strategies and Practices

"Feminist politics is losing momentum because feminist movement has lost clear definitions." bell hooks, 2001

3.1 Introduction

The researcher questions the notion of white European women representing diversity and using affirmative action policies to gain position within European organizations primarily. The predominately radical feminist trend in the USA and the socialist feminist tradition in the UK were advocating nothing less than a transformation of the entire social fabric of Western life through a revolution in consciousness, it was clearly a fatal flaw in 1970s' feminist politics not to recognize the dynamic interrelation between issues of race and gender of black women. Given that their vision of a transformed society did not explicitly include racial equality, it gave the lie to the assumption that the social status of all women in American society (for instance) was the same (Whelehan 1995: 110).

3.2 Strategies and Practices of Gender and Development

The development organization Novib has detailed a strategy for implementing gender and development within its organization. The strategies below are taken from *More power less poverty: Novib's gender and development policy until 2000.*

In terms of Gender and Development, Novib promotes the following actions: establishing and strengthening of women's participation in decision-making processes; women's increased access to and control over economic, natural resources and basic social services (basic health care, basic education, clean drinking water, sanitation and nutrition); women's increased control over their own bodies; gender sensitization of women and men, including elimination of gender stereotypes; and more public support and political willingness in the North and South to combat unequal power relations between women and men (Novib 2000: 9).

The broad scope of reach interpreted by Novib's policy on gender and development, basic health care, basic education, clean drinking water, sanitation and nutrition, including women's increased control over their bodies are aims which are similar to many European development organization's mission and aims.

One track consists of affirmative action and extra resources for women, because. This track includes pursuing affirmative action in internal staff policy and the appointment of consultants, choosing gender sensitive themes for lobbying and campaigns, and establishing that a minimum of 15 percent of Novib's counterpart funding will support women's organizations. The second track consists of analyzing and acting from a gender perspective. The choice of activities is influenced by the priorities and interests of women and men and the extent to which efforts will contribute to women and men eventually having equal rights and opportunities (Novib 2000:12).

Novib has extended its affirmative action policy to ethnicity and has initiated the Task Force on Diversity. The Personnel Department will achieve the following results by 2000: At least half of the positions in middle and senior management will be held by women. Ethnic diversity among staff has increased. All staff will feel at home in Novib's working climate and be able to use their capabilities, irrespective of sex, ethnic origin or sexual orientation. The Informal Gender Consultative Body (IGO) and the Task Force on Diversity will continue to play an active role, with the IGO co-ordination the different departments and the Task Force on Diversity monitoring internal affirmative action policy. All Novib departments will have gender experts on staff (Novib 2000: 21).

Novib links gender and development with diversity by installing the informal gender consultative body and the task force on diversity. The following section will highlight the importance of disseminating affirmative action from gender and diversity.

3.3 "Affirmative Action is not Gender and Diversity"

Affirmative action is a compliance-based governmentally mandated legislation and relies on statistical comparisons of various demographic groups. Affirmative action contain goals and timetables designed to bring the level of representation for minority groups and women into parity with relevant and available force indices (OEO 2001: 1).

Affirmative action programs are mandated and are a reaction to under representation, managing diversity initiatives are voluntary in nature. Managing diversity seeks to address issues related to human resources, internal communications, interpersonal relationships, conflict resolution, quality, productivity, and efficiency (OEO 200: 1).

Managing workplace diversity strives to ensure, that when an individual is hired, they should be able to trust that they have been chosen because of their unique qualifications, not because of gender or ethnicity. Diversity consciousness cannot simply be mandated into the system, integrated into a corporate culture, or prompted by financial incentives. It is reflective of an attitude that organizations and their staffs must adopt that allows them to change their basic concepts about workers and converts 'them' into 'us' (ALEXIA 2001: 1).

The underlying assumption of research on affirmative action policy structure is an individual's understanding of what affirmative action entails will influence his or her attitude. This point has been made by many theorist and researchers, and recently has been developed by Barnes Nacoste (Nacoste, 1994, 1995).

Briefly, Nacoste argues that people have cognitive (policy) schemas that incorporate their beliefs about affirmative action. Beliefs about what constitutes a typical procedure are critically important, with beliefs about the use of universalistic and particularistic contributions playing a central role. Universalistic contributions include merit and other capacities that will influence performance. Particularistic contributions include individual attributes that may be taken into consideration but will not influence performance. Race and ethnicity are the most relevant particularistic contributions in the context of affirmative action. The individual's policy schema will strongly influence his or her reactions to affirmative action; reactions will become increasingly negative as the anticipated weighting of particularistic contributions increases (SIOP 2001: 2).

It is important to understand how female and minority employees hired under an affirmative action plans are perceived by other employees. Negative perceptions could hinder the new hire's opportunities and could damage relations between the parties. Several studies have been completed in which non-target members evaluate

the competence of target members. Most of these studies have used undergraduate students as respondents, and have presented them with hypothetical situations in which they have judged the qualifications of the target. In such studies, some attribute the situation (e.g., selection procedure) to manipulations (SIOP 2001:12).

Research concerning the effects of selection procedures on task motivation, interest, commitment, and choice has been conducted primarily with female respondents. Some studies indicate that affirmative action and sex-based selection procedures decrease motivation and interest. In a survey of 70 women in managerial or supervisory positions in a variety of organizations, Chacko (1982) found that women who believed their sex was the reason for their hiring reported lower job commitment and satisfaction and greater role ambiguity and conflict than women who did not believe sex played an important role in their hiring. Heilman et al. (1987) did not observe deleterious effects of sex-based selection on measures of task motivation or interest. Similarly, turner, Pratkanis, and Hardaway (1991) and Turner and Pratkanis (1993) found that selection on the basis of sex did not directly impair self-motivation for a task (SIOP 2001: 2).

A number of theories have been employed to interpret research findings on recipient reactions to affirmative action. These predictive and explanatory models of recipient reactions to affirmative action draw on several disciplines, including social psychology, organizational behavior, sociology, and social cognition. Pettigrew and Martin (1987) invoked the notion of triple jeopardy to explain recipient reactions to affirmative action. They suggest that target group members (and specifically Black Americans) may be subjected to three pressures in organization settings.

Negative stereotypes, solo status (being the sole target group member) and token status (the perception the employee is incompetent because he/she obtained employment through affirmative action) together are predicted to contribute to such outcomes as exaggerated expectations, assumed dissimilarities, extreme and/or distorted evaluations, and possibly distorted performance (SIOP 2001: 4).

Studies by Heilman and her colleagues show that both males and females tend to assume that females hired under affirmative action programs are relatively less

competent. Heilman, Block and Lucas (1992; Study 2) asked 184 White male employees of various companies to evaluate the competence of a specific female or minority co-worker, and to indicate the extent to which affirmative action was responsible for the co-worker's selection. Judgements of competence were inversely related to the perceived importance of affirmative action in selection. Heilman et al., (1992 Study 1) asked 129 male and female undergraduates to review application materials of someone recently hired and to make predictions about their job performance. The job was said to be either highly or moderately gender-typed to be masculine. The applicants were either male or female, and if female, either were or were not associated with an affirmative action program. Affirmative action was manipulated by placing a statement at the bottom of the applications that said either hire or affirmative action hire. The results showed that women were perceived as less competent when they were associated with affirmative action than when they were not (SIOP 2001: 3).

The strongest conclusion that can be drawn from the above reviewed research is that the structure of an affirmative action plan will influence reactions to it. Attitudes are inversely related to the weighting of demographic status, and evaluations of selection procedures are directly related to the superiority of the chosen candidate. The effect of affirmative action plan structure on attitudes is mediated, at least in part, by judgements of fairness and self-interest, and fairness ratings are highly correlated with attitudes. This is slightly more support affirmative action plan's directed at women and people with disabilities than for affirmative action plan's directed at racial minorities, although this effect is moderated by respondent demographic status in a manner consistent with self interest. Minorities and women are more supportive of affirmative action than are White males, but other demographic variables (e.g., age, income, education) are of little consequence. Attitudes toward race-based affirmative action are inversely related to racism, and limited research suggests that attitudes toward gender-based affirmative action are inversely related to sexism (SIOP 2001: 3). It has been suggested that attitudes will be associated with judgements of relative deprivation of the target group and the respondent's own group, but valid research is limited. Some limited evidence suggests that there is great variability in what the public thinks of what an affirmative action plan entail, and public opinions are flexible. Opinions can be changed by providing the respondent with information

about details of the affirmative action plan and by some justification of the use of affirmative action. Support for affirmative action is stronger if the respondent has personally experienced discrimination. In addition, support for affirmative action is higher if the respondent believes or is told that the target group has suffered discrimination. There is evidence, however, that many whites believe discrimination is no longer a problem, and that Blacks themselves are to blame for the black-white income gap. Individuals who are identified as being selected under an affirmative action plan are perceived as less competent, by themselves and by others, unless information is provided that clearly and unambiguously demonstrates their competence (SIOP 2001: 5). Conclusions regarding self-stigmatization must be qualified because almost all the relevant research has been based on reactions of white women to gender-based selection procedures; it is not known whether the results will generalize to ethnic minorities selected in the context of race-race based procedures. There is not empirical research on effects of affirmative action on relations among groups, but theoretical work predicts that effects will be negative unless the affirmative action policy is positively evaluated by all involved parties (SIOP 2001: 4).

3.4 White women representing diversity and gender

White women through their color are insiders, and are a majority in western European society having few incentives or opportunities to cultivate a bifurcated consciousness.

Their identities should be understood as obstacles to producing reliable accounts of the world, specifically the world in which people of color and 'others' live in the same society. For example, class privilege makes it a challenge for those with money to understand why moving out of poverty is so difficult; the privilege afforded to white people by racism makes it hard for whites to grasp its pervasiveness. Similarly, heterosexuals are rarely in a position to analyze either heterosexual privilege or institutional and personal homophobia.

White women often acquire this conceptual fallacy from their privileged position through 500 years of white western global hegemony in which they are benefactors through marriage and the color of their skin. From the perspective of 'other' women (and men), then, there is no illusion that white, Western hegemony will wither away

in any substantial sense, at least not in the foreseeable future. The nature of global capitalist modernity is such that these 'other' peoples are left with two options: either enter the game or be excluded. At the national level, either integrate/assimilate or remain an outsider; at the international level, either 'Westernize' or be ostracized from the 'world community', the 'family of nations' (Ang 1995: 67).

bell hooks asserts one reason white women are unable to clearly understand the position of people of color is their lack of interaction professionally, intellectually, and privately with 'others', who often live within the same society. One example is the academic environment of feminism undercutting gestures towards sisterhood. To get on or simply get by, women are often encouraged to supplant and negate each other's work. This competitive environment equally extends to black feminists seeking a platform in a white dominant academic community that gives very few spaces to women of color: 'often in white settings we are like siblings fighting for the approval of "white parents" whose attention we now have' (hooks 1991: 92, and Whelehan 1995: 122).

Whelehan concurs with hooks in the area of feminist struggles, stemming from the first wave of feminism.

White women involved in radical political groups during the 1960s and 1970s were forced to come to terms with the sexist structuring of organizations, concluding that the social revolutions envisaged beneath the rhetoric were actually entirely maleoriented. But they offered little solace to their black sisters, in that they denied that 'mainstream' feminist analysis of female oppression was flawed and narrow in its focus, or that being a feminist did not immunize one from being racist (Whelehan 1995: 110).

Many women of color like bell hooks operate in the certainty that they will never acquire the power to rule the world; they know that this world - white-dominated, Western, capitalist modernity – is quite simply not theirs, and can never be. This fundamental sense of permanent dislocation, this feeling of always being a foreigner in a world that doesn't belong to you, is what all those who are 'othered' – racialised or ethnicised – in relation to white/Western hegemony share (Ang 1995: 65).

White women and their position of white privilege does not have to do necessarily with overt or explicit forms of racism. Many forms of marginalizing 'others' or designating who is 'ethnic' are more normalized/institutionalized and insidious set of assumptions which disremember the structural advantage of being white, and which generalize specifically white cultural practices and ways of seeing and being into the world as normal (Frankenberg 1993, Ang 1995: 62).

Peggy McIntosh asserts whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. She commenced in an untutored method to question what it was like to have white privilege. She has come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that she can count on cashing in each day, but about which she was "meant" to remain oblivious. McIntosh continues to explain white privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, code-books, visas, clothes, tools and blank checks. She feels that describing white privilege makes one newly accountable.

As women in women's studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so white women who write about white privilege must ask, "having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?" (McIntosh 2001:1)

McIntosh realizes, that much of white male oppressiveness was unconscious. She remembered frequent charges from women of color that white women whom they encountered are oppressive. She began to understand why white women are seen as oppressive, even when they do not see themselves that way. McIntosh formulated a list of conditions where she was able to benefit from her color and ethnicity.

I can, if I wish, arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time; If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area that I can afford and in which I would want to live; I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me; I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed; I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented; When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization"; I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the

existence of their race; If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege; I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the stable foods that fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can deal with my hair; Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability; I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them; I am shown that people of my color made it what it is; I can swear, or dress in second-hand clothes or not answer letters without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race; I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race; I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group; I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial; I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color, who constitute the worlds' majority, without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion; I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider; I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having coworkers on the job suspect that I got it because of race; If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones; I can go home from most meetings or organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in rather than isolated, out of place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared; I can choose public accommodations without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen; (McIntosh 2001: 2-4).

She continues to assert a pattern running through the matrix of white privilege, a pattern of assumptions that were passed on to her as a white person. There was one main piece of cultural turf; it was her own and she was a part of the majority who controlled it.

We might at least start by distinguishing between positive advantages, which we can work to spread, and negative advantages, which can work to spread, and negative types of advantage, which unless rejected will always reinforce our present hierarchies. For example, the feeling that one belongs within the human circle, as Native Americans say, should not be seen as a privilege for a few. Ideally it is an unearned entitlement. McIntosh has met very few men who are truly distressed about systemic, unearned male advantage and conferred dominance. And so one question for McIntosh and others like herself is whether they will be like them, or whether they

will get truly distressed, even outraged, about unearned race advantage and conferred dominance, and, if so, what will whey do to lesson them (McIntosh 2001: 5).

Since racism, sexism, and heterosexism are not the same, the advantages associated with them should not be seen as the same. In addition, it is hard to disentangle aspects of unearned advantage that rest more on socio-economic class, race, religion, sex, and ethnic identity than on other factors. One factor seems clear about all of the interlocking oppressions. They take both active forms, which we can see, and embedded forms, which as a member of the dominant groups one is taught not to see. McIntosh did not see herself as a racist because she was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of her group, never in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on her group from birth (McIntosh 2001: 5).

Although systemic change takes many decades, there are pressing questions for McIntosh and she imagines, for some others like herself the issue of raising their daily consciousness on the perquisites of being light-skinned. She questions, "What will white people do with this knowledge?" As she has learned from watching men, she asks an open question, "whether white women will choose to use unearned advantage to weaken a hidden system of advantage, and whether they will use any of their arbitrarily awarded power to try to reconstruct power systems on a broader base" (McIntosh 2001: 6).

For bell hooks, white women are in a position of privilege, and have been restricted by white male hegemony. A current trend in many workshops focuses on helping white individuals see that they too are, or have been wounded by racism and as a consequence have something to gain form participating in anti-racist struggle. In many ways hooks finds this concept as true, a construction of political solidarity that is rooted in a narrative of shared victimization not only acts to re-center whites, it risks obscuring the particular ways racist domination impacts on the lives of marginalized groups. Implicit in the assumption that even those who are privileged via racist hierarchy suffer is the notion that it is only when those in power get in touch with how they too are victimized will they rebel against structures of domination. hooks emphasizes a realignment or a shift of the conceptual framework of shared

victimization. The truth is that many benefit greatly from dominating others and are not suffering a wound that it is in any way similar to the condition of the exploited and oppressed. Anti-racist work that tries to get these individuals to see themselves as "victimized" by racism in the hopes that this will act as an intervention is a misguided strategy. bell hooks continues to assert the need to be willing to acknowledge that individuals of great privilege who are in no way victimized are capable, via their political choices, of working on behalf of the oppressed. Such solidarity does not need to be rooted in shared experience. It can be based on one's political and ethical understanding of racism and one's rejection of domination. Therefore we can see the necessity for the kind of education for critical consciousness that can enable those with power and privilege rooted in structures of domination to divest without having to see themselves as victims (hooks 1995: 152-153).

bell hooks outlines a clear feminist methodology to openly assess women's own positions vis-à-vis each other, and to divest in competitive diversionary tactics. Women who genuinely convert to feminist thinking give up their sexist ways of thinking about other females, an investment in sexist behavior that condones and perpetuates competition. It is this repudiation of competition as the only possible point of contact between women that clears the ground so that seeds of friendship and solidarity can be planted. When individual black and white females attempt to build bonds without divesting of this will to compete, there is usually a rupture of closeness. Competition fosters distrust. But the moment white and black females refuse to compete with one another an important intervention happens: the existing sexist/racist structure is disrupted. If that will to compete is replaced with a longing to know one another, a context for bonding can emerge (hooks 1995:223).

3.5 Exclusionary Practices

Balslev discusses the importance of understanding between East and West in her book *Cultural Otherness: Correspondence with Richard Rorty*. She discusses with Rorty the question of culture and philosophy as the 'ascetic priest', who are taken seriously everywhere. Balslev poses several question to Rorty in the course of their dialogue; "To whom than shall we turn to learn what's really wrong with us? Who will tell us, as in the context of West you do, that it has turned into a 'sexist', 'racist' and

'imperialist' culture (Balslev 1991:15)? She suggests that the revolt (culturally) is against an institution which has to be demolished (in the name of what?), hence must be performed by another (Balslev 1991: 15-16).

It is precisely in order to avoid such embarrassing situations that the prevalent custom in the area of 'dialogue' is to speak to the other or about the other never with the other – in which case most of the time the encounter with the 'other' remains some sort of a fantasy, one hears only one's own voice (Balslev 1991: 16).

The question is an interesting assumption, that in order for the west to understand itself it must conduct dialogue with the 'other', in light of the West not hearing its own voice.

'Indigenous knowledge' is, meanwhile to be discovered, celebrated, and used rather than denigrated (Brokensha et all. 1980; Hobart 1993; Richards 1985; Warren et al. 1995). This call for greater respect for indigenous people is to be applauded. It challenges the assumption that people in all societies should assimilate to the most 'civilized' model embodied by Western capitalism, and it encourages greater tolerance for difference. On the other hand, the local, indigenous, or poor people are still 'them'.

Chambers, for example, advises that 'outsiders should not assume that they know what poor people want', but makes sweeping generalizations about their behavior: 'the poor, contrary to popular belief, are able and willing to make longer-term investments for lesser rewards' (Crewe 1998: 29).

A necessity of having a gender sensitive and diverse organization is the importance of including ethnic minorities, young women and young men who are studying and trained in the area of gender/development and diversity. These inclusive practices should consist of actively seeking young men/women as candidates for positions as gender specialists and diversity focal points in organizations. There is a need for mentoring, teaching, training and hiring young women and men to move the organization forward specifically within this area. A prevalent question often discussed by second wave feminists who now occupy positions of leadership, is the necessity of incorporating space for men among feminists. In the international arena

of development, men and women will work together, particularly in the North, and this should be discussed in greater detail with counterparts or Southern partners. A true diversity program values the differences of all employees not just those who will fall into predetermined "minority" groupings. Inclusiveness is aimed towards people of color and women, yet young men and women who are interested in gender, and are trained to work in the field should be mentored to increase their sense of belonging within organizations working towards establishing gender and diversity policies.

3.6 Conclusion

An affirmative action policy linked to diversity, is questionable for ethnicity, and diversity are not representative of affirmative action. Meaning diversity and ethnicity, are subjective concepts, and affirmative action is a legally instituted correction to redress racial discrimination based upon color.

Societies confusion about what affirmative action entails has been increased by inconsistent statements made by decision-makers and published by the media. A similar confusion reigns in the professional literature. In brief, operational definitions of affirmative action have varied considerably, but this variation has not been accompanied by a parallel variation in terminology. Thus, some people operationalize affirmative action as quotas, others as preferential treatment (weak, strong, or unspecified), others as recruitment, others as the elimination of discrimination, etc.

Given the strong effect of affirmative action plan structure on reactions, this inconsistency in operational definitions has sometimes led to a parallel inconsistency in results. Researchers should use more precise terms when describing research on affirmative action, the term "affirmative action" and it usage is too vague.

CHAPTER 4 Managing Diversity

"It seems to me that this renewed vigour in the question of the 'self' and 'other', identity and difference, is very much due to a set of circumstances caused by technological advance which has turned strangers into neighbours...technology has 'killed the distance', the dialectical relationship between the self and the other, us and they, is no more perceived only as a purely abstract or theoretical concern."

Balsley 1991: 2

4.1 Introduction

Presently, workforces have become more and more diverse, most organizations are presented with many problems and opportunities that are inherent in a diverse workplace. An effective, culturally divers organization is one whose culture is inclusive of all of the varying groups and constituencies it intends to serve. The values, vision, mission, policies, procedures, and norms constitute a culture that is manifested in multiple perspectives and adaptability to varying values, beliefs, and communication styles (JOE 2001: 1).

Very few organizations are not faced with the opportunities present and the problems inherent in a dealing with the changing socio-cultural workplace. The question is not "Do you work in a diverse workplace?" but rather "Is your organization handling workplace diversity in a positive manner (Skillsoft 2001: 1)?"

4.2 Managing Diversity

In its broadest sense, the management of diversity is a business's reaction to rapid cultural and sociological changes. Internally, diversity management means providing a climate where all employees feel they are valued by and contributing to an organization. Externally, it means that organizations are flexible and astute to the changes occurring in world markets.

The hard truth is that inequalities do exist for employees within organizations due to stereotyping and preconceived ideas about a person based on race, gender, religious or cultural origins, age, physical or mental limitations, and more. Racism, sexism, homophobia, cannot be managed away. It is precisely these beliefs and perceptions that necessitate the management of diversity (Alexia 2001: 3).

For a successful developmental organization to effectively implement diversity policies it is necessary to utilize the potential of all individuals in pursuit of organizational objectives. The benefits of managing diversity leads to greater problem solving capabilities, a willingness to comprehend and understand changes which take place within the organizational culture and socio-cultural changes occurring in the society the organization is situated in. Managing diversity is a challenge, because of the lack of relevant literature and resources addressing this concept. This can be attributed to the "newness of the field" and a developing change in the socio-cultural societal structures evolving globally (AIMD 2000: 1).

The benefits of diversity management include effective adjustment to changes in culture and demography, increased productivity based on diverse team composition, new ideas and different problem solving approaches, wider selection pools, increased access to wider client bases and encourages a multi-dimensional corporate image (DPAC 2001: 1).

4.3 Positioning the Agency

"A healthy organization is one in which an obvious effort is made to get people with different backgrounds, skills, and abilities to work together toward the goal or purpose of the organization. This has not accomplished at a societal level, yet, it is achievable at an organizational level" (Schauber 2001: 1). The key to successfully building a diverse, high-quality workforce begins with strong leadership commitment, and knowing where the agency is presently positioned.

Organizations in the past have expressed the importance of successful diversity initiatives depending on the position of the organization and positioning the organization to accept diverse employees in the organization (OPM 2001: 1).

Positioning the agency comprises several aspects: firstly, it is important for the organization to develop and ensure, a strong 'commitment' to potential diversity

initiatives, programs, and policy's; secondly, 'assessing the current situation,' organizations should clearly understand their current demographic situation; thirdly, an 'environmental assessment', meaning organizations should critically develop a good understanding of their individual strengths and weakness and fourthly, 'effective workforce planning,' to analyze workforce trends and projections, determining skills gaps and needs, and devising succession planning strategies (OPM 2001:3).

Commitment is considered the foundation of building, maintaining a diverse, high quality work force. Communication is key, and communication to all levels of the organizations. The commitment to managing diversity should be clearly stated and communication from top management and leadership in the organization. Effective communication can entail several methods such as: 'encouraging leadership to create an environment of inclusion and values differences;' 'clearly assign adequate resources to diversity activities;' 'train employees in intercultural communication to address differences in communication across cultures;' 'widely disseminate the organization's goals, mandates, and responsibilities.'

To assess the current situation organizations are to critically comprehend their current demographic situation. This is done by developing a workforce profile, which illuminates a comprehensive picture of the workforce, and how it reflects diversity at all levels, in all key positions and in all the organizational components (OPM 2001: 2).

An environmental assessment of the organization, allows for a good understanding of the organizations strengths and weakness, enabling it to design programs to their best advantage.

Many organizations have some active program to incorporate diversity, yet, an environmental assessment will enable the organization to create and support a comprehensive diversity management program. Cultural audits, and internal organizational assessments are often used to evaluate the environment of an organization.

Workforce planning is closely alligned to obtaining a informative environmental assessment. Workforce planning analyzes workforce trends and projections,

determining skills, gaps, and needs, and devising succession planning strategies in organizations. This information should be used to assess whether the current workforce will assist in meeting the organization's goals (OPM 2001: 2).

4.4 Designing and Implementing a Diversity Program

Once an agency has positioned itself, it can proceed to design and implement its diversity program, including the specific elements that will serve to build and maintain is diverse, high-quality workforce. The various assessments of the workforce profile, the organizations individual environment, and future workforce needs should have identified strengths, weaknesses, and targets of opportunity. An organization's diversity program must include elements that 'build diversity', through 'recruitment, outreach and hiring,' and elements that 'maintain diversity' through the organization's use of 'learning and development, rewards and recognition, and a supportive work environment' (OPM 2001:3).

Building a diverse high quality workforce through assessing the current situation and the environment and conducting workforce planning, an organization will have identified the type and number of positions to be filled as well as any targeted needs. The organization is to find and hire the diverse, high-quality workforce to achieve the organizations goals and mission aims (OPM 2001: 4).

The purpose of effectively recruiting strong candidates who are prepared meet the organizations strategic goals and priorities and to work in the organizations environment. Effective recruitment techniques include knowing the competition and their recruiting needs. Issuing one vacancy announcement is no longer an effective method of finding candidates. The organizations should know where candidates go to find jobs and information about fining jobs. It is necessary that the organizations message can be found. Many candidates feel it is important to have a match between their personal goals and the goals of the organization, therefore an organizations goals and aims must clearly inspire a vision (OPM 2001: 4). It is important for organizations to provide a realistic preview of the jobs and to highlight points of interest. The organization should consider what would make an exceptional person

want to work in the organization. After organizations have found high-quality candidates, the organization should hire them.

Once an organizations has made investments in recruiting and hiring of high-quality workforce, the organization risks wasting those efforts absent a strong retention strategy. The organization's next objective is to ensure that effective employees remain in the organization.

Maintaining diverse high-quality workforce entails organizations having a flexible 'supportive work environment,' including the quality of the supervision and leadership employees receive, an emphasis on 'learning and development,' and an effective 'rewards and recognition,' system are key to maintaining employees of a high caliber (OPM 2001: 8).

A supportive work environment is one providing employees with the direction and tools needed to perform the work of the organization to the best of their ability. One of many methods of ensuring a supportive work environment encompasses leadership and diversity training for supervisors and managers. It is important to understand the benefits and rewards of a diverse workforce, which creates a supportive work environment and enhances the potential of all employees (OPM 2001: 7).

Professional development and training opportunities are important reasons why valued employees choose to stay with an organization. Organizations can use a variety of approaches to establish a climate that supports continuous learning and development. Establishing clear paths for acquiring the skills, knowledge, and experience employees need for their continual learning and career development. Developing formal and informal mentoring programs, providing training opportunities for all employees, encouraging employees to become mentors, in particular, senior mangers should be strongly encouraged to mentor individuals from different cultural, racial, or academic backgrounds (OPM 2001: 7).

The system of rewards and recognition are strong keys to maintaining a diverse workforce. The system of rewards, recognition is often considered a standard professional benefit for completing an assignment effectively. Humanitarian

motivations are often not enough for employees, for all people desire to see their efforts acknowledged.

4.5 Sustaining Commitment

Sustaining commitment is important if a diversity program is to become ingrained in the culture and business process of an agency. An organization should develop a system of effectively 'monitoring results,' of their diversity initiatives, and to hold managers, supervisors 'accountable,' for achieving results of the organization's diversity initiatives. 'Celebrating success,' or to recognize achievements of the organizations employees is crucial to sustaining commitment and finally, to 'continuing communication and development,' by providing training to all staff and mangers about practical was to make a diverse workforce a strength for the entire organization (OPM 2001: 10).

4.6 Conclusion

Affirmative action and the language of equal opportunity came as a political response in the United States to the social outcry over the racial and social injustices that limited equal access to the workplace.

One of the problems with affirmative action is how often perceived as a public relations scheme more concerned about quotas than about individuals. Managing workplace diversity strives to ensure that when an individual is hired, they should be able to trust that they have been chosen because of their unique qualifications, not because of gender or ethnicity (Alexia 2001: 3)

While affirmative action programs are a reaction to under-representation, managing diversity initiatives are proactive. Managing diversity seeks to address issues related to human resources, internal communications, interpersonal relations, conflict resolution, quality productivity, and efficiency. The main focus of managing diversity is to find productivity gains through respecting valuing, and using the differences people bring to the workplace. Ideally an organization is to find a way to let everyone do what he or she does best in order to gain a competitive edge. Affirmative action

seeks an end result, managing diversity is a long-term change process that seeks to identify and actually change the organizational culture of an agency (OEO 2001: 1).

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

This paper discusses the nature of development assistance, and how it is primarily focuses on the needs of men who are often the main beneficiaries of development resources. The inequalities women face economically, socially, and culturally began to be the focus of study by policy planners and feminist located in the North and South.

To redress the sluggish rate of return for women in development projects, many development organizations instituted the gender and development approach to place women in positions of power in development organizations and in society. Due to resistance strategies to the goals of gender and development, a policy of affirmative action has been used in many European development organizations, to assist in implementing initiative linked to GAD.

The American based affirmative action policy can be transferred to Europe, and implemented in development organizations, if the policy has been modified to fit the socio-cultural environment of Europe. European development organizations have attached the concept of diversity to its policy's of gender and development. This has had several confusion effects within development organizations and for policies transferred to partner organizations. The fundamental question of a gender and diversity policy is "Who is diverse" and what is the benchmark used to decide who, in a society is diverse, or ethnic? A lack of clear understanding by policy planner, and program assists, can cause confusion and tension within development organizations.

Therefore, organizations aiming to managing gender and diversity in their structures could begin by becoming an organization that emphasizes collective learning, which will result in the communication of clear and comprehensive understanding of the concepts of gender and development including diversity, race, ethnicity, and diverse identities in its organization. There is a necessity for development organizations to systematically address the term affirmative action prior to usage.

Affirmative Action is to be redefined according to the development organization's socio-cultural position in its society. In addition policy planners are to recognize and

understand their organization's conceptual knowledge of ethnicity and race, and to prepare the organization to incorporate diverse identities in its organizational structure.

The argument that bureaucratic organizations are inherently gendered/masculinized (and therefore oppressive) has undoubtedly been important one in allowing us to see gender as an element of organizational structure. However, research now suggests that rather than taking this assumption at face value, we should begin to problematize this notion, both theoretically and empirically (Britton 2000: 430).

Meaning to implementing an affirmative action policy in Northern European development organizations without specific socio-cultural modifications, in regards to women being promoted and placed in leadership positions of development organizations, could encounter resistance.

Further, organizational diversity should be de-linked from concepts of affirmative action, and gender. Affirmative Action is a metaphor within the umbrella of diversity, yet the concept is not an equivalent.

People do have a cognitive (policy) schema incorporated in their beliefs about affirmative action. The individual's policy schema will strongly influence his or her reactions to affirmative action; and reactions will become increasingly negative as the anticipated weighting of particularistic contributions increases. The underlying assumption of research on affirmative action policy structure is an individual's understanding of what affirmative action entails will influence his or her attitude.

Therefore, it is essential that European development organizations position themselves to effectively manage gender and diversity by learning collectively, to accept differences within its organizational structure, and from the socio-cultural changes accruing in its society. It is fundamental to remember when managing gender and diversity in development organizations; "We are all different!"

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