Narratives of Resistance: Enacting Gender in An International Development Organization

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Abstract

This is an insider's ethnographic account of a process of change for increased gender equality within a multi-cultural international development organization in South Asia. As the formally appointed Gender Specialist and the informal leader of the process, the author examines data from over seven years to analyse the actions of female and male staff that construct, maintain and alter the gendered culture of their workplace. This social process, described through the structural and cultural features of the organization, highlights the role of power, in its various dimensions, in maintaining gender inequalities within this context.

Drawing on practice theory, the author argues that individuals play a determining role in the reproduction and change of structural features of organizations by shaping and reshaping, creating and recreating identity through formal and informal policies and practices, including those of resistance. The text analyses how the powerful men of one organization allowed women's agency on terms they themselves dictated and controlled. . Behind the scenes, actions by men enacting hidden forms of power contributed to the neutral appearance of power and served to blind the gender advocates and other staff to the internal processes of discrimination. This blindness became apparent late in the process, when it became clear that as the prominence of gender issues increased, so did the resistance. When women's actions moved beyond what was considered acceptable, the result was a backlash against individual women and the gender mainstreaming agenda in general. In this way, the full extent and potential of women's agency was suppressed, and its significance therefore limited in impact. Structurally, therefore, INORG was ill-equipped to transform itself into a gender equitable organization, not just because it reflected the gender relations in the wider society, but because of the hierarchy and system of power that itself was a gendering process.

The cycle of control –resistance-counter control observed in INORG was one that brought women to a higher level of gender awareness and political action, but one that in the end was not able to significantly transform gender relations, perhaps due to its challenge to the hegemony of male power and management. And yet, given the symbolic value of resistance, women's acts of agency and resistance were laden with meaning, as women asserted their own views and identities. In this way, the women may have changed the organization in individual, fragmented and subtle ways, but the effects were small in scale and more cultural than structural. Yet the challenge to existing notions of gender identity that altered many women's sense of self and sense of gender fairness in the organization may never be erased and may serve to motivate further acts of resistance.

This research contributes to the understanding of processes of gendering within multi-cultural organizations by understanding how organizational change occurs through the resistance and subjectivity of actors, and therefore contributes to the literature on organizational change, gender and organizations, development studies, and feminist scholarship.

Throughout this narrative, the author retains a reflexive awareness of the tension between her role as a researcher who is subject to the conventions of analytical 'objectivity' and that of an insider, an organizational member.

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I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to my colleagues and friends at INORG who shared their lives and thoughts with me throughout my 11 years of employment there, and particularly during the last two years while I was collecting data for this thesis. Through the friendships and alliances formed there, and the multitude of opportunities to work with partners of mountain communities and agencies, the organization became much more than just a place of employment. It became a place that engendered my sincere loyalty and commitment. It was a privilege to be engaged with this organization for so many years.

With this in mind, I would like assure readers that I wish only for this text to bring positive benefits to INORG and similar development organizations. Gender inequality is common to most all organizations; INORG is to be commended for taking bold moves to engage in public discussions and analyses of its practices, and for allowing me to conduct this study.

Gratitude is due as well to my advisors, Cecile Jackson and Catherine Locke, whose assistance was always provided willingly and warmly over the years. Friendships with these two highly competent women are bound to persist long after this thesis production.

I dedicate this study to my anthropologist husband, Barun Gurung, whose guidance was always available and was indispensable to my efforts to become a social scientist, and to my daughter, Mira, who remained patient despite the long hours I spent at the computer.

And I dedicate it to all of the women working in development organizations who suffer the quiet yet powerful forces that deny them their voice and their agency in the name of conformity. May this text bring some solace and lessons for change.

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GLOSSARY

afno manche	one's own people (Nepali)
bourkha	head-to-toe covering worn by women of conservative Muslim societies
chakari	to serve in return for favours (Nepali)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DCI	Department of Computer Information
DG	Director General
DDG	Deputy Director General
DEI	Department of Employment and Income
DFS	Department of Farming Systems
DNRM	Department of Natural Resource Management
DOP	Department of Publications
GC	Gender Committee
GS	General Services
GWG	Gender Working Group
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
MM	Management Meeting
NO	National Officers
ODD	Organizational Development Department
purdah	isolation of women practiced in conservative Muslim societies

INTRODUCTION
Over the past three decades, feminist scholars and activists have scrutinised the gender inequitable aspects of the structures, programmes and policies of development organizations. Early attention was focused on the household as the locus of explicit gender inequity, but since the mid 1980s, increasing attention has been paid to gender as an organising principle across "impersonal" institutional arenas, in public life and the marketplace. In this new genre of feminist analysis, researchers such as Staudt (1985), Kadam (1991), Goetz (1992, 1997), Sawyer (1996), and Miller and Razavi (1998) have attempted to understand why development-related institutions prove to be so resistant to women and their interests, despite the plethora of gender and development agendas actively promoted and supported by donors, government bureaucracies and NGOs around the world and the critical importance of gender to productive sectors. Many development organizations such as the UN agencies and others are now involved in the process of organizational transformation for gender equity, through a process termed gender mainstreaming, aimed at changing goals, procedures and cultures. And yet, the primary concern for growth rather than justice, despite rhetoric to the contrary, constrains the political goal of gender equity that translates badly into bureaucratic language (Goetz, 1997). In the words of Staudt (1997:8), "it is becoming increasingly clear that a key source of this problem (of resistance) is to be located in bureaucratic institutions and in the ideologies officials use as they act on gender issues." Mueller (1986: 36) calls the development system "one of the biggest, most male-dominated, most world-dominating institutions."

During these same three decades, feminist scholars (Acker and van Houten, 1974; Wolff, 1977; Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; Ferguson, 1984; Mills, 1988; Hearn, 1989; Acker, 1990; Calas and Smircich, 1991; 1996) in the field of organizational development began to study the gendered nature of reality in the workplace and its effect on the construction of social relationships. Many studies (Kanter, 1977; Ferguson, 1984; Pringle, 1989; Smith, 1987) have documented the concrete practices that maintain inequality or improve or impair women's position in workplaces, organizations, and the labour market, primarily in the private sector of businesses and companies in the industrialised nations. The experience of equality policies has shown that there are huge gaps between legislation or policies and practical measures, indicating that women's input and advancement in both private and public sector organizations is still severely curtailed (Cockburn, 1991; Carr-Ruffino, 1993; Goetz, 1997).

Given the significance of gender equality to achieving the goal of human development espoused by development planners in the 1990s, and the historical tenacity of gender inequality throughout all forms of public institutions as noted by the organizational experts (Goetz 1997; Alvesson and Billing, 1997; Rantalaiho and Heiskanen, 1997), it is clear that there is a need for a better understanding of the concrete ways in which gender differentiations are produced and replicated within development organizations. Only once the source of such differentiation is examined can we hope to better understand the deep resistance to change for gender equity within development organizations and devise realistic strategies for organizational transformations to achieve gender equality at all levels of society. And yet, in the context of gender and development, as Goetz states (1997:4) "there is as yet little theoretical and empirical work available to illuminate gendered features of organizations and their links to unsatisfactory outcomes."

The production, reproduction and change of gender relations within organizations can be most completely explained by an understanding of organizational culture. Organizational cultures have often been highlighted as significant barriers to change. Even in organizations with strong equal opportunity policies, their cultures may be resistant and intractable, as the informal culture transmits messages about the 'proper place for women.' Culture is the site where the wider ideologies and values are lived out in organizational practices and discourses. Where organizational cultures are not amenable to gender equity, the appointment of women to senior positions subjects them to hostile conditions, where they face psychological pressures (Newman, 1995; Nicolson, 1996).

Culture, as a conceptual tool, borrows from the fields of anthropology, psychology, and group dynamics to illuminate deeply embedded beliefs manifested in individual psychological behaviour; behaviours of small groups and geographically or occupationally based communities; and the workings of large organizations. Culture refers to the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organization, that operate unconsciously and that define in a taken-for-granted sense, an organization's view of itself and its environment. An organization's culture incorporates observed behavioural regularities, norms, dominant values espoused, philosophy underlying its policies, rules of the game, and the climate of an organization and provides its members with an integrated perspective and meaning, and a sense of identity.

One of the most mysterious aspects of organizational culture is how it originates and evolves and the degree to which it is resistant to change. This point is particularly apropo in relation to gender equity, which has proven to be so difficult to achieve within organizations. Organizational change is believed by many organizational experts to be possible only through individual changes in key members of the organization (Pugh, 1978; Schein, 1980; Itzin, 1995). This thesis will demonstrate that change is affected by more than just attitudes and behaviours of individual members.

The purpose of this research is to make a contribution to understanding the process of gendering within multi-cultural development organizations, with the intent to understand these processes better so that strategies that effectively address the most salient aspects of resistance to change can be devised. The study will make a contribution to the literature on gender and organizations, organizational change, and development studies. It will offer a narrative produced by an insider leading a process of organizational change, and as such, will address the challenges posed by an attempt to combine analytical objectivity with political goals.

For this, an examination of organizational culture will be employed as the primary method, though structural factors will be examined as well. This approach uses a 'gendered organizations perspective' – seeing gender as something not imported into the workplace (as a 'gender in organizations perspective'), but rather constructed in part through work, as an organizational accomplishment. Workplace culture thus is seen as constructing beliefs about and self-understandings of women and men, what is feminine and masculine, thus shaping gender identities.

This research starts from the premise that organizations are inherently gendered. That is, that "advantages and disadvantages, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identities are patterned through, and in terms of, distinctions between what is constructed as male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker, 1990:146). Created largely by and for men, organizational systems, norms, definitions, practices and ideologies reflect masculine values, experiences and male life situations. This perspective presumes that gender based differences are socially constructed and take on particular forms based on race, class, ethnicity and other aspects of identity (Meyerson and Kolb, 2000). These differences are created and sustained through an active process of construction and reconstruction. This social process and its implications for organizational transformation for gender equality are the object of this study, using an in-depth study of one international development organization, herein named by the pseudonym INORG, as a case.

My own personal and long term engagement in this organization accounts for its selection as a case study. I was employed as a professional staff of INORG for 11 years, from 1990 to 2001, first as a forester, then as a gender and development specialist from 1995-2001. The difficulties of achieving the organisation's stated goals of gender integration in all programmes and projects, and the widespread and persistent resistance I encountered in trying to achieve these goals motivated me to engage in a process of sense-making that I believed could best be achieved by 'stepping out' of the organization to better reflect on the nature of gendering processes and their impacts. This analysis was intended to enhance my own and others' abilities to achieve success in meeting this challenging goal. In 1997, I decided to do this through a research PhD programme that would allow me to retain my position with INORG while simultaneously collecting data. I left INORG in 2001 after six years of coordinating gender mainstreaming efforts to move away from the context and write up the text in a locale far removed from the day to day realities of the organization. Doing so allowed me to reflect, analyse and construct this narrative.

Organization of this Thesis
This 'narrative of resistance' is told in a literary style, similar to a drama, first through a description of the organization and key actors and secondly through a tale that unfolds over a sequence of time to understand how actors' behaviours produce and maintain this gendered workplace. In order to differentiate between the description of the research process and this 'drama', the thesis is divided into three parts. Part I outlines the approach and theoretical basis for the research, posing fundamental questions related to my own positionality as an insider leading a process of change for gender equality in this organization, expressed as the research question 'what methodological issues emerge from the practice of an insider?'

A key objective of this thesis is to examine my own place within it, so reflexive observations and thoughts related to my own role and how these affect the construction of this thesis are attended to throughout the text. Data on how I was perceived by others and my own thoughts and feelings are presented with the case material where relevant, and in paragraphs of the concluding sections of chapters in Parts II and III.

Part I introduces the key actors and salient features of their identities, as well as the general ethos of the organization. Part II sets the context for the narrative, describing and analyzing

organizational structures and cultures- both the formal and informal practices that define INORG's gendered environment. Addressed in this section are questions related to the ways and means by which gender differentiations are produced and replicated within multi-cultural development organizations, using power as a framework for interpretation. This section develops the historically situated context for the 'narratives of resistance', providing a basis for understanding the actor-oriented events in Part III.

Part III reveals the rich ethnographic data that signifies how gendered identities and meanings are created within one particular organization. Through detailed narratives of three organizational events detailed in Women's Week, The Backlash and a Shift in Alliances, questions about individual behaviours and actions in relation to gender equality are addressed through an analysis of agency and resistance in the organization.

The conclusion discusses implications of these findings for organizational transformation for gender equity, and for organizational research conducted by insiders who are leading processes of change.

PART I: From Theory to Local Context

Overview
The introduction of this research begins with a discussion of the approach, purpose, and research questions in Chapter 1. These are briefly stated here but will be elaborated in Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

1. What methodological issues emerge from the insider positionality of a researcher?
2. How are gender differentiations produced and replicated within multi-cultural development organizations?
3. What are the causes of the persistent resistance to change for gender equity in such organizations, and of the causes for agency in relation to the same, and what are the implications for organizational transformation?

Chapter 1 addresses the first question and examines in detail the methodological approach based on the researcher's position as an insider. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical foundation for the thesis, though later chapters weave in detailed theory and references to empirical studies where relevant. Chapter 3 provides more detailed information on the social context in which INORG is situated and gives a view of the ethos of the organization through a description of its mission, basic structure and social identities of its members. A history of gender mainstreaming efforts in the organization provides the reader with background knowledge of events that preceded the time of this case study.

Chapter 1: The Approach
The cultural approach to understanding organizations proceeds from the assumption that the ideas, definition of reality and meanings which are shared by the group or sub-groups are a central feature of organizations. Organizations are thus viewed as cultures, as webs of meaning that are continually changing due to the actions of their members.

Gender identities are produced and reproduced through gendered processes and practices of organizations. In general, these are determined by dominating values and beliefs, external influences, norms, behavioural patterns and underlying assumptions of how the world works. In a more particular way, this process is underlined by the role of certain key actors within organizations without whose 'complicity' such reproductions of dominant external ideologies within institutions would not be complete. The research question, 'how are gender differentiations produced and replicated within multi-cultural development organizations?' will provide some insights about this process using one organization as a case study.

Concomitantly, there are also the strategies of resistance employed by those actors who seek to actively resist the dominating parameters of the institutional culture; through their actions it becomes possible to conceptualize the ways and possibilities for organization change. Thus, in this sense, it becomes important to address the separate but interrelated concepts of power, agency and resistance as well as organizational bureaucracy. These will be addressed by another research question, 'what are the causes of the persistent resistance to change for gender equity in such organizations, and of the causes for agency in relation to the same, and what are the implications for organizational transformation?'

Prior to addressing these research questions, a fundamental question related to the researcher's insider account and positionality is posed here as 'what kinds of ethical and methodological issues emerge from the practice of an insider? When is being an insider key to insightful analysis and when does it stand in the way?' These questions are extensively explored below in a discussion of epistemological issues.

Epistemological Perspectives

Trends

The meaning of a researcher being 'insider'or 'outsider' and the ethics and problems of attempting to represent a culture have been topics of heated debate within the fields of sociology and anthropology in recent years (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Wolf, 1992). Conventionally, social inquiry has been constituted within a discourse of control, objectivity and emotional detachment, contingent upon practices that embody 'objectivity, impartiality and disinterested observation (Lerum, 2001). Qualitative research has been based on the idea expressed by Denzin and Lincoln that:

> Qualified, competent researchers can, with objectivity, clarity and precision report on their own observations of the social world, including observations of others. Second, researchers have held to a belief in a real subject, or real individual, who is present in the world and able, in some form, to report on his or her experiences. (1994: 11-12)

As argued by Hardy et al. (2001), the growth of postmodern and poststructuralist work undermines both of these premises –that 'real' subjects can exist and that researchers can objectively report on them. Trends in anthropology reflect an 'intellectual turn' in the social sciences and humanities that, based on an increasing disenchantment with reductionist and conventional scientific knowledge, highlight the role of personal and institutional interests in their production (Marcus and Cushman, 1982). This contemporary post-positivist thinking emphasizes the subjective dimensions of human experience and their contextual nature, leaving "no place for invisible, omnipresent and authoritative narrators" (Mosse, 2001:165). Similarly, poststructural critics have attacked the notion of a 'reality' that can be conveyed as truth (Rhodes, 2000)

The growth of feminist studies has also precipitated a move away from positivism, as feminists argue for an approach that grounds analysis in the everyday lives of ordinary women to gain an understanding of social forces that maintain inequalities and the privileges of dominant groups (Smith, 1987). Feminists argue that as insiders, women are the best informants about their own lives: "the experience and lives of marginalized people, as they understand them, provide particularly significant problems to be explained or used as research agendas" (Harding, 1993: 54). There is now a growing body of autobiographical accounts of being a marginalized woman in academe (e.g. Bannerji, 1991; Carty, 1992; Katila and Merilainen, 2002).

Collins (1991) calls such women 'outsiders within', and claims that due to the combination of marginality derived from participation in systems of oppression with experience of socialization into a professional field, these women have an increased sensitivity to the distortions, invisibilities, and anomalies of their communities.

Critics of this post-modern approach object to the subjectivity of the researcher, and attempt, from a positivist orientation, to ensure objectivity through the use of certain techniques to reduce the effects of the researcher on the situation. These techniques include maintaining distance by using observation and other methods in which interaction is kept to a minimum (Davies, 1999).

Interest in ethnography –an anthropologically-oriented method based on close contact with the everyday life of the studied society over a long period of time (Wolcott, 1995) - has been increasing in recent years amongst scholars of diverse disciplines. Gellner and Hirsch argue that this is part of the intellectual history of the human sciences, which is 'marching away' from positivism. They claim that the discovery of the 'client's point of view' is an aspect of increasing democratization and a critique of existing power relations (Gellner and Hirsch, 2001: 1-2).

Ethnographies conducted by researchers who are themselves insiders and actors within the studied situation are considered by many scholars of organizational studies (notably van Maanen,1988; Rosen, 1991; Hayano, 1979; Tedlock,1991; Alvesson,1993; Kondo, 1990; Prasad and Prasad, 2002) to be effective ways to study day- to- day enactments of power, agency and resistance. According to Schwartzman (1993), the number of ethnographic studies of researchers' own institutions and groups has increased over the past few decades (e.g. Adler, 1985; Turkel, 1984; Jeffcut, 1994; Alvesson, 1993; van Maanen, 1973), yet in the opinion of some scholars (notably Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000; Calas and Smiricich, 1999; Rosen, 1991), the method is more talked about than used. Van Maanen notes that the changing notion of culture articulated by social scientists such as Clifford and Marcus (1986) precipitated a trend amongst organizational ethnographers (e.g. Pettigrew, 1985; Schein, 1985; Crapanzano, 1985; Feldman, 1986) to depict it as contested and ambiguous –what he considers a more accurate characterization of lived cultural experience.

Part of what is seen by many of these scholars as a positive aspect of ethnography is reflexivity. There is a close relationship between subjectivity and reflexivity, though the two are not identical. Reflexivity involves considerations on ways in which research is carried out and understanding how the process of doing research shapes its outcomes (Clegg and Hardy, 1996). Through self-referencing, reflexivity helps to identify the role of the researcher herself in the construction of observations that become data and reality, expressing an awareness of her connection to the research situation and her effects on it.

Reflexive studies have been increasing amongst anthropologists since the early 1970s; more recently, scholars in other fields such as organizational studies and development studies have demonstrated their growing interest in these as well (e.g. Alvesson and Skoldberg, 1999; Chia, 1996; Holland, 1999; Linstead, 1994, Willmott, 1993; Gellner and Hirsch, 2001; Mosse, 2001). Mosse notes that in at least some of these contexts, ethnographic approaches are employed reflexively as well to better understand practices within development organizations. A fuller recognition of the role of reflexivity has moved researchers beyond attempts to objectify the research experience towards an acceptance that in social research, "the specificity and individuality of the observer are ever-present and must therefore be acknowledged, explored and put to creative use." (Okely, 1996: 22).

Van Maanen views most ethnographies as conventional realist tales that are restricted by the almost complete absence of the author from the text. "Ironically, by taking the 'I' out of the report, the narrator's authority is apparently enhanced and audience worries over personal subjectivity become moot" (1988: 46). Such realist conventions, he believes, restrict the intermingling of the author's voice with the presented reality and make the account less able to reflect the complex and ambiguous nature of reality. He makes a plea, in their stead, for more 'impressionist' tales that can weave the personal field experiences of the researcher into the ethnographic account, documenting relationships and dynamics between researcher and subjects and between researcher and political authorities, as well as emotional dilemmas faced by researchers:

> Impressionist tales leave cultural representations open and subject to debate, not because methods are weak, but because such ambiguity is an accurate characterization of lived cultural experience (Van Maanen, 1988:127).

Van Maanen's own tale of life with an urban police force in the United States and Kondo's account of life as an employee in a Japanese factory point to the value of insights gained through direct participation with members of research settings. Kondo argues that her enthusiastic participation in her friends' lives was essential before she could step back to discern the meaningful order in everyday life and understand its significance in relation to people's construction of selves as multiple, gendered and crafted within contexts of power (1990).

Marcus and Fischer (1986: 45) suggest that 'ethnographies of experience' have been effective at focusing on the person, self and the emotions – all topics difficult to probe in traditional ethnographic frameworks –to get to the "level at which cultural differences are most deeply rooted: in feelings and in complex indigenous reflections about the nature of persons and social relationships."

Such an approach is well suited to the focus of this research, on the deeper, cultural aspects of organizations. Some feminists have argued that organizational culture is a valuable heuristic for the study of organizational gendering and workplace discrimination (Gheraldi, 1995; Mills, 1988; Morgan, 1988; Smircich, 1985). The use of autobiography in ethnographic research has been inspired by feminist debates that argue for politically engaged research that must be grounded in the experience of gendered oppressions, with the intent to challenge them (Davies, 1999). In methodological terms, feminists employ alternative approaches that are believed to be as more in harmony with women's perspectives, allowing personal experiences and

understandings to come into the analysis (Acker *et al.,* 1991); giving voice to women in research is also an objective of their approaches. Stanley (1992) provides an example of a feminist researcher who is her own key informant. Her work is informed by feminist practice, both as a political movement and as an academic approach. She uses reflexivity to the relationship between researcher and other to understand the effects of patriarchal structures on women and to subsequently reconceptualize their individual responses to these structures to effect structural change as well as change individual lives.

In the same vein, I argue that in order to understand an organization, we need to know what it means to those involved. According to an axiom, "if you want to know reality you must try to change it." (Volken *et al*., 1982 quoted in Uphoff, 1992: 275) As Mosse argues (2001:164), "there is a methodological premise that intervention and change make visible certain structures underlying social systems which are otherwise invisible." My formal position as INORG's gender specialist and an accompanying partial autonomy to design a gender mainstreaming strategy provided me a unique opportunity and legitimacy to analyse its 'inner workings' and processes of sense making.

Despite my own poststructural leanings, I recognise the need to describe how my approach addresses the methodological questions posed by more traditional empirically-oriented research that is driven by positivist, 'scientific' understandings of the nature of 'truth'. The following paragraphs describe how reflective methods are used to address these challenges.

Addressing epistemological challenges through reflexivity
While relevant for social science in general, issues of reflexivity are particularly important for ethnographers close to their own communities. An understanding of theorising in organization studies as a political and a personal process rather than merely a neutral, truth-seeking operation exemplifies reflexivity (Reason, 1988; Marshall, 1992).

Cynthia Hardy's suggestions of ways to enhance reflexivity (2001) are useful mechanisms for researchers to remind themselves that all empirical data is the result of interpretation, and that the knowledge generated is that of a collective endeavour involving the researcher and the research community (Linstead 1994; Hardy et. al., 2001). Similarly, Alvesson offers pointers for doing self-ethnography (1999b). The approach described below attempts to address methodological challenges through specific methodological designs incorporating Hardy's and Alvesson's points.

Closeness
Ethnographers grounded in the subjectivist position value the total immersion and identification of the researcher with the subject of study. But the logic of realist and positivist science questions the authenticity of this research, believing that knowledge about the 'natives' is possible only from an objectivity implied by distance.

This is basically a problem of distance from the community studied; of the researcher's identity and the degree of 'neutrality' and objectivity that he or she is able to bring to the study. An insider is considered in the traditional 'scientific' approach to be too close, too subjective and too

emotionally attached, thereby confusing subjects and objects and making it impossible to make neutral observations.

Alvesson describes the problem of "mastering closeness and distance"- learning to read culture so that something of a broader, theoretical nature can emerge from the research (1999b: 7). In response to this dilemma, he proposes a method of 'self-ethnography' in which the researcher studies a setting in which s/he is an active participant, on equal footing with other participants, using her/his knowledge, experiences and access to empirical material for organizational research. Unlike a typical ethnography in which an outsider enters into a setting in order to study it, a researcher doing self-ethnography is not primarily oriented to studying the setting, but does so to utilize her/his position for the secondary purpose of doing research (the first purpose often being that of employment). The term may be interpreted as an indication of narcissism on the part of the researcher, but the intention is to carry out cultural analysis and not introspection in order to acknowledge and utilize subjective experience as an intrinsic part of research. Such a reflexive approach is necessary to make sense of the researcher's effects on the respondents and the research process itself.

Alvesson offers self-ethnography as a way to breakout (and not break in, as in most ethnographical studies) from what is taken-for-granted as an insider to the setting, and thus create knowledge through the interpretation of acts, words and material from a distance. What is needed is the researcher's sense of a 'lack of fit' in the culture being studied, so that there is a disruption of common sense, the occurrence of surprise, and a tension that demands explanation. This makes the researcher conscious of difference, and allows her/him to break away from personal and paradigmatic blindness. As a research method, it has the potential to reveal a deeper, 'truer' knowledge of the setting, more well-grounded in experience and observation, than that found in typical anthropological research.

I argue here that my identity as a white, American female professional in an organization situated in South Asia and dominated by South Asian males with conservative worldviews qualified me as an 'outsider within', thereby granting me the 'distance' to view the cultural norms without taking them for granted. In addition, there were some events during my 11 year tenure that took me by surprise, and compelled me to seek explanations for the way others shunned me or accepted me. When my role changed from that of forester to that of gender specialist after I had spent six years there, I noticed a sudden turn in the way my male colleagues interacted with me. I was no longer accepted as 'one of the boys' – most likely I never had been, but I had not been aware of the difference. Nor was I accepted as a forester. With the change in status came an awareness within myself of the 'oppression' that I was experiencing. I felt that I had lost my sense of self somewhere along the line, as I attempted to integrate myself into their world and meet their expectations. This invoked a curiosity as to whether other females within the organization faced similar struggles with their identity or shared similar forms of 'oppression'. As I gained knowledge and awareness, a gnawing sense of discomfort led me to search for the causes of such consternation and finally an interest to link my personal struggle to a larger body of theoretical knowledge in a sense making process.

Due to the nature of the research questions posed and my personal and professional goals for organizational transformation, this narrative represents a genre of feminist epistemology derived

from women's lived experiences. In Rose's words, " reliable knowledge is knowledge from below" (Rose, 1994: 32) expressing her view that such transformative knowledge is more to be trusted than the standpoint of the dominant group of men whose view of the world is shaped by their interest to reproduce the status quo. And yet, the path to such knowledge must maintain an awareness of the epistemological dangers posed by the choice.

Bias
Bias refers to the interest of the informant, consciously or not, in skewing the data, and is a major challenge to insider accounts. Wicks and Bradshaw (2002) note that observational studies are themselves influenced by the values of the researcher, which determine the way in which data are observed, described, classified and understood. The stronger the bias suspected, the less the value attributed to information from that source. What is critical to the criticism of bias is to ask who is speaking and with what purpose. Information believed to be biased from a single source is to be complemented with information representing the opposite opinion. As Mosse (2001: 177) points out,

> Ethnographers are not themselves independent from the relations of power within which information is nested. We are aligned to certain perspectives rather than others; we have points of entry to negotiate and confidences to maintain. And we use information strategically to pursue particular ends.

And yet, as Alvesson notes, it is only one small step to further conceive of 'bias' as 'perspective' (2000: 73), thus removing the negative meaning of the term and seeing the partial nature of the reality. Reason (1988:11) uses the term 'critical subjectivity' to describe self-reflective attention to one's positionality and awareness of how one's perspective shape one's understanding and action. Noting that research is potentially both a personal and political process, Marshall (1992) observes the parallels between researchers of gender and the processes they study. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) point out that the gender of the researcher is significant because it is a defining and delimiting factor in the eyes of the respondents. Smith (1994) speaks of a feminist perspective that illuminates issues of equity, power, social structure, agency, self-definition and the interlinkages amongst these through women's narratives.

Additional issues of power and status, such as visible differences of class, race, and ethnicity can affect personal attitudes and stereotypical responses, as can differences in professional background and sexuality (e.g. Kondo, 1990; Kunda, 1992). All this points to the researcher's embeddedness in a social context in time and place, and in relation to others.

In order to reduce the degree of personal and systematic bias in the collection and interpretation of the data, I used a variety of methods, and cross-checked data through the juxtaposition of texts, narratives, symbols and participant observation. Observations over long periods of time, along with the occurrence of chance events, revealed 'invisible' stories and information that sometimes surprised me. This surprise was noted in the text when it occurred, and served to remind me of my own boundaries of knowledge.

As stated above, a wide range of organizational members provided inputs to the data collection to view the meanings behind social practices from a number of different perspectives. Women

and men of various nationalities, ethnicities, castes, ages, and professional levels were interviewed and observed in various settings, both formal and informal. Members of the socially and politically dominant groups were represented as well as members of the marginalized groups, though within this text, the marginalized groups are privileged.

Key informants were selected on the basis of their particular knowledge of the processes that lead to gendering; often these were female members who had experienced a 'lack of fit' or sexual discrimination within the workplace and who were familiar with the dominant discourses as well as their own perspectives from 'below'. Members of minority groups within the organization who were also able to see the organizational reality from more than one dominant viewpoint are well-represented throughout the material. Documentary materials are representative of the 'view from above', as they were often edited by the management to 'put on a good public face'.

Ways to address criticism of bias include allowing different voices to pervade the text, and acknowledging that not all possible voices are expressed or are expressed on equal terms. Another way is to surface different meanings. I try to avoid over-generalization to allow ambiguity and diversity to come up where it exists. I also make extensive use of direct quotes of several 'informants' to allow the reader to make his or her own interpretations of data, and to include reflexive points in each chapter pertaining to the inclusion or exclusion of some voices over others. Another way employed is to acknowledge the construction of the text by the researcher, stressing the central element of interpretation, rather than the representation of 'truth' or reality on the basis of collected data.

This is not a neutral description of INORG, so I have used 'I' or 'we' to make evident my own role in the construction of the story, in what Geertz refers to as the "burden of authorship" (1988:133). I am the authoritarian in the production of this text, either directly through my own voice or through my selection of what quotes to include and what to discard. I have here privileged the voices of the women affected by this event. Even though my construction of the story attempts to create a sense of the multiplicity of meanings, I am inevitably creating a sense of meaning in the process. Through the production of this text, I am asserting my self-identity in a way not possible inside the organization.

Accessibility
Access is usually one of the greatest constraints of organizational researchers. In this respect, my insider status proved advantageous. As a long term, senior professional staff member of INORG, I was afforded access to many meetings, events, publications, and informal gatherings where my presence was expected and never questioned. From my position as Gender Specialist, I interacted with staff at all levels, providing me with access to the stories and concerns of women and men with whom I would not otherwise have had much contact. In this way, I was able to observe the organizational behaviour of diverse organizational members of varying nationalities, ethnicities, religions, and hierarchical levels so that I was able to view the gendering of the organization from as many perspectives as possible.

The disadvantage of this position, however, is its exclusion from inner circles of power and resulting inaccessibility of important information. Would an outsider be in a better position to

take an interview with a senior male manager? In my case, the politicized nature of my position as 'gender specialist' granted me access to the circles of women that I would not normally interact with, and granted me the opportunity to gain their trust. But it was the opposite with the group of men, who had previously allowed me into their domain. Once I became the 'gender person', I was treated differently, with some degree of distance and suspicion that denied me access to information from them.

And yet, had I been an outsider, I might have been more ready to take as authentic the 'polite untruths' that are, according to Alvesson, very often provided by managers to embellish their company's image (2000). My personal contact with respondents may have minimized the problem of interviewees telling what they think the interviewer wants to hear. When interviewers express empathy and trust, interviewees may respond by providing accounts thought to be valuable for the researcher.

Mosse acknowledges the need for development organizations to present positive self-images for legitimation and financial solvency (2001). This strong desire of organizations to represent themselves as harmonious and well -integrated requires organizations to filter and regulate information flows, determining which versions of reality are legitimate. Noting the difficulties in obtaining access to information in development organizations, Mosse states that "contrary to the tenets of academic research, in organizational settings information is rarely viewed as a 'public good' " (2001: 176). Its flow is controlled, guarded, and restricted by individuals. This means that there can be powerful individual and collective resistance to any exploration of everyday practices.

To address this problem of exclusion, I used various methods to obtain information about members who were inaccessible. In the same way I recorded stories of the women who came to my office, I took notes of the stories about the dominant men told by other men, sometimes revealed in an informal and relaxed setting. Other information was revealed in the more formal interview process. Some of the more revealing and interesting stories were told to me second hand, by informants who were 'insiders' to groups and individuals not likely to confide in me. This information was cross-checked with other informants and through observations. Still, the authenticity of these accounts cannot be attested to with the same degree of reliability as other information.

Using another technique to enhance reflexivity, I kept a personal journal to record my own significant events, feelings, and insights experienced over the two years of collecting data. After completion of an interview I recorded my impressions of the process, the participant's behaviours and expressions, the points that seemed most significant to them and the points which surprised me. I also noted my own behaviour during the interview, with comments as to how that may have affected the results. At the end of each interview, I asked questions about how the participant perceived me, and/or how s/he believed others perceived me. This lead to some significant insights and surprises that were perhaps opened up to me because of my imminent departure from the organization (these were conducted between January and May of 2001, when I had already officially 'left' INORG, though stayed on as a part time consultant).

Ethics

Ethics are an important consideration of insider accounts within organizations in relation to three aspects: permission, confidentiality and ownership of the results.

Upon the commencement of this research project, I informed the Director General (DG) and Deputy DG of my intent, providing them with copies of my nine-page research outline. Although they did not express any opinion to show that they viewed the study favourably, they did not try to prevent me from undertaking it. One and a half years later, a new management team arrived who stated their interest to engage in an organizational development process within INORG. I had hoped that this new team would look upon my research as an opportunity to gather a more in-depth understanding of the processes and practices behind the culture of the organization, including those practices that maintained the marginalized status of women at INORG. Despite the anthropological background of the new DG, he stated that his role as manager made him concerned with the possible publication of the research findings. Yet he never tried in any way to suppress the work.

The research was therefore not covert, and many staff knew of it and expressed their interest and support for it, as part of our own organizational reflections on gender issues. Most of the material was of a public nature, and required no special permission to obtain.

Confidentiality is most relevant to the contents of the individual interviews I conducted (see Annex A for more details on interviews and their limitations). Most of the other data was either in the public domain, or was gained through my own participation in meetings and events. As a regular staff member, I was privy to 'confidential' knowledge about people and activities on a continual basis. At the time of hearing such stories, I did not warn the speakers that the data might be used in the thesis, as it did not occur to me to do so. Only in interviews did I appear to act in ways associated with that of a researcher (asking questions, tape recording information, etc.); it was only at this time that staff were specifically told of the research and informed that their information would be confidential. None expressed disapproval or discomfort with this, even when asked.

But how to protect confidentiality in an ethnographic case study that relies on members' subjectivities and agency to develop an argument? It seems there is not much that is possible; I am not able to hide the identities of the organization and some individuals who are recognizable to those familiar with the region and development organizations operating there, but this cannot be avoided. I could only change the names of the organization and its members, and delete specific references to their identities wherever possible. However, these cannot always be protected, as some of the data requires specific identification to interpret its meaning.

As an insider, my interviews may have elicited more of members' personal emotions than they would have revealed to outsiders conducting research, based on their trust and intimacy with me. This raises questions of ethics in the publishing of this thesis; as confidences given to me because of shared understandings and empathy are reframed, and used for purposes which may not be the same as purposes of the participants.

A reflexive text must take into account the ownership of the text. If the text constructs 'reality' and its subjects, then how can the author claim to 'represent' these actors? The construction of a

research subject is always a political act - the outcome of a struggle shaped by the power relations of the participants (Knorr-Cetina, 1981). Research can affect the organization by feeding the results back into it, which is equally political. If the researcher engages influentially in the research setting, and evokes different constructions of the actors and organization than those of the researcher, ethical issues are raised. (Phillips and Hardy, 1997). In this case, reflexivity does not provide a solution, but serves to remind us of the importance of these dynamics.

Feedback to organizational members
Organizational research undertaken from a poststructuralist perspective should incorporate a process by which the interpretation of events and meanings is communicated back to the research participants to check for errors caused by bias and misinterpretation. This was initially planned for, within the larger framework of a process of organizational development research to be supported by the INORG Management. However, due to delays in its implementation, this formal incorporation of research findings was not possible, as the writing up of this text occurred only after my departure from the organization. Some feedback on an informal basis with some participants occurred through email communication for the next two years, and in one meeting with INORG colleagues during a visit to the office in 2003.

Though my interest is to provide the organization and its members with this text as a way to increase organizational learning, it may not be possible to do so without arousing accusations of betrayal and misrepresentation that could serve to derail any learning process. This cannot be avoided, as there is a larger need for this thesis to be disseminated, to contribute to the body of knowledge and to assist women and men engaged in similar processes in other organizations. Indeed, many scholars and gender professionals have already indicated their interest in this experience and knowledge, as there are very few similar studies available in the literature.

Generalizability: The Case
Criticism of the case study approach may point to this text as an individual body of knowledge whose relevance does not go beyond the organization in question. It may be viewed as 'narcisstic' by some, as it is both personal and emotional. Yet this does not mean that it is limited to my own experiences, as it is embedded in the cultural 'fabric' of the organization , which had a shared identity that I was a part of. This narrative is then a story that is as much collective as personal.

The research findings are described in a case study format, involving a number of various methods to provide a thoroughly described frame of reference for both the reader and researcher to make interpretations. Case studies are useful for providing an understanding of areas of organizational processes that are not well documented, and which are not amenable to investigation through fleeting contact with organizations. My prolonged involvement with one organization allows historical events to be interconnected over a long period of time, thus aiding the process of inference and, according to Hardy (2001), reducing bias. The aim of the case study approach here is not to generalize the findings from this small sample to a larger population, but to engender patterns and linkages of theoretical importance, to make the data meaningful for the topic of study, and sensitive to the cultural, local and broad contexts.

Construction of the Text
For an ethnographer doing reflexive organizational research with a poststructural foundation, the write up of the text assumes an importance that is not found in more traditional ethnographies. An understanding of the contextuality of knowledge means the author must take responsibility for making the reader conscious of her choices, her labelling of what is significant and what is not by including, excluding, favouring and concealing some people, some questions, some forms of representation, some values, and some observations. The writing must reflect the awareness of the author of the representational force that she brings to the text, either directly through her own voice or selection of what information to include and what to discard. Though I attempt to demonstrate that there exists a multiplicity of meanings, I am inevitably creating one sense of meaning in the process, which hopes to be plausible and convincing, but which does not attempt to claim the hegemony of truth. Instead, I hope that it can provide readers with an alternative view of organizational life from a gender perspective.

Conclusion
Throughout the construction of this text, epistemological concerns related to the positive and negative aspects of my insider positionality will be analyzed. When is being an insider an advantage and when is it a disadvantage? Each chapter and its conclusions will include reflections on how my insider status may have affected the construction of knowledge; this will be further elaborated on in the final conclusion.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Foundations

2.1   Introduction

This chapter will employ two theoretical strands to address the research questions. Epistemological theories related to insider approaches of relevance to the entire thesis have been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter will begin with a review of organizational theories, including those of feminist organizational analyses to inform aspects of the organizational structures and cultures that address the second and third research questions, discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. Practice theory is elaborated as a way to fill in perceived gaps in these theories by recognizing the interplay between structure and agency, using an insider approach as described in the earlier 'Approach' chapter. A second focus on concepts of power, agency and resistance and subjectification is salient to the analysis of organizational structures and practices as they are produced and reproduced as well as to enactments of agency and resistance discussed in Part III.

In the conclusion, these theoretical perspectives will be brought to bear on the main contribution of this thesis: an application of theory to further the understanding of how gender relations within organizations are negotiated by different actors with different interests to construct, maintain and challenge the status quo. The link between these negotiated outcomes and the design of effective interventions for gender equality will be discussed in section 'Moving Forward' of the conclusion.

2.2   Organizational Theory

Organizational theory has been for many years involved in a debate with Max Weber. His seminal elaboration of the ideal bureaucracy (Albrow, 1970) greatly influenced the thinking about organizations. The first interpretation of Weber's writing and the one that has dominated organizational thought throughout most of this century is a model to solve the problems of organizing. The prescription specifies a rigid hierarchy, top-down communication, specific role definition, and the separation of public and private aspects of life. Weber laid out the characteristics of classic Western bureaucracy as distinguished into different areas of jurisdiction, with a hierarchal structure allowing supervision and control of subordinates, the use of written files, specialized training for workers, full time commitment from workers, and the use of rules (1967). This type of bureaucracy both constructs gender relations (through the construction of a subordinate female workforce, etc.) and draws upon the resulting gender configuration (Witz and Savage, 1992).

In response to criticisms of the structural-functionalist model (e.g. Pettigrew, 1973; Clegg, 1989), organizations began to be viewed as symbolic constructions. It is now widely accepted that organizations can only be understood by considering their informal ordering as well as formal procedures (Giddens, 1984; Morgan, 1986). The structural conditions for organizations do not determine the actions of actors within those organizations. The formal shell of the organization is necessary, but the use to which it is put and the arrangement of the internal parts is up to the members.

On an analytical level, structural conditions of organizations and the practices of actors within those organizations are separated. But these are inseparable, since just as organized structures

determine people's actions, so do people determine the organized structures. Each enduring organization develops a unique way of mediating these pressures and its own value rationality (Merton, 1968; Gouldner, 1954). The particular discourses and practices that achieve this are its organizational culture. If we look at organizations as cultures, they appear as webs of meaning that are constructed through the everyday practices of actors. Attending more closely to the process rather than the organizational chart will reveal how organizational practices are related to ideas about their proper purpose and rationality.

In the last few decades, organizations have been conceptualised as cultural systems rather than objectively material and technical ones (Roper, 1994). This has led to an interest in the role which organizations themselves play in reproducing inequalities, such as those of gender. Organizational logic – the design of jobs, functions and divisions of labour- and the very theories of organization have been found to be gendered. Organizational culture, as the deeply embedded systems of beliefs and practices, is a core component of the organizational behaviour described within organizational theory.

Two approaches to understanding organizational culture have been described by Smircich (1983), Alvesson (1993) and Schultz (1995). The first –functionalism- treats culture as something that can be influenced or manipulated and that in turn, influences and manipulates members of the organization. This functionalist view has characterised much of the prolific writing on organizational/corporate culture for the last fifteen years (e.g. Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman 1982; Handy, 1985; Turner, 1989).

By contrast, the alternative approach –symbolism- adopts a social constructionist view that culture is about the construction of meanings, and is therefore specific to an organization (or a part of an organization) and its larger context (see Douglas, 1986; Gheraldi, 1995). The culture of all organizations is characterised by ideologies and theories which define the raison d'etre and circumscribe its missions and objectives. Organizations gain legitimacy through reason, and then provide their members categories of thought through which sameness and identity are conferred (Douglas, 1986). These meanings are understood to be subjective and multi-dimensional views of reality, whilst in the functionalist approach, they are assumed to be shared and objectively real and discoverable.

Feminist Readings of Organizational Theory
Until the 1980s, there was little exchange between organizational studies and feminist research due, in part, to the different research cultures of the two disciplines – one of well-funded male academics serving male managers, the other a critical, anti-establishment group appealing specifically to women. But it also reflects a major difference in the way the two disciplines were located in social theory: organizational studies integrated into an instrumental way of thinking, feminism was located within a stratification way of thinking that analysed social divisions in terms of class, based on a macro-level social structure, such as capitalism or patriarchy (Walby, 1986). Hence stratification tended to be seen as anchored in social structures, or in the system of norms and values.

Organization theorists were not particularly interested in gender, and feminist theorists had little interest in organizations, except insofar as they provided examples of patriarchal practices. Clegg

made the links clear, arguing that organizations are "locales in which negotiation, contestation and struggle between organizationally divided and linked agencies is a routine occurrence" (1989:215). Organizations differ, and they do so due to the struggles waged by diverse social groups to obtain and resist power. This suggests that any common patterns of organizing are due not to any technical, functional imperatives but rather to the common embodiment of particular forms of social and power relations within them.

Missing Dimensions of Organizational Theory
Despite the fact that assumptions of gender neutrality in organizations have been strongly challenged by feminist studies, there still remains a pervasive representation of organizations as gender neutral (Acker, 2000).Ely and Meyerson (1999) argue that organizational theorists have failed to incorporate power into their conceptions of gender, hiding the role that organizations play in sustaining gender differentiation and oppression. Many view gender as a personal characteristic.

Another problem with organizational theories is that they give an impression of organizations characterised by stability and endurance rather than fluid and shifting patterns and ambiguities. As Alvesson (1998:17) notes, culture in the organizational literature is often treated as a 'thing', reduced to a few basic qualities and free from contradiction. Calas and Smircich (1992: 233) argue that most, if not all, organizational science is framed by constructs that are sustained by an ethos of individualism based on an "ahistoric and acultural self". Marcus and Fischer (1986) call for a view of cultural situations always in flux, in perpetually historically sensitive state of resistance and accommodation to broader processes of influence that are as much inside as outside the local context (1986:78) and which can be observed only over time.

Feminism itself overlooks the everyday interactions that create and sustain different forms of gender, including its inversions and evasions, as well as other manifestations shifting across time, place and culture. It rests on an assumption that other aspects of identity such as race, ethnicity and class are subsidiary to the more basic category of sex. By presuming a universal separation of men and women in public and private spheres of life, this tendency threatens to overshadow the diversity of perspectives and experience that develop as a result of historically and culturally specific social conditions (Ely and Meyerson, 1999). These notions have limited our understanding of gender, power and organizational behaviour.

Theorists of organizational culture have privileged managers and others vested with formal authority, viewing them as primary actors in the manipulation of organizational cultures. This emphasis on forms of structural power has obscured the agency of individuals other than formal leaders and managers as agents of reproduction and change. This has implications for the application of theories of organizational change in relation to gender equality and gender mainstreaming, whose leaders are, almost by definition, not members of the dominant group or members of management and who stand in opposition to the status quo. In the literature of organization research, there is little attention paid to the organizational members Meyerson (2001:16) calls "tempered radicals" – those who may be without the formal authority to lead processes of change, but who are nonetheless potential leaders and allies in organizational change processes.

Effective strategies for gender equality within organizations must be built on an understanding of how individuals of various backgrounds, positions, and bases of power are affected by social systems and how they in turn form and deform the system themselves. Individual motives and emotionality are significant components of organizational cultures that figure prominently in agendas of gender mainstreaming, and in narratives, like this thesis, that produce them.

The neglect of agency of organizational members other than managers has meant that organizational research has by and large relied on the data collection and analyses conducted by organizational outsiders permitted inside only with management's approval for short periods of time, thus missing a source of cultural richness and varying perspectives that would allow a better understanding of the complexities that characterise organizational cultures. At the time of the publication of Rosen's work (1991: 22), he stated that "research based on ethnographic fieldwork is almost totally absent from the administration science literature. This neglect of ethnography has not been based on a reasoned dismissal of the applicability of the approach for culture analysis. The argument has not been made that ethnography is an inappropriate and/or inadequate method for exploring organizational culture. In fact, the opposite case has been stated (Sanday, 1979; Smircich, 1983; Van Maanen, 1979)." And yet even today, there remain relatively few ethnographic 'narratives'.

Organizational change is an aspect of organizational culture that is highly dependent on the agency, subjectivities and identities of individual members (Maddock, 1999; Kanter, 1983). Some of these members enact resistance – a dynamic of organizational behaviour that Wilson (1992) and others (e.g. Cockburn, 1991) believe is crucial to the change process in organizations. And yet, as Ortner (1989) observes, many of the most influential studies in the field of resistance – a body of knowledge pertinent to this thesis - are severely limited by a lack of an ethnographic perspective. She and others (e.g. Sahlins, 1981; Wolf, 1982) have demonstrated that an understanding of the 'subordinates'' own forms of inequality and asymmetry is indispensable to an understanding of resistance. An exposure of Scott's "hidden transcripts" (1990: 42) by agents of resistance shows the "shifting alliances, shifting loyalties and shifting categories of subjectification" (Ortner, 1995: 183) that characterise resistance within organizations like INORG.

Ortner argues that resistance studies are 'thin' because they posit resistance as an unambiguous category, organized against a dominating force of institutionalised power and ignoring the internal politics and conflicts within dominated groups and the subjectivities of the actors engaged in the dramas. Filling in this 'black hole', as she calls it, would reveal the ambiguities and ambivalences of resistance itself. Based on evidence of the pervasiveness of this type of resistance, this thesis is informed by theories that address the relationship of the individual to the 'dominants', bringing in issues of consciousness, intentionality, identity and subjectivity.

This argument could be expanded to the studies of organizations as well. Organizational ethnographers have almost entirely focused on analysing the cultures and meaning systems of 'natives' assumed to be different from the 'expert' researcher (Prasad and Prasad, 2002). However, changes in the social sciences over the past three decades referred to by some as a 'narrative turn' (Czarniawska, 1998) have presented new opportunities for 'natives' to represent themselves, highlighting the role of personal interests and histories in shaping narratives.

Ethnographic memoirs or narratives publicise the personal component of the ethnography, allowing us to read it as only one interpretation amongst many, and to see 'natives' as active individuals. Such an approach offers the possibility to contest the conventional knowledge about organizational reality by emphasising the 'otherness' and unequal status experienced by some.

Practice Theory
A theory that could be employed to address the gaps in organizational theory's explanations of organizational reality is that of practice. Practice theory is a framework articulated by Bourdieu (1977), Sahlins (1981) and Giddens (1979) that focuses on micro-developmental processes to explore the dialectic between how we shape culture and how culture shapes us. Here the work of Sherry Ortner (1994, 1996) is specifically referred to for her contributions to the theory. Informed by feminist theory, Ortner's interpretation of practice theory raises questions about the multiple forms of power and resistance; the forms and degrees of agency; motives for action; the relationship of the private and intimate to large scale structural change; and the nature of identity in a world differentiated by race, ethnicity, class and gender. Taking individuals or social types as the 'acting units', the theory analyses people and their acts as a reference point for understanding the unfolding of events and the processes involved in the reproduction and change of some set of structural features.

Within this analysis it is crucial to keep in mind the two strands of structure and agency that are simultaneously in action, together and in tension with one another. Here it is critical that we recognise the power of dominant groups to represent the large hegemonies that privilege them while also seeing the limitations to their abilities to shape the world entirely in their image, and to disclaim any representation of groups as homogenous, recognising that for some individuals of these more powerful groups, it may not be in their individual interest to join the group actions in some contexts. Likewise, it would be an error to place too much insistence on the power of the weaker groups to resist or evade dominant discourses and practices, or to see them as unified in their actions and intentions. These continuous asymmetries of power and resources are what make up the "serious games" (Ortner, 1996:12) of social life - the relationships of cooperation and competition, solidarity and exploitation, allying and betraying.

Another theoretical approach that links individuals to structures is that of poststructural feminism. This approach redefines gender as an aspect of social structure that arises from individuals and their effects on organizations, practices, etc. In this view, gender differentiation and gender oppression are linked relational processes sustained by and transformed through social relations. Organizations then serve as historically–situated contextual constraints that can shape and reshape, create and recreate identity through formal and informal policies and practices (Ely and Meyerson, 1999). Halford and Leonard (2001) note that feminists have drawn on poststructuralist approaches to stress the transient and precarious nature of social relations, subject to continuous reconstitution by particular individuals in specific times and places. As a result, a key focus for poststructuralists is the locale and the individual.

One of the principle contributions of feminist poststructuralism to understanding gender has been its critical focus on assumption of stable meanings of gender, such as terms 'woman' and 'man', reinforcing essentialist beliefs. Poststructuralist approaches help us notice how categories of 'woman' and 'feminine' function as limits in our discourses and institutions. Identity is

constructed through discourses - the historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of knowledge and beliefs that frame and determine both social knowledge and understanding (Foucault, 1977). Thus, competing discourses within the organization will contain ideas about gender. The more powerful of these discourses (such as patriarchy) are able to claim the status of 'truth' (Halford and Leonard, 2001).

2.3   Power, Agency and Resistance and Subjectification
Informed by feminist theories, Ortner's interpretation of practice theory emphasises that power is a core element of gender at both the individual and structural levels of analysis, emphasising the link between the two. Foucault's poststructural notion of power as relational (1980) within a structure of dominancy is particularly salient to this thesis. He argues that actors are constantly negotiating questions of power, authority and the control over the definitions of reality.

Power in this thesis refers to three forms of power: functional, structural and poststructural whose theories are elaborated in Chapter 5. All three forms found expression in INORG, by various actors in differing contexts. A structuralist view sees that power is held primarily by members of one social group, but a postructural perspective explains shifting behaviours according to subjectivities, circumstances and settings rather than as acts of cohesive political groups. Poststructural approaches allow us to recognise and account for resistance and slippage.

Agency and Resistance
Agency is critical to arguments of power. Agents both enact and resist embedded formations of power. Foucault (1977) and Clegg (1989) deny any fixed set of interests which account for broader formations of power, but Halford argues that the overwhelming effect of these practices of power, when combined, supports an assumption of male dominance. Power is embedded in larger, societal systems of gender relations where it is perceived as 'normal' and so is reflected in the material and discursive aspects of organizational life. In order to persist, these must be continually maintained and enacted by everyday actions; they cannot be taken for granted. Individual perceptions of gender relations offer the possibility for change, as individuals interpret their situation in different ways. Exercises of power at the individual level may erode or transform embedded power relations at the organizational level. In this way, gender relations may change. As more people resist or modify the cultural assumptions, gender relations can change.

Resistance takes many forms. It is often defined as a form of an oppositional social movement in which people question and challenge the status quo in organized modes of expressions (Dirks *et al.*, 1994). But this focus on cultural resistance as a public activity overlooks resistance in the private sphere (perhaps not coincidently, a sphere traditionally thought to be a woman's place), where it may be viewed in terms of 'identities' or "attempts by actors within a given system to create and maintain coherence out of inconsistent cultural stuff and inconsistent life experiences" (Ibid: 18). Here, the practices of everyday life may be seen as replete with petty rebellions and discontent (Scott, 1985,1990; De Certeau, 1984) using strategies Scott terms "weapons of the weak" (1985:32). The subjects can no longer be viewed as only the effect of subjugation, though they may not always be a purposeful agent either.

Theories of resistance salient to this thesis go beyond the well-known and influential theories that limit the analysis of the politics of resistance to the relationship between the dominant and the subordinate, thus glossing over the internally contradictory and ambivalent individual acts of resistance that are due largely to internal political complexities (Ortner, 1995). Instead, resistance in this thesis is observed to be pervasive, ambiguous, and contextual, based on the actor's perspective and shifting friendships and personal conflicts.

Resistance, as interpreted in the following narrative, is an act to defend one's identity and integrity, one's worldviews; agency is an act that crafts meaning and generates identity construction but not necessarily in opposition to something. But the line between the two is thin and based on perspective. It can be argued that in this case, where gender norms are based on both structural and cultural systems of male hierarchical control and domination, resistance is best seen as those acts that are in opposition to these norms. Acts of resistance in this case are those critical incidents that declare to oneself and others that one rejects portions of the normative order.

A more precise and nuanced account of agency is required to explain differing motivations and ways in which individuals and groups struggle over, appropriate and transform cultural meanings. Acts thought of as resistance may transcend their immediate sphere to transform behaviour and norms, to craft meaning and identity, for themselves and others. This implies an autonomy of the actors, asserting the idea that actions do not emerge only from reactions to constraints and enactments of externally imposed power and control.

Subjectification
Practice theory also allows for making sense of the games of power and resistance that occur on a daily basis in organizations like INORG from the perspective of identity and subjectification. McNay (2000) argues for a theory of generative subjectification that delineates the creative aspects of agency that emerge from the construction of identity. Individual actors, representing multiple identities based on gender, ethnicity, class and race, enact one or more of these simultaneously, depending on the context and on how they want to position themselves within that context in order to suit their individual purposes and desires. In the background is always the strong influence of the larger ideologies at work - those that individuals inherit, so to speak, as part of their cultural upbringing related to the worldviews inherent in the religious, economic and political systems dominant in their families, schools, nations and communities. These external structures play a large role in the psychological development of women and men, but identity does not simply bear the imprint of these forces. As McNay argues, constraints to identity construction come from within as well as from outside: "individuals act in certain ways because it would violate their sense of being to do otherwise" (Ibid: 80). An understanding of the narrative construction of self-identity underpins an account of active, creative agency.

The focus of attention of this analysis is on the ways in which power and meaning are negotiated and expressed as people confront one another within the frameworks of their own various agendas, within the context of INORG. These agendas, set by individual purpose and intent, are not necessarily those of power and domination, and are often well-meaning encounters. Nevertheless, they express underlying differentiations of power and so are significant aspects of the organizational structures and cultures.

This analysis emphasises relations of difference, power and struggle and allows complex multiple identities to co-exist, such as those of gender and ethnicity that may even contradict one another. Claims of difference are a focus of identity construction, but so are issues of meaning, style, forms of relationships and practices. Outlining the historical identities of individuals and the factors that shaped them and the intents and purposes of organizational members helps to make sense of the power games that are played out within the organizational setting, thus giving some answers to the research question of the causes of persistent resistance to change for gender equality, showing how the rhetorical support for gender equality is so different from the actions of its dominant actors. It also addresses the question on how gender differentiations were produced and replicated and to the subsequent question of how INORG's culture in relation to gender changed, and why.

Chapter 3: The Case of INORG – Its Public Face
3.1   Introduction
This chapter sets the scene for the investigation of the second and third research questions by introducing the context. Here INORG is introduced, giving a sense of its mission, the context in which it operated, its basic organization and a description of its gender mainstreaming programme and its genesis. Chapter 4 will provide more detailed data on the ethos of the organization, and aspects of staff identities within it from the perspectives of insiders.

Information on the public image of INORG and how its members perceived their organization is gleaned through reports of retreats, meetings of working groups and comments by professionals outside of INORG. A more thorough discussion of the topic of organizational culture is found in Chapter 6, but no introduction to the organization would be complete without giving the reader a sense of its public face – how it looked and how it publicly distinguished itself from other similar organizations.

3.2   An 'International Regional' Organization
INORG was an international organization established in 1983, largely by a group of European scientists and UNESCO in response to a felt urgency to preserve the natural resources of the Himalayan mountain environment while simultaneously attending to the region's development needs. INORG is an independent organization governed by a Board of Governors and funded by some 15 countries and donor organizations. Its mission is to promote sustainable development in the Hindu Kush Himalayan range of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Myanmar, Nepal and Pakistan. With its multidisciplinary staff of about 40 professionals, it sought to fulfil its mandate through the mobilisation of knowledge and its dissemination by serving as a documentation and exchange centre, organising problem-solving research and training activities and providing expert consultation services to bridge the gap between research and development. But the organization was not intended to be a traditional research institute nor an implementing agency of development. Its target groups were government and non-governmental organizations with a mandate to alleviate poverty and/or sustainably manage the natural resources and improve the environmental condition in the region.

INORG was often called an 'ivory tower' by those outside of its walls. It was a place populated by the elite of the region, those who had obtained PhD degrees from Indian, U.S. and European universities mostly in disciplines related to economics, engineering and development planning. They were highly paid in relation to similar professionals of other international organizations in Nepal and the rest of the region. It was respected, largely, as a regional centre of expertise related to technology and mountain development, mostly communicated through documents published by its internal publishing service, but the language of communication was often highly technical, leading non-specialists outside of the organization to hesitate to seek knowledge from its staff. Knowledge was also disseminated through paper presentations at seminars and during lectures within trainings. One evaluation team summarised INORG's style as follows:
>   In actual structure and form of management, and in the way of handling its activities,
>   INORG follows to a large extent the paradigm of a conservative research institution.
>   Research is traditionally characterized by an emphasis on the 'right knowledge',
>   oblivious of the rest of the world and its developmental strains. Even if INORG thinks

otherwise, in some instances it is displaying those very ivory tower characteristics it would certainly like to avoid. (Consultant's report, 2000:6)
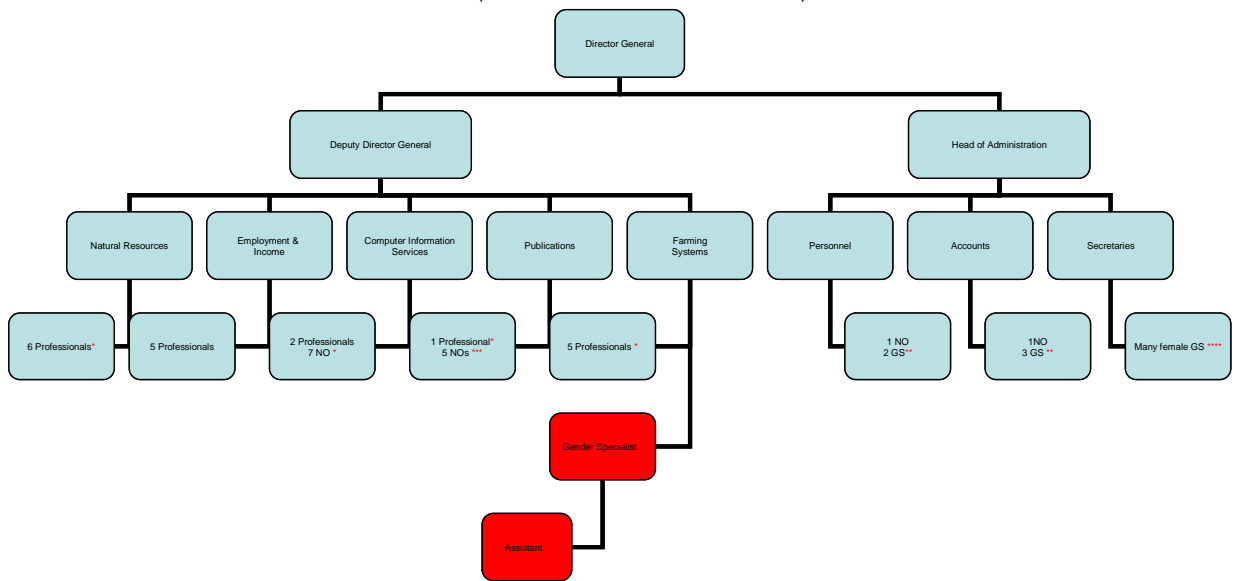
Because of the priority of this concept of 'right knowledge' and the internal structure around it through placement of staff as "specialists", there was a de-emphasis on other functions such as dissemination and utilisation of knowledge. Individual specialists were grouped in five thematic divisions (Departments of Farming Systems, Natural Resource Management, Employment and Income, Publications, and Computer Information), led by Division Heads.

Another aspect of INORG that resembled a traditional organization was the key role of its formal leader, the Director General. The use of the military word 'general' in its title reflected the importance of the man leading the hierarchy. In its history, the Board of Directors had purposefully selected candidates from the Western countries for this position, based on their assumptions that staff of developed countries would provide the organization with higher levels of both fiscal and performance accountability. (Board Meeting/notes/1999)

The organization had a management structure with three persons at the top, five thematic divisions staffed with professionals and administrative and general services staff at the lowest level of the hierarchy (see organogram in Diagram 1). At the time of this writing, INORG had over 45 professional staff, including both international professionals (26) and national officers (19). Since 1989, the staff fluctuated in number and in type. In 1990, the number of professional staff was only 24, three of whom were women and the rest mostly senior males from the region with PhDs. By 1998, there were 30 international professionals, five of whom were women (two of these left by the end of that year) and many more from outside the region. At the time of the internal evaluation in 2001, there were only three female international professionals or 11.5% of the total. This percentage had not changed significantly over the 11 years of my tenure at INORG.

The category of National Officers (NO) was created in 1995, bringing numerous younger Nepalese with Masters degrees to work on projects and in professional posts but without the same degree of autonomy, responsibility, status and salaries as international professionals. The creation of this category of staff brought more women into the organization. By 2000, there were 13 NOs, four of whom were women, bringing the percentage of women professionals up to 13% of the staff. There was also a large support staff numbering about 100 Nepalese. More detailed information on staff composition is in Table 1.

Diagram 2: INORG Organogram
(each * denotes one female staff)

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                          ┌──────────────────┐
                          │  Director General │
                          └──────────────────┘
                   ┌─────────────┴──────────────────────┐
        ┌──────────────────────┐            ┌──────────────────────┐
        │ Deputy Director General│            │ Head of Administration │
        └──────────────────────┘            └──────────────────────┘
   ┌───────┬───────┬───────┬───────┬───────┐      ┌───────┬───────┬───────┐
┌────────┐┌────────┐┌────────┐┌────────┐┌────────┐┌────────┐┌────────┐┌────────┐
│Natural ││Employment││Computer││Publications││Farming ││Personnel││Accounts││Secretaries│
│Resources││ & Income ││Information││          ││Systems ││         ││        ││          │
│        ││          ││Services││          ││        ││         ││        ││          │
└────────┘└────────┘└────────┘└────────┘└────────┘└────────┘└────────┘└────────┘
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| 6 Professionals* | 5 Professionals | 2 Professionals 7 NO * | 1 Professional* 5 NOs *** | 5 Professionals * | | 1 NO 2 GS** | 1NO 3 GS ** | Many female GS **** |

Gender Specialist

Assistant

A very distinct characteristic of the organization was its multi-cultural makeup. There had always been staff of at least six or seven countries of the HKH region and the West employed here, bringing together representatives of various religions, languages, races and ethnicities. Yet this very diversity had often been downplayed by the Management, reportedly in an attempt to limit the possibilities of interpersonal conflict in a region well-known for animosities displayed amongst neighbouring countries. (Ganesh/notes/1998) This effort to maintain political neutrality was a very conscious strategy that was declared in the original founding documents. Due to the often delicate and vulnerable positions of small countries in relation to the big powers in the region, this strategy was interpreted to meant that INORG was not supposed to act in anyway that could be considered controversial or political. Many staff debated this issue, wondering how anything could be done effectively without taking sides but the Management of INORG had strongly adhered to this position, with the concurrence of the Board members.

3.3   INORG's History of Gender Mainstreaming

The history of gender mainstreaming began in 1988 when INORG hosted a meeting of well-known women academics and activists from Europe and Asia to discuss how to give women and their knowledge greater prominence in the development dialogue, and how to persuade women to overcome inhibitions due to social values, the dominance of patriarchy, women's oppression and the lack of education. Strong feminist undercurrents dominated the meeting, which was attended by nine male INORG professionals. In the report, the meeting's heated debates about women's empowerment were watered down, and the group's final recommendations were limited to suggestions on how gender perspectives could be promoted within INORG through methods and practical approaches. Specifically, these entailed building the knowledge base about mountain women's contributions to their communities. (Second Regional Collaborative Programme /1998)

Due to a lack of organisational interest and the neglect of the Coordinators (including the Indian feminist), funding for further programme development was not forthcoming, despite the donor's interest. The same donor funded a small action research project focused on developing a women's group for agriculture and agroforestry in 1992, but no further actions were taken until 1995 when three factors precipitated the creation of a gender programme. First, poverty and social development had moved to the forefront of the development discourse by this time, creating a more conducive environment for gender equity, coupled with an emerging consensus on the relative advantages of participatory approaches (Miller and Razavi, 1998). The adoption of the rhetoric of participation within the INORG discourse created an opening for a more serious effort to introduce a gender programme than had existed in 1989.

Second, two women who had participated in the 1988 meeting had been hired as professional staff in 1989 - Anne and myself. Though I had been working as an Agroforesty/Forestry Professional in the Division of Natural Resources Management (DNRM), I had often voiced my opinion that INORG should have a gender programme. Anne had done the same from her position as Chief Editor.

The third and most significant factor was the hiring of the new DG in 1995. Gender issues had been neglected until Mulder, a Dutch national of about 55 years, reorganized the staff of INORG and initiated a long term planning exercise that included a focus on mountain women under the Division of Farming Systems (DFS). He created a new post, Women in Development Specialist, and offered it to me.

Mulder's creation of the Gender Programme was in part a response to donor funding opportunities, but also served to develop a public image of INORG as a modern, international organization. A female social scientist/gender expert who was a Board member gave impetus as well. There was also some degree of interest - perhaps not in the form of pressure - from about one-third of the Board members. The degree of influence varied, and even the major donors (Dutch, Swiss, and German) who supported individual gender and women in development projects did not press for gender mainstreaming within INORG's programmes.

Mulder's initiative to develop four year plans for INORG created a structural space for gender. In that plan (1995), it was stated that gender-balanced development was necessary to create opportunities for women to benefit from policies and technologies for sustainable development. Gender components specified attention to women's roles, activities, organizations, and indigenous knowledge, describing how these needed to be integrated into agricultural development. It was notable that all of these women-related activities were clustered under one thematic division - that of Farming Systems. Plans for the DNRM ignored women and gender completely, and the Division of Enterprises and Infrastructure (DEI) mentioned only a need to improve women's access to enterprise options. In addition, Management staff inserted a new topic, Mountain Children, and placed it under the auspices of the Gender Programme, with a statement in the planning document that women's primary concern is the welfare of their children.

In 1995, the Gender Programme started out by addressing the gap in knowledge of mountain women with a study on the situation of mountain women and gender relations within the eight countries of the region. This Fact Finding Mission employed women researchers from each country to assess the policies and programmes affecting mountain women, the institutions involved in gender and land use, issues considered important to women, and their perceived status within their households and communities. The results of these studies appeared in a book (Gurung, 2000), and were instrumental in the design of follow up activities. Other research contributed to the state of knowledge on women's indigenous knowledge in mountain societies.

The Gender Programme remained within the DFS from its inception in 1995 until my departure from the organization in 2001. Even before the four year plan was finalized in 1998, memos questioning the effectiveness of situating the gender mainstreaming programme within one division were sent to the DG. Two years later, strong pleas for a repositioning of the Gender Programme were voiced by the Division Head, gender experts, female staff and GWG to move it to a place where it could have a more institution-wide influence. The women of this group desired it to be placed in the newly established Organizational Development Department, under the supervision of the Management. Strong resistance to this idea by senior male staff and two DGs persisted for over four years for reasons not fully understood at the time by female staff and some of their male allies – one of the factors that motivated the sense-making need for this thesis.

In 1999, the organizational rhetoric shifted towards promoting the well-being of people by reducing poverty, inequality and marginality, and to improving the capabilities of organizations to promote sustainable development. In its second comprehensive planning exercise for 1999-2001, INORG for the first time delineated cross-cutting 'thrusts' based on issues that required multi-disciplinary attention rather than the more traditional division-based programmes. The new plan for 1999-2002 focused on five cross-cutting themes, including sustainable livelihoods, gender- balanced development, sustainable management of the commons, capacity building of development organizations, and information and outreach. The gender focus was recognised as an integral part of the main programme areas, but was presented separately because of the need for special emphasis in its early stages of development. In addition to the earlier activities on improved labour-saving options for women, the new programme included women entrepreneurs and professionals and children, while focusing on gender mainstreaming as a means of integrating gender concerns throughout the organization. The need to establish gender-sensitive workplaces, organizational structures and informal environments in order to support gender-responsive programmes at the field level was explicitly stated in the planning document. The need for partner organizations to develop gender sensitive practices and integrate gender into their own organizations was highlighted, as was the need for INORG itself to do so. The Gender Programme was still located within DFS, but was given authority to take the lead on this initiative. (Second Regional Collaborative Programme /1998)

Because of my background in natural resource management and the DG's intentional selection of me based on my orientation to this professional field, the Gender Programme naturally developed from a concern over the gender blindness demonstrated by agencies engaged in agriculture and water and forest management. With women playing major roles in these activities on subsistence farms throughout the region, justifying the move to establish a gender programme

was a politically expedient decision that could be easily defended. The DG chose to present the initiation of the gender focus within INORG as a practical response to the needs of farming systems rather than to calls for women's empowerment. He stated that his placement of the programme in the Farming Systems rather than the Natural Resources Department was based on the fact that women's primary roles were as household and farm managers rather than community decision makers (Mulder/notes/1995).

Until 2001, the Gender Programme was structurally supported only within the DFS and DEI Divisions, and was not present within the DNRM Division. Women's income earning activities such as those of sewing and knitting were commonly promoted by development agencies in the region; like other agencies, INORG did not structurally place gender in a division engaging with issues such as social forestry and water management.

In this way, the primacy of the discourse on technology and sustainable development rather than poverty provided the defining entry point for the gender agenda at INORG. Senior male staff did not resist this practical rationale for focussing on women and gender issues, as seen in a statement made within a Gender Committee meeting: "we should approach gender from a mountain development perspective rather than a gender and development perspective. The challenge is how to make women effective development partners." (Raj/GC minutes/1998) Other senior staff agreed that women "had to be taken along" in order to achieve the desired results. (Men's meeting/report/1998)

Though some senior men expressed support for the new focus on gender integration, it was clear that they and other professionals, including myself, were without the tools needed to proceed. To first address the need to build internal competency, I attended a two-week training course in Holland on 'Gender in Policies for Sustainable Land use' in 1995.

Based on what I learned in this course, I designed a strategy for gender within INORG. I envisaged gender mainstreaming as a way to promote improved sustainable development outcomes within the organization itself and its partners through the application of gender equality concepts, policy frameworks and empowerment methodologies, placing emphasis on learning, sharing and building competencies through participatory approaches and methods. Within the frame of the cross-cutting programme, I expected that professionals would become responsible for gender components relevant to each project they managed, and I outlined ways in to work closely with each staff member to promote synergies between programmes, including those other cross-cutting programmes on poverty alleviation, management of the commons, capacity building and information and outreach.

The plan was to create a cadre of change agents, comprised of professional and administrative men and women through their participation in the INORG sponsored- regional training on 'Gender and Organizational Development for Sustainable Mountain Land use in the HKH region' course. This participatory training course was designed by me and the Dutch gender trainers for male and female staff of agriculture and natural resources management institutions to build their capacities for gender-balanced development within their own organizations as well as in relation to their target groups. From a group of universities, research centres, government agencies, and NGOs that had demonstrated a commitment to incorporate gender concerns into

their programmes, women and men in key positions to guide the policies and strategies of the institution were invited to participate in the training. Spaces were reserved for about five INORG staff in each training. All participants were expected to initiate changes in their organizations' policies and strategies and act as catalysts for gender-balanced development, as according to the Action Plans they developed during the course.

Participating institutions received training and follow up support to gender-sensitize their planning mechanisms and to implement strategies for incorporating aspects of gender equity and equality in their work and organizations. With donor funds, the course was held annually for three years thus building up a critical mass of 56 trained women and men in key positions within 23 selected partner institutions, who were expected, minimally, integrate gender into their work and ideally, act as change agents to assure that these organizations themselves would become 'gender–sensitive' organizations. Of these participants, fifteen were INORG staff; In addition, we developed and conducted a Training of Trainers and Change Agents course in the last year of the project (2000) to build the capacity within INORG and its partners for training. Twelve persons considered most active and committed amongst those participating in the Gender and Organizational Development course completed the course: four of these were INORG staff, including one woman who was the DG's secretary.

Many outcomes of the Gender and Organizational Development course provided the structural and cultural foundations for the continued gender mainstreaming within INORG. There was a significant increase in the level of gender sensitisation within the organization and its partners. Within INORG, alumnae of the course constituted a Gender Working Group (GWG) made up of about equal numbers of men and women of the professional and administrative staff levels and headed by myself. No one from Management had attended the course, and the Division Heads who had did not continue long as members of the GWG. The GWG was formally accountable to the Gender Committee, headed by the DG and composed of all five Division Heads, Gender Programme staff and one other senior female staff. Monthly meetings of the Gender Committee were held; GWG meetings were held whenever necessary, but more frequently than the Gender Committee meetings.

In addition, the alumnae of the first and second years' course established a Gender Resource Centre on International Women's Day, 1999, within a spare room of one of the INORG buildings. This Centre was to be a depository of materials related to gender, as well as a place where men and women could meet informally, to hold lunch hour talks related to gender. It contained a kitchen, games and an exercise machine. Initially, it had been proposed as a space for women, but as that met with resistance it became a place for both sexes. In reality, it was used mostly by the female secretaries as a place to gather during the lunch hour and as site for the GWG meetings.

The Gender Unit, as the Gender Programme was sometimes called, consisted of two professional female staff - I and one assistant, Doma, a woman who had attended the course in Holland with me. She held a post-graduate degree in agriculture and had no prior training or experience with gender issues. We were the only two staff with explicit responsibilities for gender within the organization.

Five years after the initiation of the Gender Programme, a formal evaluation was conducted by an external consultant. She noted that attention, integration and commitment to increased gender equity in INORG was not even or systematic; gender had not been incorporated into all programmes, projects or divisions; there was no systematic process of incorporating gender in planning and design of programmes; and that proactive support rested with a few interested individuals, mostly women, rather than with the institution as a whole.

> Gender equity is generally considered to be a women's issue and a trivial concern; change in prevailing traditional attitudes about women and gender relations is slow and limited, in part because there are no women in senior management and decision-making positions, and steps taken to recruit women have not been successful (Moffat, 2001:5).

She also reported female staff's concerns that INORG was not a gender-equitable or women-supportive organization and did not have a gender-equitable personnel policy, and that female staff felt disempowered and isolated from decision-making processes

Despite these numerous weaknesses, the consultant noted that considerable achievements had been made, and had generated institutional awareness and acceptance, structures, capacity and most of the tools and processes needed to achieve gender equity integration. Beyond the acquisition of technical tools, however, the gender mainstreaming process was significantly affected by the social and cultural processes within the organization. An understanding of the ethos of the organization, including the social identities and groups within - is key to analysing the processes of gender construction and research questions addressed later in this thesis.

Conclusion
General information on INORG and the historical events that affect the gendering of the organization, and that led up to its programme on gender mainstreaming have provided contextual data to situate the research questions. The next chapters will address these questions in detail.

PART II: ORGANIZATIONAL ETHOS AND PROCESSES: SETTING THE STAGE FOR ENCOUNTERS
Overview
This section describes the organization in more detail, from an insider's perspective, attending to the contextual aspects that provide the history and social milieu that in part define it and set it apart from other similar organizations. Part II examines the organizational context of gender construction and reproduction at the meso-level - the site where paradigms, ideologies and hegemonies meet with micro-level practices undertaken by individuals acting out their specific personalities, histories, identities, and needs in relation to the organization.

Chapter 4 describes ideologies and paradigms produced and perpetuated within the larger cultural milieu that entered INORG through its members and through its communication with and linkages to the larger global society. It attempts to put forth these paradigms as background knowledge, to orient the reader as to the prevailing influences on cultures of the South Asian region. However, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, these are by no means the only factors determining the behaviours and practices of organizational actors.

Chapter 5 explores INORG's formal structures and practices related to power and decision making; divisions of labour; recruitment/staffing; promotions/rewards; communication; spaces for autonomy for men and women. Informal practices and the organizational cultures are described in Chapter 6 as power relations; leadership; values, norms and beliefs; masculine and feminine stereotypes; communication styles and collaboration.

An understanding of power and its expression is key to answering the questions on how organizational structures and cultures are affected by gender difference, and how, in turn, gender relations are affected by these formal and informal organizational features. Various theories of power are used to provide multiple interpretations to show how an individual's structural location and position within INORG affected their perspective on the organization.

Research questions to be addressed in this Part are sub questions of 'how are gender differentiations produced and replicated within development organizations?' These are as follows:

- How does the understanding of gender expressed in development ideologies and social values impact the culture(s) of an organization?

- What are the underlying assumptions and values of key actors within the organization, and how are these associated with masculinity and femininity? How do these influence organizational practices and social interactions?

- What are the predominant relations of power and dominance for men and women and how are these enacted? What impacts do these have upon the structuring and operation of organizations, and how, in turn, do these impact upon gender? Is there an intention amongst the dominant members to create and maintain the structures and practices of inequality? In what ways do organizational structures and practices constrain efforts to make organizations more responsive to women's gender interests?

Part II draws on insights from organizational theory in general, and from feminist organizational analysis in particular. Theories of power are referred to as well throughout Chapters 5 and 6, as that aspect of organizational reality pervaded the design and manipulation of structures and cultures, and affected individual behaviour throughout the organization.

Data for this section derives from interviews, observations, retreats, meetings, informal discussions and my journal. Reflexive observations are described in the conclusion of each chapter.

Chapter 4: Ethos and Identities
4.1   Ethos
INORG referred to itself as an 'international regional organization', articulated by its DG and many of its staff. The question of whether its culture was one of an international or regional culture was a common topic of discussion. Though publicly termed 'international', internally staff believed it to be more regional in nature; by this, they referred to the region of South Asia, and not China. The perceived high degree of hierarchy and centralised management style accounted for this opinion; staff often expressed their sense that the organization resembled their own South Asian government bureaucracies.

To what extent then was INORG as an organization defined in terms of the hierarchies present in the social structure of its regional members? In order to address this question, it is important to analyse some dominant social hierarchy features of Nepal and India (because they most clearly influenced the INORG culture).

In what was generally regarded as a critical assessment of Nepal's dominant caste Hindu group, a noted Nepali anthropologist (Bista, 1991) outlines the relationship of dependency, borne and legitimated in religious hierarchical concepts, that underpin traditional notions of hierarchy that permeate everyday social interactions. He argues that two powerful practices: *chakari* (to serve in return for favours) and *afno manche* (one's own people) are borne from this notion of dependent relationships between those in power and those who are subservient to them. Finally, the author argues that the practice of *chakari* and *afno manche* fundamentally determine the culture of modern institutions in Nepal.

Recently, and in more 'professional' writings of authors in the field of organizational development, similar views have been expressed of Nepali organizations. For instance, Afful (1998) and Manandhar (1998) argue that managers in Nepali organizations - public and private- act as "feudal lords in order to exploit workers" (Manandhar, 1998: 2).

Similarly, some researchers (e.g. Sinha and Sinha, 1995) describe Indian organizations as being defined in terms of a similar relation of dependency between superior and subordinates within the organization. It is suggested that the leader expects loyalty, compliance and submission in return for which the subordinates are provided patronage and affection.

While it is problematic to state with any certainty that the INORG culture was defined by these larger "caste Hindu" values that have been described above, there was nevertheless a general perception, particularly amongst organizational members who were 'outsiders/foreigners' and from non-Hindu Nepali ethnic communities, that a Brahmin-dominated hierarchy, maintained by a network of relationships, defined the organization's structure, work practices and values. For instance, a Chinese organizational member was perplexed by the inherent 'double standards' that emerged when the "organization tries to promote equity but the staff behave hierarchically" an observation that is supported by his observing the behaviours of the professional staff towards the drivers: "they don't eat with them and won't open the gate for them when they reach the agricultural farm." (Cheng/interview/2001) Such behaviour may have seemed all the more troubling since in much of China, drivers are treated as colleagues, and eat lunch at the same table as the scientists.

Among organizational members who were not part of the dominant Hindu caste hierarchy, there was the general perception that this particular influence underpinned the organizational hierarchy: "the Brahmanical influence here is so strong that if you say anything that is insulting to them they become defensive about their culture" (Anne/interview/2001). The dominance by members of the Hindu caste hierarchy was noted as well by a Muslim organizational member who viewed the selection of office holidays based on Hindu holidays as symbolizing the status quo in the organization.

INORG was a complex and multi-faceted organization that both insiders and outsiders found difficult to define by its mission and objectives. As neither a research nor development organization, it attempted to be at the 'interface' of the two. Many staff expressed confusion as to the real beneficiaries of their work - were they the mountain people themselves or the research and development organizations that worked directly with them? In a retreat in June 2000, the new DG clarified that it was the change agents working within organizations related to mountain development who were the focus of INORG's work. Until that time, however, many continued to espouse the rhetoric that they were working directly for poor mountain farmers and communities.

Professionalism
In many ways, INORG was characterised as an organization of professionalism and one underpinned by a paradigm of technology. Mulder, in particular, took pride in his achievement of transforming the smaller and more informal organization that he came to in 1994 into a well-known and somewhat respected 'scientific' international organization before his departure in 2000. Professionalism, defined as the ideas, values, methods and behavioural norms accepted and dominant in professions or disciplines, is a means to status, power and wealth. The concept of the professional as a technical expert is closely bound to the imagery of technology; professionals' claim to extraordinary knowledge is rooted in techniques and theories derived from scientific research undertaken in universities, based on the power of "Technical Rationality" (Schon, 1983:288).

The attraction of professionalism is the status that it brings -the acceptance and respectability that are bestowed by both peers and clients. It is characterised by a long period of education and training, including an induction into the specific profession, and high levels of competence in the subject matter. By and large, high status is obtained through patriarchal authority and high salaries. Most often, the professionals are men, situated in central urban areas, who deal with quantities rather than judgments, things rather than people.

The behavioural repercussions are manifold. In order to maintain one's expert knowledge, and therefore status and power, a professional needs to remain aloof (in an 'ivory tower') from others so as to control his/her own professional activities, and not get involved in messy, complex matters of people. Without being challenged by others with differing views, his/her understanding of reality fits easily into his/her existing worldview.

Part of this behavioural norm is to dominate and maintain distance from colleagues in order to preserve the order of authority over 'lowers' (Chambers, 1997). This can be done specifically through speech, by interrupting, lecturing, shouting and trying to mystify the audience; through

non-verbal behaviour such as positioning oneself in a room, gesturing, looking askance; through dress and technological gadgets, through association with (other) 'uppers' (thus mutually reinforcing the status of both parties); and through the denial and reframing of discordant information by discrediting those responsible, questioning the methods used, denying the evidence, or citing contrary evidence. All of these behaviours were observed within the professional gatherings of INORG staff.

The subject of integration - of topics, issues, programmes and even of staff - had been a point of perceived weakness and debate within the organization as staff described INORG as a place of individualised specialists:

> What the vast majority here values is 'expert knowledge': "we know what needs to be done". Any other attitude meets with resistance. There is a real sense of turf here - "this is my knowledge, it is not to share with you." I am disappointed with the lack of intellectualism here despite the dominant culture of pundits. We are all put in boxes. People think I am a livestock specialist, but I never studied livestock - I am an ecologist. The boss tells me I am a biodiversity specialist. (Sara/interview/2001)

Many staff perceived a large gap between what INORG said and did in terms of integration: "integrated, yet with specialisation put forth as the dominant manner of working." (Integration Working Group/meeting notes/1998)

Influence of the DGs
The DGs of the organization have always held a tremendous amount of power and influence. Analysing their behaviour and intentions was a common pastime. Their every action was replayed, interpreted and commented on by staff at all levels, most commonly during gatherings of staff at the canteen, tea breaks, smoking sessions, or other informal meetings. There was a great sense of importance and even urgency given to the ability to make sense of their meanings, due to the perceived need of staff to adjust behaviour to their liking. Those that did become close to them were admired by the others, and were presumed to be rewarded.

For the selection of the DG, even the members of the international Board of Directors based their decision, to some degree, on the cultural fit of the candidates: "Mulder followed local Asian patterns of management and leadership. Paul is a compromise. Board members of the regional countries voted for him due to his Asian ways but he acts like an American in many ways." (Board member/notes/2000)

From 1994 to 2000, INORG was managed under a very hierarchical and bureaucratic leadership. Many positive changes occurred during this time: significant increases in donor funds were available, staff salaries were increased according to a UN system framework, a four year comprehensive plan was developed, and staff were strongly encouraged to travel to member countries as much as possible to build partnerships with local and national organizations. Yet the organization became micro-managed from the top, with low delegation of authority and decision making power to professional and administrative staff. Staff morale suffered, and many did not feel the sense of ownership with the organization as they had in earlier years when "staff were more dedicated and innovative, and worked together in teams."(Ravi/retreat notes/2000) Most

staff members, including senior ones, grew fearful of speaking out and dissenting with the DG, stifling internal criticism and innovation.

Despite these working conditions that were considered unsatisfactory by many professionals, most stayed on with the organization. My own sentiments about INORG were mixed. I remained with the organization for many years, despite other job offers elsewhere, mostly because of its vision and the role I thought I could play within it. I believed that I could contribute to making organizations in the region more responsive to the needs of women farmers. In the first years of working, I often thought that the biggest contribution I had made was through my sheer physical presence. Without me, seminars and conferences would have gone on without a female professional in the room; if nothing else, my presence there served to remind them that there were others not represented in their gatherings (women). During most of my 11 years with the organization, I enjoyed the space and autonomy provided by INORG to design and implement projects of my own creation, to meet my own interests. Most recently, what had driven me was the challenge of transforming INORG itself so that it could better respond to the needs of the marginalised communities of women and ethnic minorities.

The new DG who arrived in 2000 seemed to share this vision of a reformed organization; at first he worked to reverse the distrust of management and attempted to impress the staff as an open, participatory leader. He promoted the idea of an organizational development process within the organization to build a more effective, committed and internationally competitive team.

4.2 Identities: The Other Actors
Amongst the organizational members, numerous social groupings existed and overlapped. The perceptions of which of these groups dominated differed amongst members interviewed, depending on their own positions and the context in which they viewed the behaviours of the other members. This section presents to the reader the most salient groups and their perceived characteristic, in the words of INORG staff members.

Caste-based
In interviews and informal discussions, many staff agreed that the organizational culture was dominated by South Asian males. "This is a culture of 'pundits'- pundits are of South Asia, from an 'expert' culture that is a man's world." (Sara/interview/2001) "INORG is multi-cultural, but South Asian culture dominates (Li/interview/2001).

Specifically, in this caste-conscious society, caste was singled out as a significant identifier, particularly by those who were not themselves high caste members, but felt disadvantaged by the caste system. "When I was hired in 1990, INORG was already top-heavy with Brahmins, very hierarchical; I could tell that men had no respect for professional women. Only DCI is not affected, they have their own internal solidarity by being all Newaris." (Anne/interview/2001)

"The dominant groups are the Newaris and Brahmins, two separate groups, both powerful in own their way." (Roshan/interview/2001) "We have group-ism here, based on class and caste. Newaris and Brahmins dominate." (Leela/interview/2001) "This is a Newari fiefdom, which uses Westerners to give an impression of a higher standard." (Han/notes/2000)

Nationality
For others who were perhaps less familiar with and less impacted personally by caste relations, nationality seemed to be the significant category of differentiation. "I feel as an outsider to INORG, as Nepalese do not like Indians." (Raj/notes/2000) "We Bhutanese are caste-blind. I am slowly beginning to recognise caste related things, but still find it hard to understand." (Doma/interview/2001) "There is an "us versus them" culture here - regional or local persons versus Westerners. Many jokes are made by the regional staff about outsiders; it is a very parochial attitude. The subcultures are Nepali, Indian and outsider. I place myself in the outsider category." (Ahmed/interview/2001)

Members of the dominant groups themselves sometimes displayed a lack of awareness of the differentiations of organizational members except by nationality and sex. "I am very surprised to learn that there are cliques within INORG and very saddened that this has developed." (Ram/notes/2000)

Regional vs. Western
In the case of determining whose home territory this was, the opinions of many staff showed that the 'Other' was perceived as anyone not of Nepali or perhaps Nepali or Indian origin. Roshan, of a Nepali ethnic minority group, included himself in the dominant group in this case, though in other instances where he believed caste to be more significant, distinguished him self from them. 'Other' was most lucidly expressed in reference to Caucasian Westerners. (Roshan/interview/2001)

And yet, Anne, who was a European woman married to a high class Nepali with Nepalese citizenship, was inconsistently referred to as both 'insider' and 'other'. "Anne is a foreigner, but has many Nepali traits" (Bina/interview/2001). Similarly "since Anne is a Nepali, we trust her more" (DOP/interview/2001).

I did not perceive that I had the same status. Despite the fact that I had lived in Nepal for 18 years, spoke good Nepali, was married to an ethnic Nepali (though of an ethnic minority group and Bhutanese nationality), I felt much of the time that I was an outsider, identified mainly as a Western woman. I did not always think of myself this way, but it seemed that staff's perception of me as this became more pronounced after I took on the position of gender expert. The commonly heard statements that "women of the region should be employed as Gender Specialists" always served to remind me of my unwelcome position in this role (men's meeting/report/1998).

One exception was observed in a rather strange episode, in which the head of personnel decided to issue my contract as a locally recruited staff despite the fact that I had been recognised as an internationally recruited staff for the past year. This and other comments of this man (a Nepali) seemed to demonstrate his belief that through marriage, I was a Nepali citizen who did not require a visa.

Gender

Besides the Nepali staff, the other large category of those who were 'at home' was that of men. The organization was largely male in its staffing; men always comprised at least 88% of the professional staff, 100 % of management staff, and even most of the administrative staff.

This was one category where conflicts surfaced due to overlapping identities, particularly for those women who were not from Western countries. Gender ideologies dominant in lowland South Asia are patriarchal, based on Hindu and Islamic ideologies and practices that usually exert a strong degree of control over all aspects of women's lives, including economic, social, emotional and religious (Shtrii Shakti, 1995). This influence is observed in the following statements: "I have been warned by male staff who work with me to stay away from gender work. They say that in our Nepali culture, there is no gender gap and warn me against taking this Western concept." (Sita/notes/1999) "After the gender orientation for INORG staff, a few male professional staff told me that this gender thing has gone too far and advised me to get out of it. They are okay with the idea of Jeannette and Doma looking after gender issues, but uncomfortable when it crosses over into lower levels of staff doing tasks other than those specifically focused on gender." (Meera/notes/1999)

For women without the status of a professional, the identities of being female and local (South Asian) presented difficulties within the organization. Kanchan: "I am held back from expressing my own ideas more because I am in a low position rather than because of being a woman. But both work against me." (Kanchan/notes/1999)

Here the identities of being South Asian, female and non-professional coalesce to exert pressures on behaviours and activities that were unknown to the Western professional women.

And yet, at least one South Asian woman expressed more of an affinity with the Western women than the South Asian men, noting the salience of the gender identity more than that of race or nationality:

> There is a difference between being from the West and from the region, as there is between male and female. Definitely the male/female difference is very much stronger. More than being Bhutanese I feel as a woman very watched. Our performance, what we do, who we sit with, you feel so very conscious. As a man, even as a Bhutanese man, it would be okay. The dominant group is men, so if I was a Bhutanese male, even if I was junior, I would have had some influence. There would be more occasions, social ones as well, where I could try to specify my ways as the men do. (Doma/interview/2001)

Another noted "I feel far away from the subcultures at INORG, but I feel accepted by the women's group." (Chanda/interview/2001)

But for the Western professional women, it was difficult to determine which category was more influential...or more alienating - white/western or female, as voiced by Sara: "I can't distinguish whether resistance to me is because I am woman or American."

The comments of some male and female colleagues reflected this ambiguity: "We are taking directions on gender from someone from a Western country that promotes equality while in our culture we cannot even look at our women's faces" (Hussain/notes/1998)

Expressions of ill will towards the Western women based on our gender identity, not our class, were not limited to comments by South Asian men, but came from South Asian women as well: "There is a feeling of suspicion and resentment against you Western women by the rest of us women, as you appear so naturally confident. We are envious of the ease with which you interact with professional men. It is not because of your professional status." (Chanda/interview/2001)

"Rita tells people that all the gender experts come from broken homes. I don't want this image of me as divorced, like the way they talk about one of our gender trainers. Even Nirmal had this idea, and made a generalised statement that all the 'gender' women are divorced." (Doma/notes/1999)

These statements demonstrate the complexities of overlapping, conflicting and ambiguous identities that affected women and men of the organization. Later chapters will draw on this, showing how actors enacted aspects of their identities to produce, reinforce and challenge gender relations within the organization.

4.5   Conclusion

Though this chapter serves primarily as a descriptive introduction to INORG, its ethos and some characters who will reappear throughout this thesis, it also exposes aspects of organizational lives related to social identities. It offers a brief glimpse of the larger social ideologies and value systems and examines how these were played out by key organizational actors who saw their own identities as somewhat defined by social categories of caste, nationality, gender, and class. It begins to answer the question of how the understanding of gender expressed in ideologies and social values impacts the structure and cultures of an organization.

Despite the deterministic impression given by the data and references to identities and social groups, later chapters will reveal the existence of alternative ideologies and factors that motivated staffs' actions and behaviours, producing outcomes that were in opposition to those predicted by this chapter. A key factor that determined which ideologies and identities were enacted by which actors was that of power (to be more fully discussed in the following chapters). Against the landscape of gender, professional, caste and class hegemonic ideals there was a diversity of subjectivities, values, and ideologies suppressed by powerful actors that awaited an opportunity for expression, described in Part III.

Of particular interest to this chapter was how class, caste/ethnicity and nationality interacted with gender issues. Some believed that gender was a stronger identifier; others believed that class was more important. And some pointed out that the regional/Western distinction overrode the common experience of being female. This appeared to be contextual, and therefore fluctuating depending on one's surroundings, experiences and purposes. However, as will be seen in Chapter 7, the women of INORG did share enough of an identity based on gender to forge a common platform of goals and activities for gender equality within the organization.

Data for this chapter relied heavily on interviews, and so methodological impacts posed by my insider status will be pointed out here.

Noticeably absent in this chapter are data from interviews with Mulder and other senior males in the Management. Though such information would have added richness to this discussion, these men were not approached for interviews, and so did not have an opportunity to speak of their own identities. This may be considered a weakness of this method; positioned insiders will inevitably have areas of exclusion that may limit the analysis.

Interviews are created and structured by the interaction processes that take place between the interviewer and interviewee. A key feature of the interview is the relationship between these two. Earlier knowledge on research methods emphasized the 'objective' nature of the situation, and researchers sought ways to minimize the impact of subjective, interpersonal processes. However, contemporary knowledge in the field of qualitative research presents such relationships as part of the research process, no longer believing in a relationship-free interview, for example (King, 1994). Interviews, which are usually semi-structured, are determined by the subjectivity of the researcher. This process of interaction is socially constructed, and contains aspects of 'doing gender' at that moment in time.

As noted by Acker (2001), mainstream insiders might be less likely to share information with interviewers who are considered 'outsiders', as their allegiance is to their own community, and they may be suspicious of outsiders to that community. Here 'outsider' is defined as someone not of their sociological group. As an outsider to the social groups of these senior men based on my identity as 1) woman, 2) non-Brahmin and 2) non-South Asian, and based on my 'knowing' them, I believed they might choose to use the process to discredit me or my research process. Their loyalties, I believed, were to the institution and not to my research project or to me. The potential risk seemed higher than the benefits, so instead I chose to interview men who were themselves marginalized by these dominant social groups, believing they might possess perspectives differing from those of the mainstream. During the interviews with both these men and women, my occasional expression of emotion and empathy often seemed to open the more reluctant ones to talk about their self-identities and experiences that for some seemed painful. (Journal/2001)

For reasons described later in this thesis, my relationship with Mulder was strained at the time of doing interviews in 2000 and 2001, and I was afraid that to draw such attention to my research process might have endangered its progression. From the time of the Women's Week in 1998 (described in detail in Chapter 7) through 1999 and into 2000, there were at least three conflicts (described in Chapters 7, 8 and 9) between the two of us that resulted in Mulder feeling that I was challenging his authority, and me feeling that he was undermining mine. His final act of authority over the Gender Programme, enacted just two weeks before his retirement, had affected me so much that I felt I had been defeated and decided to resign from the organization as soon as possible, "worn down by the place and with no more energy to give to it." (Jeannette/journal/2000)

I was aware of the fact that he had the power to ask me to discontinue the research if he so desired. This would have created an enormous ethical dilemma for me that I wanted very much to avoid. Ethnographers are not themselves independent from the relations of power within which information is held.

As Acker (2001:167) observes, "access is a serious problem for ethnographers of organizations. Such studies are often considered highly controversial to the specific organization under study, limiting access to researchers, particularly those who may uncover gender discrimination." Mosse (2001) notes that organizations try hard to represent themselves as harmonious, well integrated bodies; he claims this is particularly true for development organizations that rely so heavily on donor funding. He argues that their ability to claim legitimacy with diverse stakeholders rests on a representation of reality that is carefully constructed through the production and control of information. As leader of INORG, it was Mulder's duty to control its public image. I believed his responsibility to this duty could potentially constrain my analysis of the gender relations inside its walls.

I had also observed from interviews conducted by outsiders (consultant's report/2000; *The Organization,* 2000) that Mulder presented his idealized self in these contexts, in a way described by Goffman (1959), providing images that were considered 'inaccurate' by many within the organization. Nevertheless, information on aspects of his self-identity as well as those of senior men would have allowed more and varied voices to the text.

Chapter 5: Gendered Structures and Formal Practices
5.1   Introduction
This section explores INORG's formal structures and practices as those typical of a classic bureaucracy, designed to maximise production and control. And yet, these same structures, it is argued, beyond being managed to meet their functionalist goals, appear to have been actively manipulated to maintain the existing dominance by males and members of the highest class/castes. The ways in which the universal components of a bureaucracy, including the structures and processes of decision making; division of labour; recruitment and promotions; accountability and incentives; communication; and rules, procedures and norms related to the reproductive roles/responsibilities of domestic life are designed and managed to support or constrain gender equity initiatives are analysed, drawing on theories of Kanter, Acker, Ferguson and Goetz. The manipulation of these structural components is underpinned by power; various concepts of power and their relation to bureaucracies and decision-making are discussed, referring to Weber, Lukes, and Foucault for interpretations of how and why dominance is maintained and gendered.

The following questions that are the focus of this chapter, further define INORG by describing its structural aspects using particular interpretations of power that define the relationship between gender and structure –functionalist, structural and poststructural.

The second research question, 'how are gender differentiations produced and replicated within multi-cultural development organizations?' is here addressed by the following three sub questions:

- What were the predominant relations of power and dominance for men and women and how were these enacted?

- What impact did these have upon the structuring and operation of the organization, and how, in turn, did these impact upon gender?

- Was there an intention amongst the dominant members to create and maintain the structures and practices of inequality?

Sources of data for this chapter include personal observations made over a period of 11 years, internal memos and reports, results of a survey to assess gender equity in the workplace at INORG, interviews, entries from my own diary and notes of meetings.
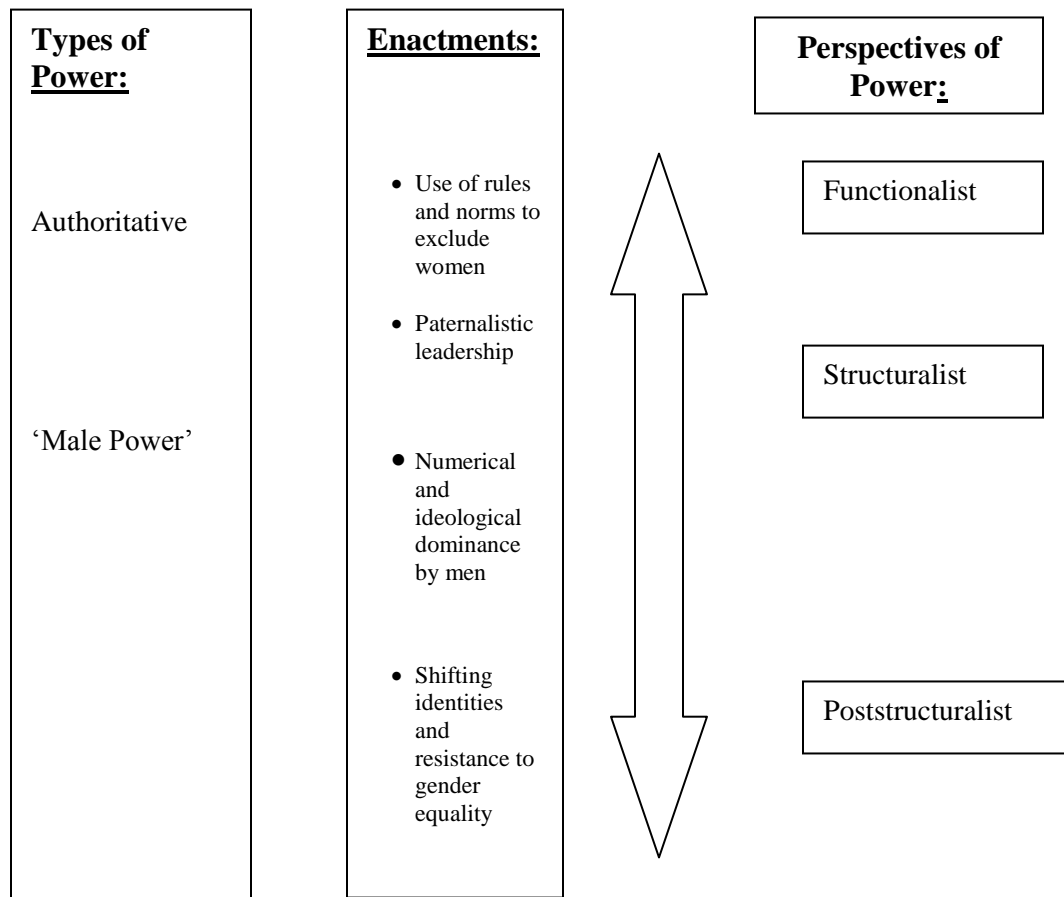
5.2   Bureaucracies and Power
Three interpretations of power are described and diagrammatically presented in this thesis– functionalist, structural and poststructural (see Diagram 2); these will be referred to throughout the text and cross-referenced to make clear the linkages between the data and theory. These three concepts are viewed not as distinct and incompatible interpretations, but rather as a series of explanations, which progressively provide more insights into the processes of defining and managing organizational structures. One manifestation of functionalist power - authoritative power - is described both here, as a form of formal power, and again in the next chapter on

organizational cultures and informal practices (see pages 83-85). A form of structuralist power – 'male power'- is discussed in Chapter 6 on pages 85-87.

Organizational structure refers to the formal design of an organization, often conceptualised as an organogram or chart showing job titles, hierarchies of responsibility and accountability. Established rules and procedures are also part of the structure. Implicit to the lines of responsibility and control are degrees of power and authority granted to named positions - power over resources, other staff and decision-making. Bureaucratic power rests specifically in a centralised management unit, to coordinate the fragmented and specialised components. Some jobs are designed as supervisory, others to implement the decisions or orders of those with more authority.

Fundamental to Weber's notion of bureaucracy is the notion that structure, not individuals within an organization, determine organizational life, and that structure will overrule individual personalities and relationships. Organizations are viewed as structures that can be manipulated to achieve desired ends, away from the old coercive and patriarchal forms of control to a system based on rationality and fairness (Clegg, 1990). This view still pervades organizational and management literature today (Halford and Leonard, 2001).

Diagram 2: Conceptual Framework of Power

Types of Power:	Enactments:		Perspectives of Power:
Authoritative	• Use of rules and norms to exclude women		Functionalist
	• Paternalistic leadership		
'Male Power'	• Numerical and ideological dominance by men		Structuralist
	• Shifting identities and resistance to gender equality		Poststructuralist

Functionalist Power

This faith in organizational structures and their enablement of the conditions of a fair workplace hinges on a particular understanding of power. Of the different sorts of power defined by Weber, the most significant is authority (Weber, 1967). His ideal of rational, legal authority is power that is gained through competition; those with authority must win their rights to power through transparent and neutral procedures, regardless of their gender, class, race, age or other social factors. Weber believed this system to be more equitable and democratic than one that relies on charisma or traditional status.

In this view, power is seen as the ability to get others to do your bidding. Much of the literature on power in organizations focuses on how to use power to prevent or defeat conflict, using what managers think of as 'legitimate' power to overcome opposition. Power embedded in hierarchy is viewed as normal and inevitable, and so is often excluded from researchers' analyses of power. Instead, the management literature has focused on the 'illegitimate' or unsanctioned use of power to achieve ends that are deemed to be of self-interest rather than in the interest of the organization. Distinctions are made between the 'authority' based on position within the formal structure, and the 'power' exercised informally, based on factors such as status, information, expertise, control of money, rewards and sanctions, and access to higher echelon members. The process of mobilising power is known as 'politics' and carries a negative connotation that has reinforced the view that power used outside of formal authoritarian arrangements is illegitimate and dysfunctional (Hardy and Clegg, 1996).

This form of power is termed 'functionalist' and represents a liberal perspective that rests on a conviction of the underlying sameness of women and men. With foundations provided by Weber and Marx, the functionalist approach focuses on the existence of conflicting interests and views power as domination. Weber believed that all organizational members have some control over their abilities to exercise power, through the embodiment of their labour if nothing else. From the manager's perspective, this capacity for resistance must be deflected through strategies and tactics. The most effective and economical are those measures that encourage self-control - the use of rules and norms. Rule systems control relations and behaviour through the structure of organizational design, using 'legitimate' power. Power, in a functionalist perspective, refers to acts of discretion by organizational members that are not sanctioned by their position in the formal structure (these are referred to as acts of resistance and agency later in this thesis), while the legitimate system of authority is taken for granted and non-problematic (Hardy and Clegg, 1996).

This view explains in part why strategies and innovations to build internal support for the Gender Programme by others and myself who, perhaps, had too little 'legitimate' power to do so were met with suspicion by many INORG staff, both men and women. One Nepali senior professional staff told me frankly that he viewed my actions primarily as political, which as articulated above, labels them 'illegitimate.' This gives rise to questions about the roles of change agents and 'legitimate' power.

These definitions of power ignore the question 'in whose eyes is power deemed legitimate and illegitimate?' Managerial interests are assumed to be driving the organization, ignoring the possibilities that they may also seek to serve their own interests. Potential abuses of power by

those with authority are downplayed, while those who challenge their prerogatives are discredited by the label 'political' or 'disloyal' (a term that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7). Ethical issues associated with the use and abuses of power are not broached, rendering this approach inappropriate to deal with issues of discrimination and exploitation. Nevertheless, this approach was evident in organizations, such as INORG, that are Weberian in their style of management, where resistance was considered illegitimate.

Weber (1986) defined three ideal types of authoritative power – charismatic, traditional and 'rational-legal'. In addition to the 'rational-legal' authority granted to Mulder based on the fact that he 'won' his right to power through procedural means of a supposed neutral hiring procedure, he benefited from 'traditional power' as well. In the context of South Asia, an assumption of the righteousness of the management is pronounced, drawing on the historical and cultural significance of traditional authority granted to senior males. In this society, there is a cultural norm to not question the actions of the 'father figure', the senior-most male in the family; it is taken for granted that he knows what is best for the group and acts wisely on their behalf. Mulder, though a European, was able to appropriate these Asian ideologies to legitimate his position of unquestionable authority, which he was perceived to do very skilfully. This explains why many staff viewed INORG as South Asian in character. They expressed how INORG resembled a typical organization in that part of the world, with a strong leader at its helm who ruled in a strict, authoritarian manner. Though many staff, including me, often grumbled about the high degree of "micro-management" and control by the DG, many staff from the region claimed to have obtained a sense of comfort and security from this familiar situation, as at least they knew what to expect under such an authoritarian leader. Staff from the Western countries expressed their discomfort with the system more vocally. This will be discussed more fully in relation to agency and resistance in Chapter 7.

When a new DG (Paul) arrived in 2000 with a management style more transparent and less hierarchical, some staff experienced a new sense of being "direction-less":

> One thing that is disappearing is division heads and a little bit of hierarchy is breaking down. The Directorate power is still there, but the Division Head power is changing. Both divisions and division heads are losing status and power. I don't know if Division Heads have a sense of this. But throughout the organization, there is now a sense of feeling lost, directionless. There was a sense of territory before. There is now a change in individual turf, though not completely. Mulder was a different character, but the way things are happening is more or less the same. (Doma/interview/2001)

And yet, despite the impression that Paul was not an authoritarian bureaucrat, as Mulder was seen to be, many staff did not see any significant changes in the structure after one year of his tenure." Management is still highly centralised, for example, in project management. This has not changed." (Cheng/interview/2001)

Though there were no visible changes in the structure - positions in the hierarchy remained as before - the new DG attempted to take away some of the legitimacy of the power that had been previously provided to the Division Heads in the line of command and control maintained by

Mulder. This, he told me privately, was done strategically through a change in channels of communication in an attempt to flatten the organizational hierarchy. (Paul/notes/2000)

"In Mulder's time, Anil was very controlling, and didn't want me to take anything directly to the DG, it always had to go through him. I had nothing to discuss with the DG, he also insisted that everything come only through the Division Heads." (Roshan/interview/2001)

"I have heard that individuals are now interacting directly with the Directorate and the Heads are just being told of what was discussed. Instructions are not coming through division heads, but directly to staff from the DG. That used to 'massage' them. Now it is more transparent". (Doma/interview/2001)

This caused confusion and shifting alliances, as staff tried to assess where the power lay, if not with the Division Heads. These aspects of power that lie outside of the formal structures and positions went beyond that explained by functionalist perspectives, and require a more nuanced and critical approach.

Critical Approaches to Power – Structural and Poststructural Perspectives
A second theoretical understanding of power developed from the tradition of critical theory. This approach put forth the view that societal conditions are historically created and heavily influenced by asymmetries of power and special interests, and that these can be the subject of social change. Critical theory is thus able to counteract the tendency of empirical research to describe reality in neutral terms, thus reproducing the taken-for-granted institutionalised relationships of domination (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000).

According to critical theory, the process of organizational research must attempt to interpret structures and processes to study influencing processes rooted in domination, promoting critical reflection from existing social and ideological patterns. It goes beyond the liberal, functionalist view presented above, useful to describe only superficial manifestations of the deeper social structures of inequality. This critical approach views power as a means of domination, and resistance to it as an emancipatory tool.

Structural perspective
Two types of critical approaches will be considered here: structural and poststructural. A structural perspective espouses a belief that social relations, including those within organizations, are a part of a larger system of relations between unequal groups, based on gender, class, and race. It takes as a given that organizational structures are constructed in the interests of dominant groups and members, and serve to perpetuate the dominance of these groups (see Deetz, 1983; Alvesson and Deetz, 1999; Alvesson, 1996; Knights and Willmott, 1987). It is the appearance of being 'natural' that allows these structures to go unchallenged by organizational members whose interests they do not serve. Gender differences are seen as a fundamental social division rather than due to the discriminatory actions of a few members; women are believed to be systematically oppressed to serve the interests of a more powerful social group. Bureaucratic environments are seen as a vehicle for this oppression and are not held to be even potentially neutral arenas.

'Male power' and patriarchy are manifestations of this structural form of power that is discussed in Chapter 6 (see page 85). Male power is a term that is used to denote a perspective that sees organizations and their structures as tools of men, using hierarchies, formal and informal practices to exclude women and shape gender relations to maintain men's dominance. Patriarchy is a complex term that refers literally to the rule of the father, and can be conceived as a system of socio-structural control based on a belief in the inferiority of women (Hearn, 1992: 49).

This perspective draws parallels to the larger discourses of South Asia about women's 'oppression'. Discrimination on the basis of gender is a well-known 'social evil', as it is commonly called, due to the preferential treatment of sons in Hindu families. And yet, the transference of this behaviour to the offices of an international organization was not immediately obvious to INORG women and men. However, once discussed in gender trainings and in meetings of the GWG and the women, this perspective was used to rationalize the gendered structures of the organization. The almost complete occupation by men in positions of authority made this seem an obvious conclusion to many. (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

Poststructural perspective
A third view of power is expressed by the poststructuralists (e.g. Foucault, 1977; Saussure, 1965) with a focus on language. Foucalt's postmodern ideas of power and knowledge challenged both the functional and structural perspectives. His views are that power does not involve taking sides as much as seeking to describe its strategic role in transforming people into organizational characters who articulate an organizational culture. All actors act within an existing structure of dominancy, a web of power relations from which the prospects of escape are limited for all. Poststructuralism offers a conception of gender that stresses the historical and geographical differences between women and men across cultures and time periods and therefore one that is useful for INORG's multicultural nature.

Unlike the structuralists, poststructuralists see that all individuals within organizations are subjected to organizational controls and discourses that affect their identities and behaviours. They deny that these can be seen as deliberate acts, though they recognise that some discourses may serve the interests of dominant members. They refute the argument that patriarchy or class domination has produced certain organizational arrangements. The possibilities for change rest not on fundamental transformations, as for the structuralists, but rather in the ever-present possibilities for resistance, reinterpretation and change by organizational members themselves (Halford and Leonard, 2001).

This perspective was largely lacking amongst INORG staff, perhaps due in part to the lack of social science perspectives and professionals in this primarily technical organization. Once embedded in the daily struggles for power and influence within an organization, it seemed difficult to hold such a studied perspective. I myself did not do so. It may be necessary to step away from an environment in order to view it through a post-structural perspective – a point of importance to the insider position that I have chosen as a methodology.

But it is also problematic to adopt this approach if one is trying to transform an organization. A change agent needs to identify the source of oppression, or discrimination in a way that is clear

to her/his adherents in order to gain credibility and push the agenda for change ahead. This point will be discussed in more depth in the final concluding chapter.

Postructural interpretations of power are evident in many places in the text, but most notably in Part III, in the discussion of identity construction, men's resistance and women's shift in alliances.

The remainder of this chapter draws on these three perspectives on power to analyse the gendered nature of formal structures and practices within INORG.

Power and Decision Making

The overarching paradigm of functionalism, the dominant perspective in the realm of organizations, views management as being fundamentally concerned with rational decision making to ensure the smooth running and goal attainment required in a 'modern' organization. Decisions can be viewed as being basically concerned with the allocation and exercise of power, and hence are of vital significance to an understanding of how organizations are gendered. The issues of who is included and excluded from the processes of decision making, and who is in a position to influence what gets on the agenda or what is kept off the agenda are central to the politics of organizational behaviour. Decision-making can thus be seen in two ways: first, the functionalist prerequisite of an effective organization, and second, as a maelstrom of political activity that is played out within an arena only partially open to view.

Structural rigidity makes an organization rely on a limited range of solutions that worked in the past. Miller, Hickson and Wilson (1999) point out that most managerial decisions are made in reference to existing tried and tested practices, formalae or procedures. These can even be safely left up to subordinates. It is the unfamiliar decisions, such as those related to creating structures and conditions conducive to gender equity, so far not encountered that present a challenge to managers, for there are no well- trodden paths to follow. They will have significant repercussions and set precedents for the future, and so may be worrying for senior managers. Without an existing template, the process of decision-making may be less than rational and thus more open to the power plays of other powerful interest groups or persons. The topic at hand will determine who attempts to influence the manager. Those who have something to protect will want to be involved, as will those who have something to gain. The rational model of decision-making breaks down when faced with this pluralist vision of multiple, competing interest groups vying for supremacy.

Decision-making in reality is often done in ways that are neither rational nor open. Often exclusive, formal meetings may merely confirm private decisions and give an impression of involvement. The public face displays participation; the private reality is about internal politics, personal preferences, and hidden agendas of the elite. Decision-making is separated from implementation in the hierarchical design of organizations, which reduces staff's commitment to the decisions and even the organization itself. This may partly explain the gap between the policy declarations and implementation of agendas for gender equity.

Non-Decision-Making
Another explanation is that managers trying to adopt gender equality objectives will necessarily find the decision-making aspects difficult. Gender mainstreaming is a new and holistic approach to social change that requires managers to reallocate power and positions in order to make significant changes. Even with the best intentions, this is a topic that he/she may not be able to single-handedly make decisions about; the dominant group's perception of threats, risks, and shake up of their existing positions may compel them to muster all of their available power and influence to see that decisions are made to their liking. This form of covert, subtle and insidious exercise of power is not easily discernible, as it happens behind the scenes and does not result in open conflict that is observable to others. This is the 'second face' of power described by Bachrach and Baratz (1963) which determines which items are allowed to surface for debate, which items are considered 'safe' to put on the agenda for decision making. Some are 'non-decisions' - the covert issues about which a decision has been taken to not take a decision. They are the controversial topics that go against the interests of the powerful stakeholders: they do not engender support, they do not fit with the prevailing culture, they are not acceptable for discussion, so they are dropped from the agenda or 'shelved'. A variety of barriers are available to the more powerful groups to prevent subordinates from fully participating in the decision-making process through the use of procedures and political routines, allowing decisions to be made behind the scenes. Power is not exercised solely in the taking of key decisions, and visible decision makers are not necessarily the most powerful.

Non-decision-making was often been encountered in our attempts to influence Management to move the gender equity process forward within INORG. There were instances, such as those related to repeated requests for a structural change for the placement of the Gender Programme (described in Chapter 6) where non-decision-making by Mulder went on for months, even years, on matters which to us seemed straight- forward.

Instead of giving up, several women staff and some male supporters believed that the incoming DG would quickly announce a decision favourable to us, as he promised to do within his first few weeks of assuming office. Yet after one and a half years, he still had not done so, claiming "there was too much resistance". Nevertheless, the advocates were able to convince Paul to put the issue on the agenda of a retreat with the professional and NO staff by getting the group to vote on the question of whether INORG should proceed immediately with a structural move of the Gender Programme. One –half voted to go ahead, one-half voted to not move immediately. The fact that he publicly viewed the results of this vote as resistance, rather than see the significant degree of support provided by 50% indicated to the gender advocates that there were other reasons, not as transparent as a voting process that influenced his decision. Nevertheless, the advocates used the results of the vote to argue that the initiative enjoyed wide-spread support when they pressed for the change in further meetings with him.

Perhaps the resistance that Paul was aware of came from powerful individuals, thus rendering his voting exercise meaningless. Without knowing the exact source of the resistance, Bina and other NO women stated that it came from the Division Heads and therefore affected Paul's decision not to go ahead with its implementation. (Gender in the Workplace meeting/notes/2000)

An awareness of this act as a tactic of resistance was an indication of the growing level of understanding by me and the other women about the deeply embedded nature of the power struggle and the tools senior men and Management used to assert control. During the first few years of attempting to change the organization's gender relations, from 1995 to 1998, we would not have interpreted these actions in the same way, but would have likely explained it as men's lack of awareness. As described in Part III, events of 1999 were to forever eliminate the naiveté about gender mainstreaming that I and the others demonstrated in the beginning.

Managing Meaning
Lukes (1974) describes power in a more insidious manner, to completely suppress any awareness of conflict through shaping views and beliefs in such a way that one's own interests are not recognised by others. Conflict does not occur if there is a widespread perception that all interests are shared, if there is a "false consciousness" that is shaped by dominant groups or institutions. Lukes maintains that power can be used to prevent conflict by shaping "people's perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they view it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial." (1974: 24) Frequently, the powerless ones remain so because of their ignorance of the ways of power and strategies of power to manipulate rules, procedures, and agenda setting - all aspects of organizational structure. Ignorance extends to a knowledge of others with whom one might construct an alliance, which itself is a function of an isolation created by a division of labour maintained, in the case of INORG, partly through physical structures.

The cultural and normative assumptions legitimised by power, and the way in which power influences behaviour is the subject of Part III –the Battle for Meaning. For many, if not most of the members of INORG, this condition of unawareness about inequalities related to gender and other identities existed during at least some of their time of employment there. Many members did know and even expressed strong emotional feelings about the situation, but did not act. One reason for inaction was due to the comparatively high salaries of INORG professionals. (Roshan/interview/2001) Other reasons are described in Part III.

Power and gender
Functionalists presume organizations and their structures to be gender-neutral. Following this line of thought, if bureaucratic structures determine organizational practice, and are themselves gender-neutral, then gender inequality should not exist in modern organizations and bureaucracy should be beneficial to women (Pringle, 1989; Halford and Leonard, 2001). In this view, the persistence of gender discrimination is explained as a result of women's different interests. The causes of discrimination are seen to lie outside the organization, because once at work, women are subject to the rational legal authority which delivers fair judgments on the basis of clear, rational criteria.

Though somewhat speculative, it appears in retrospect that this is the perspective that articulated the worldview held by Mulder. His faith in rules and structures as ways to address societal injustices was in line with the liberal perspective that sees organizations as fundamentally neutral to notions of gender difference (and differences based on class, race, caste, etc). It is based on a faith in scientific management, the notion that purely objective criteria can be used to assess and

reward the qualities of individuals, and that appropriate policies, rules and procedures can be installed to remove old-fashioned prejudices from the workplace. At the core of this perspective is the belief that women and men are not different and should therefore be enabled to become equal. The aim is to remove barriers through the refinement of policies and allow women to be judged through objective, rational, bureaucratic criteria. A liberal perspective sees the causes of discrimination to be individual and social prejudices, and not the deliberate outcome of some orchestrated actions (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Women's positions within hierarchies are results of the choices about how much time and effort they put into the workplace.

Mulder often denied that there were any differences of culture within INORG, and insisted that prejudice did not exist amongst the members of the professional staff, who were, after all, highly educated. "All our professional staff come to us with Masters and PhDs, many of them from universities in the West - they do not hold any biases or prejudices." (Mulder/notes/1998)

This understanding of Mulder's worldviews explains much in relation to his apparent frustration with the gender proponents within the organization, and in particular, with me. Trained as a scientist, the views of rationality that Mulder espoused were not foreign to me. Like Mulder, I also believed, when we initiated the gender programme, that the functionalist approach would bring about the desired changes.

As a liberal, Mulder's views would be debated by theorists such as Acker and Houten, who argue that the internal structures of organizations are as important if not more important than women's choices in explaining the sex differences in organizations (1974). They state that gender differences are mobilised by the structures themselves rather than just imported from outside into supposedly gender-neutral territory of organizations. Gendered power, instead of gender-neutral rational legal authority is embedded within these structures, which are considered to be a mobilisation of male power. According to this school of thought, every time structures are evoked, male power is activated.

According to Acker (1990, 1992), the power of bureaucracy is in its neutral appearance, making it difficult to challenge. Similarly, Goetz (1997) maintains that the fundamental principle of public relations is that production, exchange and administration are (also) indifferent to gender difference. She refers to the classic tenet of Weber that states that public bureaucracies are insulated from the social and political relations in which they are embedded, and are abstracted from patrimonial and patriarchal relations. This blindness to internal processes of discrimination is aided by hidden and taken for granted gendered principles that underlie the gender division of labour, power and desire as organizing frameworks (Connell, 1987).

How do gendered power relations implicate organizational structures?

Means of Domination
While all organizational members are somehow implicated in the prevailing power relations around them, those advantaged by it are in the best position to develop strategies that will protect their position, which they may do either with the conscious intent of maintaining their position of dominance or through habitual tendencies. Existing structures are not neutral or apolitical but are saturated with power and 'structural dominancy'. The functionalist paradigm ignores the hidden

ways in which managers and senior staff use power behind the scenes by shaping legitimacy, values, technology and information to maintain dominance (Alvesson, 1993). It thus negates the true workings of power and depoliticizes organizational life (Clegg, 1989) and implicitly advocates the status quo. Mechanisms of dominance, such as leadership, culture and structure are treated as neutral, or objective and unproblematic.

Goetz (1997) describes how organizations are gendered in their active male preference through processes of exclusion of women and the feminisation of women's participation to serve roles as secondary, nurturing and supportive members or to display their dependence on men, which are all justified ideologically. Social control is maintained through exclusion and inclusion to maintain the political and social standing of one gender or one class. Implicit social norms are embedded in structures and hierarchies of organizations, in the conditions and requirements for access and participation, and in their incentive and accountability structures.

Within INORG, it is argued here, male dominance was maintained through strategies enacted through structures and practices of decision-making; division of labour; recruitment and promotions; accountability and incentives; and communication channels. Each of these topics will be covered in subchapters; decision-making has already been discussed in relation to authority and power. The management of meaning through ideologies and discourse is discussed within the categories where it is found within this chapter, and is described in more detail in the following chapter on organizational culture.

5.3 Division of Labour

In Acker's theory of gendered organizations (1990) she argues that the first of five ways in which organizations are gendered is through the construction of divisions along lines of gender. These are divisions of labour, of allowed behaviours, of locations in physical space, or power. These divisions and the occupancy by men or women in vertical and horizontal positions is the most obvious aspect of gendering and as such are well documented (e.g. Kanter, 1977; Pringle, 1989). There are sexual divisions of labour both horizontally and vertically; horizontal segregation is characterised by the position of women in more insecure positions, with fewer career possibilities and in jobs with lower prestige; vertical segregation is evident through the statistics that show that women hold but 1-5% of positions at the top level in the industrialised world (Alvesson and Billing, 1997).

Divisions of labour begin with job descriptions and evaluations. Evaluations reflect managers' assessments about the relative worth of some jobs over others, and reveal the underlying logic of the organization (Acker, 1987). Based on functionalist views, job evaluations evaluate jobs, and not their incumbents, thus reflecting the organizational logic of dehumanised organizations. The human performing the tasks is assumed to be disembodied, without feelings or needs. Most jobs are described on the basis of full-time occupancy for workers with no other demands on their time, who can dedicate themselves fully to the job. The closest thing to this ideal is the idealised male worker whose life centres on his job, while someone else attends to his personal needs. The idealised female worker, who is assumed to have other domestic obligations, does not fit into this abstract job. Hence, implicit to the notion of 'job' is the separation between public and private sphere.

This public/private dichotomy is reinforced by notions that growth, effectiveness and good performance in the public sphere are conflated with idealised masculinity, and with femininity in the private sphere (Fletcher, 1999). Skills associated with jobs considered 'feminine' are less highly rated than those done by men. Feminised work skills are considered less difficult to acquire, as women are believed to gain them 'naturally'. Job evaluation rests on criteria, supposedly objective, associated with masculinity of management. Thus, some aspects of jobs are ignored or devalued, while others are championed. Women are often segregated into jobs with no opportunities for advancement while men are often in jobs with longer career ladders because skills involved in feminised jobs are not seen to be useful at higher levels. Another reason often expressed in organizations in Nepal is based on the assumptions of managers that women place more importance on their domestic duties as wives and mothers than on their careers. To women who are unmarried professionals, this categorisation seems particularly unfair.

Similarly, 'bodied' processes such as those related to sexuality, reproduction or expressions of emotion are believed to intrude upon and disrupt the ideal functioning of the organization, which tries to control such interferences through rules and norms.

The notion of the gender-neutral status of a job described in functionalist theories is underpinned by the assumption that the worker is abstract and disembodied, a concept that fits within the paradigm of liberal individualism (Pateman, 1986). The notion of a universal worker "excludes and marginalises women who cannot, by definition, achieve the qualities of a real worker because to do so is to become like a man" (Acker, 1990:150).

Thus the maintenance of the gendered hierarchy is achieved partly through tacit controls and the use of societal gender norms and stereotypes to legitimate the structures created through abstract, intellectualised processes. One professional male at INORG (identity unknown) stated his opinion that: "because of wider activity mandate of INORG, jobs can be categorised in three different categories: 1) where women can perform better, 2) activities which are gender neutral and 3) activities where women may have difficulties or there is a perception that they do not perform better." (Men's meeting/report/1998)

It would be interesting to learn more about which jobs fall in the last category, I would predict that it be one of leadership or authority. In the early discussions about gender issues in the mountains in 1999, men attending an INORG workshop spoke about the nimbleness of women's fingers, and how this made them suited to work requiring detail, such as that of weaving. (Women in Mountain Development seminar/notes/1990) What would the parallel be in the organizational realm?

The male dominance of positions of power and authority at the higher echelons of most organizations, including those where women are in the majority, is believed by many structuralists to be the outcome of a strategy of male preference. Within INORG, there had never been a woman in a management position in the Directorate, nor as a permanent Division Head. In 1992, there were no women on the Board of Directors; in 2002 there were three, all from countries outside the region who joined as independent members, often representing donor interests. The international professional staff category included three to five women, or about 12

-15% of the total professionals for over ten years, from 1991- 2001. Almost all of the secretarial staff were women, but the auxiliary and support staff were almost all men. The matter was raised by the GWG during a retreat:

> Participants identified a key area as that of the composition of management and decision making bodies. It was suggested that with more gender balanced bodies at the higher level management could attain more gender sensitive decision making which would forward the gender integration process in INORG and its programmes more effectively.(GWG retreat/notes/2000)

But despite memos and reports that tried to argue for more women on top by linking their recommendations to the publicly-stated gender equity policies and objectives of the organization, no actions were initiated to address the severe imbalance of power and authority. What was the reason for this inaction on the part of Management? Was it intentional or not?

Women professionals did not hold positions within all horizontal divisions either. DOP had a majority of women, though its head was male until a woman below him was temporary promoted upon his departure. DFS had three women at a time, only one of whom was in a non-gender related position as a livestock specialist; the other two of us were members of the Gender Programme housed within the Division. The DEI division gained a woman professional only in 2001. The division of computer technology never had a female professional staff member.

Women within the lower ranks rarely had opportunities to engage in programme related activities, nor were even aware of such initiatives. A conscious attempt was made by the Gender Programme to bring them into the gender committees and decision-making process through the inclusion of some female secretaries in the gender training course and GWG.

Women's Interests

Do women bureaucrats represent women's interests? They have been found to consistently articulate gender specific policies, like that of child care, equal pay, maternity benefits and so on (Hale and Kelly, 1989). But on the other hand, there is no reason to expect that women in organizations will necessarily articulate and support feminist issues. On the contrary, some studies (e.g. Dahlerup, 1988) of high-level women found that many, if not most were ambivalent about being identified as feminists. For them, success is a function and expression of their ability to conform to organizational structures and cultures by taking on characteristics of men in their dress, managerial styles, and capacity to minimise the demands of home. As a minority in most organizations, women have the least interest in challenging dominant practices because the precariousness of career possibilities reinforces their need to conform within them (Dahlerup, 1988). It would be interesting to learn if senior level women in development organizations tend to be more supportive of gender interests, due to the ideologies of development and social justice that inform their practice.

Women may be in a stronger position to represent women's interests when they are situated at various levels rather than with a few token women at the top, but whatever their class backgrounds, their primary reference group is likely to be their superiors or colleagues, who are often male. As stated by Goetz (1991: 268) "There is evidence that open command and communications styles can admit of more sensitivity to women's interests". But in at least one

organization, a change in the priorities for gender policies happened only after women staff became the majority (Kadam, 1989).

Some feminists (e.g. Ferguson, 1984) argue that certain features of bureaucratic structures (hierarchical calibrations of authority, exclusive patterns of management and decision making, functional divisions of labour, and rules to guide behaviour) are themselves expressions of male domination and construct an organizational environment that is particularly hostile to the participation of women. But the record is mixed in the cases of feminist organizational experiments, suggesting that women are not homogenous and that egalitarian management structures alone are insufficient to bring about change.

In INORG, professional, NO and Administrative men and women trained in gender and organizational development tried to influence the DG to resolve the problem of what they saw as an imbalance of power. In a report of their organizational research on gender differences and gaps at INORG, they stated:

> The staffing pattern depicts wide disparity in the number of male and female staff and this disparity is much more conspicuous at higher levels. A drastic change in staffing pattern to bring about balance between male and female staff would be more difficult than institutionalising decentralisation in decision making. In this context, organizational or programme level decision making can be decentralised at appropriate levels with full accountability and responsibility accorded to the staff concerned. This would be instrumental in bringing forth gender concerns more vividly into the programmes as also in the organizational structure. The aspect of decentralisation in decision making has very strong gender connotations as it is now well recognised that the technical, socio-political and cultural needs, perceptions and concerns of male and female staff are different. (Training participants/report/2000)

The response of the DG to their report was less harsh than they may have imagined it would be: "while in principle I can see the gender relevance of the recommendations on Practical Gender Needs, for those under Strategic Gender Needs some do not seem to be gender specific or contradict INORG's statutory requirements to employ foremost staff based on qualifications." (Mulder/memo/1999) With this comment, Mulder reflected his functionalist perspective once more to state his belief in the gender-neutrality of the structure, his belief that if women are to be in positions of authority, they must get there on their own merit, through a fair competition based on qualifications which he assumed exist at INORG. He often stated that such highly qualified and interested women were not available, as none had been able to qualify for the short list for the positions of DG and DDG.

This perspective of Mulder's is in agreement with that of Kanter, the seminal theorist on this aspect of organizations (1977), who states that structures are gendered only in so much as men happened to populate the hierarchies at an earlier time than women. In a liberal interpretation of power, Kanter views this as unintentional and sees no intrinsical difference in men and women and their opportunities for career advancement. Their occupancy in different positions in the hierarchy explains the differences in behaviour and attitude to work. Once they get access to positions of authority, they will be able to advance values and attitudes that will make it easy for them to advance. Her emphasis is on structures rather than actors, believing that sex

discrimination exists only because we have not designed the right structures and do not have sufficient numbers of women to make a change. This belief in the ability of structures to right social wrongs was echoed by Mulder, in INORG's first meeting of the Gender Committee in 1996 (in a mood of optimism, before the struggle became real), when he stated to the group that: "the challenge here is to be more gender-responsive within the current structure - not to suggest ways in which the structure should be altered. Jeannette is free to initiate anything related to gender within the organization and is not limited to DFS." (Mulder/notes/1996) In my notes of this event, his comment is followed by a line of question marks, expressing my surprise and disbelief at this granting of autonomy and authority to me. In retrospect, it appears to me that he was emphasising that no radical change was required (or allowed), and drawing the boundaries for me to work within.

Kanter believes that it will be much easier for women if the number of them exceeds a critical mass, about 30%. This is supported by other researchers (Kadam, 1989; Ely, 1995), while still others raise doubts about her claim that numbers of people in a particular category rather than sex is significant cause of discrimination (Ott, 1989). Looking at the world of nursing and policing, Ott's study of male nurses and female police found that male nurses are advantaged while women in police were rejected, even when the critical mass had been achieved.

Amongst the women of INORG, there was a widely held belief that if the numbers of women professionals could increase, and include one female division head, women could start to turn things around and become more effective at transforming the organization. Kanter's argument for 30% proportions became a goal; one that we thought was achievable and not too threatening to the dominant interests. As Goetz states:

> When women are in such a dramatic minority and lack structured external support, we cannot reach a conclusion about the capacity of women insiders to promote women's interests. The mere fact of men's numerical dominance does not preclude them from representing women and acting in their interests, but men as a group do appear to act to defend their interests as a gender, even across class divisions, particularly in terms of defending male employment security (Goetz, 1997:19).

Recognising that not all women will automatically support actions for women's interests, it is extremely difficult for a very few women to build alliances with other women across the levels of the hierarchy while also trying to build a base of power through existing structures. The stereotypic impressions of women that are held by men and other women within a society dominated by patriarchy are too hard to counter without sufficient numbers of women in non-traditional positions of leadership and authority. Although there may be no evidence to show that things change when 30% of staff is female (Alvesson and Billing, 1997), there are definitely psychological benefits to women change agents who take comfort in the knowledge that they have a base of potential allies to draw strength and support from in their struggles to counter male resistance to change.

Ghettoization of gender
Gender divisions of labour are reinforced by the placement of women staff to work on gender or women's programmes, offering few opportunities for management roles and channelling staff

into gender-typed training, which is stigmatised by a kind of professional arrogance that sees gender work as something that requires few qualifications, but more of an empathetic understanding (Goetz, 1991). Within INORG, it was noted within a meeting of women staff that: "we have three gender positions but very few women at the professional level in non-gender related positions. Even for gender, there are only two persons with direct responsibility for the incorporation of gender concerns written in their Terms of Reference." (Women's meeting/notes/2000) According to Ganesh, "It is better this way. By having few women, the gender team is more easily accepted." (Ganesh/notes/1998) Although this sounds like a rationalisation for marginality, it probably carried some truth.

At INORG, the placement of the Gender Programme became an issue within a year of the Programme's initiation, as it became clear that the two of us employed under the Programme were not able to function effectively throughout the organization, but were relegated to working within the one division in which we were situated. Obvious programmatic linkages to other divisions, such as those of natural resource management and enterprises and infrastructure were problematic, due to the communication barriers that existed amongst divisions. These were largely based on a sense of competition between the divisions, as well as strong identities and social relationships formed within them.

In addition, as a sub-unit of the DFS, the Gender Programme had no 'legitimate' voice of its own in the structural systems of decision-making and communication. Our authority did not differ from that of any other staff working under a Division Head, and so we were expected to comply with protocols for reporting upward through the accepted hierarchical channels. This effectively precluded the Programme's capabilities to work directly with other divisions, except to make information available to them that they could choose to use or ignore as they wished. Though we were officially placed on almost all of the programme committees in order to influence decision making and planning within, in reality these meetings were rarely held, and did not afford much chance to participate in significant decisions, which were often made outside of the formal meetings.

Believing that staff across all divisions needed to develop a sense of ownership for the inclusion of gender issues in their work, we tried to convince Management that formal arrangements were necessary to make staff accountable to the gender goals of the organization:

> Now that we are well into the third year of the Gender and Development Programme, and that the Centre has stated its intention to mainstream gender issues throughout the entire organization, it is very important that we stop seeing GAD as the sole responsibility of one or two professional women who are working within the programme. Although not yet formalised, gender concerns are expected to be the responsibility of each professional staff member and must therefore be clearly recognised and outlined in all relevant programmes of each division. (Jeannette and Domo/memo to Anil and Ganesh/1998).

This did not happen, confirming many women's beliefs that the only way to assure that gender issues would be attended to in each division was to hire more women across the organization. This was also a widely accepted idea in South Asia, that the needs of women would best be addressed by women staff, due to the social barriers that exist within cultures of *purdah* and less

obvious forms of segregation. This point leads us to another key aspect of organizational gendering: recruitment and promotions.

5.4   Recruitment and Promotions

Recruitment is a critical aspect of gendering and one that provides some answers to the questions of how the structures of domination maintain the status quo and to what degree this domination is wilfully managed. It is also an arena where it is possible to see how prevailing gender ideologies discussed in Part I were enacted through decisions and formal and informal processes. Viewing established organizational structures primarily in terms of gender ratios at different levels and considering how socio-cultural contexts may account for job orientations, as well as emphasising that employers prevent or discourage females from getting certain jobs has a certain relevance for understanding the gender division of labour.

High Quality and Regional Representation

Like that of most 'modern' organizations, INORG's recruitment policy was presented as a gender-neutral statement of intent: "the main considerations in the selection of staff are competence and integrity." (Recruitment and Appointment Policy Document: 2).

The DG addressed the gendered aspects of recruitment in a meeting of the Gender Committee:
> While the situation is fairly balanced among national staff, it is not so good amongst the international staff where there are only 5 women out of 30 professionals. I urge Divisions to note this imbalance and make every possible effort to explore various kinds of opportunities within the limitations set by the existing statutes of INORG which don't allow the Centre to compromise the high quality of staff and a good regional representation. For new positions, the Directorate will try to hire as many women as possible. Neither DEI nor DNRM have any female professionals, so DEI should immediately look for ways of hiring short-term female professionals within the next 12 months as a test. (Mulder/meeting notes/1998)

With this verbal display of his intentions, the DG let it be known that he wanted to see results, and that he desired to find creative and innovative ways to expand the number of women staff, but only those that were qualified.

This was the public face of the organization, and the one that we female staff at first took at face value. Believing in the sincerity of the DG, we expected we would soon have a substantial increase in our numbers. But behind the scenes, another set of expectations and hopes was expressed by senior men from across the divisions. One senior member of the gender training course fulfilled his obligations to complete an organizational analysis by initiating a discussion amongst these men about their opinions, which it appears that they gave freely, in the absence of any female presence. Some of their thoughts are reported here:
- What should be considered is the question "will the real concern be addressed by achieving 50-50 male/female ratio in the professional staff or by making every staff literate on gender concerns?
- It is necessary that INORG has female professional staff in adequate numbers but it is not necessary to work towards achieving a 50-50 ratio. Evolving a system of evaluating the program activities for their gender sensitivity will prove more useful.

- INORG needs to do two things: one, in training, provide opportunities to women, ignoring qualifications to some extent; two, let there be certain kinds of positions where preference is given to women. In other words, some kind of positive discrimination for a position should be acceptable within INORG. INORG may be an equal opportunity employer and adding a line to say "female candidates are highly encouraged to apply" does not help unless genuine efforts are made to make the vacancy announcement reach as many deserving candidates as possible. We see the problem of reaching out to the right candidates rather than the problem of having less qualified candidates. After all, how many females do we need for INORG? Gender balance in professional staff is not as important as targeting women in INORG programmes.
- It is not a question of bringing in male experts or female experts into INORG, but it is a question of bringing in gender sensitivity in programme implementation. (Men's meeting/report/1998)

These opinions demonstrated men's notions of how to achieve gender equity through rational lines of thought that argued for more gender sensitivity rather than more women. In other words, they believed that they themselves, and others like them, could be as effective as women at bringing gender concerns into their work. There was no need to radically alter the organization by making it gender balanced in numbers. "After all, how many females do we need for INORG?" expressed gender stereotyping and an assumption that women staff would work in gender programmes.

Encouraging "qualified female candidates to apply"
The contents of vacancy announcements and the choices as to where they were displayed was a key aspect of recruitment that gender advocates within INORG paid particular attention to. Decisions about where to advertise restrict the pools of potential candidates who learn of the vacancies, and allows for the informal recruitment of candidates without the use of formal criteria.

In an organization-wide survey (Table 1), many women staff in 1998 voiced their opinions that the process of recruitment was unsatisfactory. Men answering the same survey question almost unanimously found it satisfactory, and characterised by open competition. Women had mixed opinions about this topic. But one component that many women commented on was the following statement that appeared on each announcement (with the notable exception of a recent vacancy for a division head position): "INORG encourages qualified female candidates to apply." Some women mentioned that it was just 'lip service.' Others said: "for women outside, it is a big joke to make us look good like in all other international organizations. It is up to the organization to take the statement seriously." (Women's meeting/notes/1998) One staff expressed her opinion that this statement demoralised female staff. No one observed that this statement was omitted from the vacancy announcement for a Division Head; most staff believed that the choice of person for this position was determined by political pressures from one of the powerful regional countries.

Vacancies were mostly announced through the use of INORG's existing network of similar technical and scientific organizations and partners in the region – a group that was

overwhelmingly male and male dominated. Gender advocates within INORG often commented that it was not good enough to place the announcement in a few technical journals, as these might not reach audiences of professional women. "Advertisements announcing vacancies should be screened in places where women are likely to see them" was a suggestion made in the survey. Management responded that "financial constraints make it difficult to advertise vacancies widely. The regional element needs to be highlighted; we cannot afford to place it more widely." (Mulder/memo/1998)

The inaction on the part of Management to actively recruit women was a topic of great significance to the female staff:

> The recruitment of women has not happened. We have not proactively tried to attract women through vacancy announcements mentioning our crèche, educational allowances for children, etc. We have not made INORG a woman-friendly place. We have not allowed job-sharing or flex time, though we had proposed these ideas to Management. There is no sensitivity to the demands of a family. (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

More than one woman responded to the survey question on this topic by expressing her opinion that there was a clear need for affirmative action for the disadvantaged group.

After the use of the internet became widespread, the woman responsible for managing INORG's web page took the initiative herself to put the vacancy notices on the webpage and to even add information related to the women-friendly facilities of the organization in the belief that such information might attract women who otherwise would not apply. This was clearly an enactment of 'illegitimate' power', as this is the job of the Personnel Section, but no one complained. She added the following: "to make the working environment more attractive to working mothers, a day-care centre is provided for pre-school children. Transportation facilities and a cafeteria are also available." (Chanda/memo/2000)

As Alvesson and Billing (1997) point out, the recruitment policies and candidate selection by the employer does not wholly account for the paucity of women in the higher positions within organizations. There is a real constraint posed by the fact that women follow different educational paths than men. This was certainly true for the region in which INORG worked and hoped to recruit their staff from - the countries of South Asia and China, though less so in China, where it was not uncommon to find females occupying over half of the positions of scientific departments.

One professional woman stated that:

> The stated need for a PhD has kept senior women from applying, yet men with fewer qualifications are hired for the same positions. Women need more educational qualifications than men and are thus discouraged to apply. It should also be considered that women who have a break in service because of family matters are not less skilled or responsible. The concept of care-givers, who are mostly women, should be respected. (Woman/survey/1998)

In a meeting with senior women staff, the DG put it this way:

We need to make an extra effort to get more women staff, particularly where they are under-represented and it is most appropriate (there is no effort required to get women as secretaries). It is not a major problem to get women at the NO level, but for positions as international professionals we are facing considerable problems to find in both numbers and qualifications. Issues are that 1) the priority subjects of INORG are male-dominated; 2) women from the region would have to leave their countries and have their husbands come as dependents; 3) applicants are not always qualified. How do we get around this problem? We list women separately on the short list, invite at least one for an interview, even if she does not meet the qualifications. (Mulder/meeting notes/1998)

It is interesting to note that according to this statement, the DG was willing to reverse his original stance that all women selected must meet the normal qualifications as per the INORG mandate. Here he gave them a second chance, so to speak. There was no discussion, however, about the criteria for selection and whether there were alternative ways to determine a candidate's qualifications.

The belief that certain jobs are appropriate for one's sex is a form of role theory, which states that roles are normative and express expectations of ideal behaviour. Many jobs are characterised by roles that are associated with either men or women, or traits considered feminine or masculine. Culturally determined stereotypes and norms prescribe the proper place for women, and make it seem natural that they do different jobs. For example, Goetz (1991) documents norms used by senior male administrators to obstruct Bangladeshi women from undertaking field work "on the grounds that women's family related mobility constraints made them ineligible for promotions which required relocation, that women lacked the necessary qualifications for training in male specializations, and that in any case, cultural taboos prohibited them from working with a man or moving freely in the countryside." (1991: 268)

Men and women apply for different jobs because of different interests - not only because of social or organizational barriers. Men seldom apply for what are considered to be women's jobs, not only because of low status and wages, but because they are feminine. Women sometimes believe that men's jobs are alien to their identities, yet they are more likely than men to apply for these. (Alvesson and Billing, 1997) But the ascription of masculine and feminine characteristics varies by culture; for example, in Asia, it is not uncommon to find male secretaries as these positions have historically been occupied by men in government service.

Intimidating Interviews
As per INORG policies, for vacancies within the Directorate and professional positions, the top three candidates of the shortlist were invited to come for an interview with the DG, DDG, Director of Administration and the concerned Division Head - all of who were male.

In numerous meetings and reports, the gender advocates suggested that women and someone with gender expertise should be on the interview panel. As mentioned in the survey, the interview was perceived by some women to be more intimidating than it need be due to its all-male character. The DG's policy of inviting at least one woman to be interviewed was believed by some men to be very generous: "INORG recruitment policies have been very flexible to

shortlist at least one woman candidate for the interview; INORG has tried hard to recruit women." (Men's meeting/report/1998)

Some women professionals privately found this to be an insulting policy, but did not voice their opposition publicly, as it was the only action that Management was taking to bring in more women. But in reality, this policy was actualised only a few times. Instead, Management opted for evidence of an applicant's knowledge of gender issues. In the pre-selection of short listed candidates, the personnel officer (a Nepali man with no gender training) awarded up to 10 points out of a total 100 to candidates who he believed were gender sensitive. A positive structural change, perhaps, but very much flawed by granting responsibility to a non-programme staff without criteria for gender sensitivity. In one instance that I was aware of, a male candidate who had merely mentioned the word 'gender' in his cover letter received the full 10 points.

In fact, according to the comments written in the survey questionnaire, the interview presented an opportunity for men to ask women candidates questions about their domestic and private lives. One woman told of how she was asked questions about her marital status, if she planned to have a baby soon, and how she intended to look after her pre-school children. Based on the stated requirement to be physically fit to undertake frequent travel to remote and difficult mountainous regions, women were often deemed unqualified, due to the widely held stereotype that "women cannot walk" heard so often in the cities of the region.

We knew about the experiences of women who were eventually hired by the organization. But what about those who do not make it that far, who experienced the interview process but were not selected? One such case brought to my attention concerned a vacancy for a professional staff position for Coordinator for Poverty and Equity. Four persons were short listed and appeared at the interview. Three of these were women from the region, including a PhD forester from Bhutan, an Indian of minority ethnicity who held a PhD in gender studies and a Nepali woman from another mountain ethnic minority group. In the words of the Indian woman:

> The first candidate, a man who used to work at INORG, took one hour for his presentation (we were all told to prepare a 20 minute talk). The Bhutanese women and I were last and were told by the Personnel Officer that we should shorten our presentations to 10 minutes as there was too little time. I objected and said this wasn't fair to women but he said that the decision must be made by 4:00 and there was no other choice. I think that they had already decided to hire the man. Some men from Nepali NGOs said that he was hired due to his caste and that it made a joke of the phrase "women encouraged to apply". It was shocking to me and others to find that INORG is not serious about hiring women. (Applicant/notes/2001)

Knowing well the qualifications and experience of this woman, it was surprising to learn that she was not selected, and not even offered a fair chance at the interview. Instead, the Nepali man was indeed offered the post; perhaps the decision to hire him had already been made, as the women guessed. Here was a situation where Management could not claim that there were no qualified women: they had never before had such a large pool of qualified women from the region applying for a single position. Given that this position was related to social equity, it would have made sense for the selection to be of one of the women of ethnic minority background, as the

new DG was claiming to place a new emphasis on commitment to marginalised mountain communities. The selection of the Bhutanese woman, who was one of the very few from her country to possess a PhD and that in a male dominated field, would not have come as a surprise either. Given the need for a public image that looked more female, and closer to that of the mountain population, it would have been a relatively easy choice for the DG to select any one of these women. Why would this new DG, a social scientist, married to a gender specialist and seemingly keen to challenge the existing culture of INORG, demonstrate reluctance to altering the structure by selecting women above men wherever possible to redress the imbalance? Possible reasons for his reasons for not doing so are addressed below.

Selecting to fit

When, during an event for International Women's Day in 2000, the DG asked the women of INORG what they would like to see happen within the organization, one woman boldly stated that she would like to see women placed in all or in the majority of seven positions recently made vacant through a large-scale firing process. This suggestion was greeted with silence and a look of disbelief on the face of the DG, and was not seconded by any other women or men in the room. Perhaps the hiring of a significant number of women was viewed as a radical move by Management and the majority of staff.

Hochschild's (1983) study showed that employers -the gatekeepers that determine who gets in - hold firm ideas as to the attributes necessary to carry out certain jobs, and that these expectations have strong gender connotations. There may be unnecessary qualifications asked for, which are hidden ways of keeping women out of key positions. Other requirements which disadvantage women are 1) many years of experience, which women are less likely to achieve because of family duties; 2) restrictions on age - women take key years out of the labour market to have children; 3) mobility and travel, as movement is more difficult for women with children; and 4) physical requirements (Ressner, 1987).

Many men gain economically from a gendered hierarchy. As Crompton and Jones (1986) point out, men's career opportunities in white collar work depend on the barriers that deny those opportunities to women. If women were able to compete fairly with men, promotion probabilities for men would be drastically reduced. This was what many women at INORG perceived was the reason for the structural barriers that were maintained by powerful men. It fit with a notion of power as something that existed in limited amounts that must be given up by one group in order to be available to another.

Some of the comments of the professional men at INORG demonstrated their varying opinions:
- Accommodating females in staff selection by flexing regulations on qualifications may not prove healthy in the long run, because it may bring down the professional quality. What should instead be done is to aggressively try for reaching out to deserving female professionals in the region. Avoid a situation where some of the easy options of selection may adversely affect the image of female professionals by accommodating whatever comes the way.
- While there should not be any compromise on qualification for staff selection, women candidates should be preferred in case of equal qualification and performance in interview.

- For judging the candidates there are areas where women can be given higher weightage. (Anil/report/1998)

From these comments, it was evident that not all men were resistant to hiring more women professionals. Some, though, would place conditions on their identities ("from the region"). It should be noted that these conditions were not raised when discussing recruitment in general - it only came up when women were discussed.

Recruitment has a major impact on the power relations and culture of the organization, and employers are sometimes rewarded for discriminating behaviour (Alvesson and Billing, 1997). In the case of INORG, where a strong group of dominant men from the region had the greatest power, the DGs were under some pressure to bow to their demands and would receive the applause of their senior-most colleagues when they did so. This brings up the topic of leadership, and would require more data on the personalities and abilities of the new DG, Paul, in order to assess his leadership capabilities in the face of strong male resistance. For Mulder, it appeared that there was little conflict with the senior men over this point. But in one very rare instance of conferring with me on staff selection, he posed the question of whether the woman he was thinking to hire would fit into the culture of INORG. This was obviously an unspoken requirement of all candidates, and one that was subjectively assessed by the employer, relying on stereotypes and impressions. Based on her identity as a single, Western woman, he was uncertain about her fit with the male scientists in the organization, all of whom were from the regional countries. I told him frankly that she did not fit the mold, but that this was a positive point. She would bring positive changes to the established ways of doing things, and that this is what we were trying to achieve with our gender mainstreaming programme. Much to my surprise, she was hired - selected over a Pakistani male who was well known to INORG staff, and who fit the dominant image perfectly. I never did make sense of Mulder's decision to choose her over a traditional male.

One of the key grievances of the senior women was that, despite the discourse related to the rarity of qualified women for the positions, there were instances of hiring males who did not meet the minimum qualifications for the post. It is too difficult to guess at the reasons for these decisions, but it does point to the fact that decisions related to hiring are not in actuality made only using the rational objective criteria that the system claims to have established. One possible reason is that male dominated power structures are homosocial - men seek, enjoy, and prefer the company of men. This idea, discussed by Kanter, discriminates against any social group that is in the minority based on stereotypes in accordance with social category. This factor is one reason why Kanter believes it is easier for women and any other minority group if the number of them exceeds a critical mass. Homosocial behaviour also places more trust in those like oneself, who one may find to be more predictable and understandable. Cockburn (1991) says that organizations are constructed on only a partial understanding, focused exclusively on the male experience. Many men do not see the female world and hence reject its existence.

And yet, there is evidence that Mulder was not entirely convinced of the need to hire people like himself. This was evidenced by my own hiring as the gender specialist. Mulder sidestepped my lack of qualifications in gender to focus instead on what he perceived as "emotional"

characteristics of commitment, though the logical, objective decision making criteria are mentioned as well:

> Your application has been carefully reviewed and at this time, I am not yet fully convinced that there would be no other women development specialists in the region or beyond with significantly better qualifications and/or experience for the tasks. However, the uniqueness of INORG and your own commitment to the well being of the rural poor and rural women in particular let me expect that you may well fit into this position. I am therefore prepared to appoint you for a one year period. My decision is based on: your application and CV; personnel records; your self-assessment; advice from colleagues in the Directorate; advice from the Head, DFS; my impressions of your functioning over the past six months; the interview. (Mulder/memo/1995)

Knowing my background as a forester like himself, he may have trusted his perception of me as someone who shared his functionalist view of the world, and who was not politically motivated, and therefore unlikely to act as a feminist/activist, as many gender professionals in Nepal were known to be. I suspected at the time that my colleagues who had known me for five years as a forester advised him in this way as well. (Journal/1995)

"No internal promotions, please"
Within INORG, promotions and stepwise increments up the ladder were not public knowledge. Staff did not normally share this kind of information with colleagues. Even the Terms of Reference for a position were considered confidential. Therefore it was impossible to know where women stood in relation to men in terms of salaries and other benefits; the Personnel Section would not release any such data.

Our only source of information about this was presented by Management during the Women's Week: "as a group, women have received fewer training opportunities than men, but percentage-wise, female staff have fared better than males in terms of promotions. Of promotions, 21 were men, 11 were women, so more favourable to women percentage wise (27% as to 13%)." (Gender orientation/notes/1998) But one woman refuted these claims, noting that 90% of female promotions were at the GS 4-7 level (that of secretaries). Of new appointments, women made up 70% at the GS 4-7 level, 25% at the NO level and only 20% at the Professional level. (Anjali/notes/1998)

There was a perception amongst the secretaries that male secretaries were promoted faster than female secretaries: "for GS staff, career advancement stops at GS; males seem to move up categories faster than women. Male secretaries have moved up to non-secretarial positions." (Kumari/notes/1998) A few of the men had moved up to positions as editorial assistants, while only one woman had done so. They stated that the bosses believed that men have more abilities to work creatively with computers, while they think that women can only type. More instances of gender discrimination in promotions were raised by women working in the accounting section - another discipline where stereotypes about women have harmed their chances for success (Halford and Leonard, 2001).

There is little information on men's opinions about women's promotions, except for this one excerpt from the senior men's meeting: "no internal promotions, please, but open up opportunities for women of region." (Men's meeting/report/1998)

From this brief analysis of INORG's recruitment and staffing structure and processes, it is evident that the system attracts and selects people who fit into its current organizational culture and image, and thus discriminates against women. This process begins with the creation of the job, which already contains assumptions of being for men or women; the process of announcing the vacancy depends largely on existing networks, channels and known partners to communicate opportunities. Women who did manage to learn of vacancies had to demonstrate their advanced educational qualifications, and then may have been asked about their personal and domestic lives in an interview that attended by mostly senior men. In the selection process, as stated by a consultant who assessed the evaluation system, "diversity is not valued or promoted and the system currently privileges Nepalese." (Consultant's report/2000: 6) Without mentioning gender issues, this consultant did note the absence of minority groups amongst the staff. Given these barriers, it is not surprising that few women made it to the selection stage. What is not known is the terms of their employment and how these compared with those of men in similar positions. There is, however, some knowledge about how performances of women and men are evaluated and compared, which will be discussed in the following section.

5.5 Incentive and Accountability Systems
Incentive and accountability systems are also gendered. In most organizations, incentives are linked to quantitatively measurable performance targets rather than to promoting women's empowerment or bringing about changes within the structures and cultures of the organization. Accountability in bureaucracies is usually to the more demanding constituencies such as donors rather than downwards to groups of community women or even to processes of change within (Goetz, 1997).

Male Networks and Personalized Appraisals
The results of the survey questionnaire make it clear that the vast majority of men in the organization did not perceive any gender bias within the evaluation system; two-thirds of the women did not share their view. Some women expressed the opinion that the all-male bosses used intimidation tactics in the evaluation; others noted that the fairness of the system depended on the nature of the supervisor and his/her relationship with the staff member: "there is always the consideration of personalities in job evaluations. We should have at least three women and several men involved in the appraisal process. The appraisals lack transparency." (Woman/survey/1998) This was supported by an external consultant: "in the appraisals, feedback is highly personalised, as is criticism of the staff." (Consultant's report/2000: 9)

Another view expressed by women was the perception that male networks and friendships benefited men in the appraisal process. This derived from the friendships that existed between male supervisors and their male staff.

Within INORG, despite the stated objective of making gender cross-cutting throughout the organization, very few persons had any incentive to take responsibility for doing so. Even members of the GWG, the most active and knowledgeable gender group in the organization, did

not have their responsibilities formally recognised despite many recommendations to Management to do so: "a gender component should be incorporated into the TOR and annual appraisal. If included in the male or females' TOR, while reinforcing the commitment of the individual, it could also lead to improved performance in work and at a higher level than is normally done." (GWG/memo/1999) Even a very senior male offered his suggestion that incentives should be offered to professional staff to internalise gender and change their attitudes, and yet this was not done.

As the performance appraisal was the basis for awarding financial incentives and promotions, it therefore appeared that Management was not serious about the statement that all staff were responsible for the incorporation of gender concerns. In reality, it was only the two staff with explicit job descriptions related to gender that were evaluated on this aspect.

The ability of supervisors to evaluate gender staff was also questionable. But in keeping with the image of the all-knowing professional, supervisors did not admit that they were not capable of this, and made comments that demonstrated their ignorance of the topic, leaving it up to staff to refute this, in formal memos to the supervisor and copied to the DG. This was considered an act of insubordination, and so was not done by most employees, who preferred to avoid the conflict and live with the results. However, I decided to put my own self-assessment in writing after one evaluation did not recognise the efforts that I had made:

> Unlike the supervisor's assessment of my Application of Analytical and Conceptual Skills as 'meeting expected standards', I believe that my conceptual understanding of gender and organizational development and its application to INORG exceeds expected standards. Indeed, I have read every major work on the subject and have been accepted into a PhD programme based on my demonstrated knowledge of the concepts. The requests I receive for collaboration with individuals and organizations working on gender and organizational change are largely in recognition of my knowledge of and commitment to the topic. (Jeannette/memo/1999)

This form of exaggerated, self-congratulatory statement was not easy for me to write yet I felt that I had to defend the interests of myself and other women whose efforts at self-improvement would otherwise go unnoticed or unreported by supervisors. I knew that such statements were of no value except as statements placed in my file, demonstrating my lack of complicity.

Such literal expressions of disagreement with a male supervisor were not well-taken within INORG. Some perceived this behaviour as 'disloyal', while others who faced similar problems with the supervisor in question were sympathetic. The norm of the organization, and indeed the DDG's advice to me was to never put such statements on paper, from where they could not be retracted.

Rewarding those who maintain the status quo
In addition to the monetary salary increases provided to staff who 'exceeded expected standards' on their appraisals, Mulder granted awards in 1996 in recognition of valuable work undertaken by staff beyond expectations. Nominations were open from any staff member, and selection was done by a committee of seven members from different levels, excluding the DG who was to act as a 'resource person'. According to the rules, nominations could not come from the DG, DDG,

or Head of Administration. The DG described his initiative when questioned by a journalist as to how he motivated people to act as leaders:

> Every year I give an award. The first category is for service. In Nepal, service towards others is often expected from lower level to a higher level, but not visa versa. The second is developing partnerships with other colleagues, departments or institutions. The third criteria is taking initiative in an organization. In any bureaucracy, any organization, there is a danger of people taking their job for granted but we have to encourage initiative. Then we look at responsibility as another criteria that the person is careful in what he/she does. The most difficult criterion is idealism. We look at teamwork. On the first day of January the staff elects the best employee among themselves for each of these criteria. (*The Organization*, 2000: 34)

In reality, the DG played a significant role in selecting the awardees, despite his public expression of non-involvement. The exercise became a political signification of power, as staff would try to influence others to vote on their behalf. If the DG was unhappy with the vote, he quietly vetoed it and gave the award to one he thought deserving, according to some staff who served on the Committee. (Bina/notes/2000)

Overall, there was a lack of transparency in the structure, so there arose suspicions that staff evaluations were based on personal characteristics, supervisor's likes and dislikes, social relationships and inconsistent standards. The problem was not the evaluation process itself, but issues relating to the larger structure and cultures of INORG. Gender discrimination was a result of the manner in which the dominant actors of the organization used the existing system of evaluation and incentives to reward those who maintained the status quo and their life of privilege.

5.6   Communication structures

Where people share common backgrounds, they can, without discussion, confer the same meaning from information alone. But when members come from very different backgrounds, as within an international organization like INORG, there needs to be a process of mutual interaction to arrive at a common understanding. Communication is central to organizations; it defines meaning between people and establishes common understandings. Yet the structures of most organizations are characterised by separation and competition, which promote barriers between departments, and encourage members within one department to view members in other departments as competitors rather than allies.

Much of the feminist literature has stressed the differences between men and women's style of communication and ways of viewing the world (e.g. West and Zimmerman, 1985; Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990). Where those in power are men of a similar background, communication can occur effortlessly by straightforward information flows within the group. Kanter states that women, however, will find it difficult to break into this group due to communication barriers that exist between men and women (1989). She notes in her study of Indsco that time pressures meant that communication had to be rapid amongst members of the hierarchy, and this was assured by limiting managerial jobs to those who were homogenous, both in terms of gender and social background. With this strategy, they avoided communication with those considered 'difficult' - a label they gave to the women of the organization.

Much of the discussion on communication will appear in Chapter 6 but formal channels of communication will be described here. Hierarchical organizations are designed in ways that dictate who may and may not communicate with whom through formal lines of reporting and authority. In vertical communication, instructions are passed down the hierarchy and information related to the implementation of those directions comes back up at a later point in time. This form of one-way communication is just an "information transfer". There is no assurance that meaning is understood or shared through this method, so it is well recognised that this form of communication is supplemented by informal communication, which is more likely to be two-way and interactive and relies on networks (Newell, 2001). The gendered aspects of these networks are linked to homosocial groups and behaviours that exclude women and minorities. For men in senior positions, formal and informal networks are the same, but others often need to create separate networks of members with similar backgrounds for support (Ibarra, 1993).

With an understanding of organizations as sites of power, domination and resistance, communication must be seen as the medium through which gendered relations of power are produced and expressed. The key question is what are the specific ways in which communication structures and processes contribute to the production and maintenance of existing systems of dominance?

Miss-Reporting
Structural barriers to effective communication include hierarchy, which restricts the free flow of communication; specialisation, which reduces communication between departments; and centralisation which removes decision makers from the reality of their subordinates (Newell, 2001). For INORG's Gender Programme, reporting became a major constraint to creating a perception of positive achievement within the organization. Due to its structural location within a division, the reporting of accomplishments, problems, needs, etc. could only be transmitted upward, to the decision makers, via the Division Head (Anil), as per the norms of the organization. But Anil frequently miss-reported the facts, or did not report on any activity at all, giving the impression that the Programme was not active. This misrepresentation may have been intentional, as a strategy of domination, or it may have been accidental; however, the fact that the situation continued despite many protestations to both Anil and the DG made it appear to have been intentional. Finally, with a sense of frustration, even Anil demanded a correction to the situation, as he was bearing the blame. In a memo to the DG, he and I stated our views: "over four years ago, the Gender Programme was established. At that time, the decision was made to house this programme within DFS based on the concept that gender issues were most relevant to household farming systems. The Division was intended to provide administrative support and report on its work. Even during this time, when the Programme was in line programmatically with the DFS, certain problems related to administration and reporting were encountered." (Anil and Jeannette/memo/1999)

Over the four years, the Gender Programme had already started to integrate its work within other divisions, moving beyond the Women and Agriculture activities outlined in DFS. In this process, structural constraints of maintaining what Anil termed the "parking lot" mentality emerged. Some conflicts were encountered in administrative matters, reporting, and presenting the programme as "DFS plus gender". Reporting of gender activities was confined to bimonthly

meetings of the Gender Committee, providing information up to the Division Heads and Directorate; much less information on gender relevant items of the divisions came down to the gender staff.

The Gender Committee, comprised of the Management, Division Heads and some others, was the highest level of the gender structures. Gender reporting was indeed limited by not having its own 'voice', except in bimonthly meetings of this Committee, chaired by the DG. In these too, there were barriers. After each meeting, minutes had to be submitted to the DG for editing. He sometimes omitted items that he considered controversial, leaving out topics that were considered urgent and significant by the Gender staff and the GWG.

In a memo to the DG, I expressed my concerns about the limitations of the Gender Committee:
> As for the idea that the Gender Committee can act as the coordinating body, I am not sure that it has the proper stature to do so. So far, it has been mostly an information-sharing body, and one that directs the gender programme of DFS. As I have stated many times, the greatest limitation that I have witnessed so far to the gender programme is that of reporting through DFS channels. While we do have our voice in the GG meetings, it is only on a bimonthly basis and is not part of the mainstream management structure of INORG. It does not have the same level of authority that a division does so misreporting (or no reporting) of gender programme activities is common. (Jeannette/memo/1997)

In response to the communication barriers erected and held in place by the hierarchy and those with positions of power, we formed alternative structures to forward our agenda. The GWG was formed under my leadership (with the permission of the DG), with staff of various levels and both sexes who had attended the gender training course. In this group, communication styles differed significantly from the formal style of the Gender Committee. In the opinions of two external gender consultants:
> The activities of the GWG resulted in higher visibility of the female staff: their roles and responsibilities as well as problems they faced at different positions. Especially women were given the opportunity to express themselves. It is obvious the female staff appreciates the results. (Consultant/gender monitoring report/1999)

In the beginning, several women decided that there should be a separate structure for only women, so we formed a Gender and Workplace Committee. The membership of two professionals, three NOs and nine administrative staff decided, by consensus, to remain autonomous, as a forum where female staff could comfortably speak and give their honest views. In recognition of this objective, the group decided to rename itself the Women's Group and to welcome all women staff to attend its meetings. However, after this initial meeting, the group disbanded, reportedly due to resentment expressed by male staff about exclusive all women groups.

The Gender Resource Centre was established to increase the informal interactions and communication between male and female staff, though this space was only used by women as a meeting place during lunch hour. This seemed to address women's stated need for a separate space without appearing as such, and so went unchallenged by men. The women even went to the extent of purchasing games that they knew the men enjoyed to give the impression of

welcoming them, but actually, they considered it their own space and were pleased that men did not occupy it.

Formal communication channels clearly excluded women's interests within INORG. Despite repeated requests from women at all levels, the Management resisted making structural alterations to accommodate the interests of the women, and the interests of the Gender Programme to share our perspectives, seek feedback, influence senior men and be included in decisions that would affect the entire organization. Instead, senior men controlled the power of women and stifled our voices through various tactics that will later be described. In response, women formed their own structures as and where needed, and tried to gain some autonomy from the Management to allow us to communicate in ways suited to our desires, allowing previously suppressed voices to emerge.

5. 7 Conclusion
This chapter examined the relations between gender and organizational structures and attempted to provide some clarity regarding the questions of how such formalised practices and procedures constrain or support efforts to make organizations more responsive to women's gender interests. Various conceptions of power (functionalist, structural and poststructural) were used to analyse male dominance within INORG by looking at the organization's structures, hierarchies, decision-making processes, rules, functional categories, and communication channels.

Through an analysis of INORG's structures, it is evident that all three perspectives on power were represented within the organization. Mulder expressed a liberal, functionalist perspective, assuming that structures could be neutral and could challenge discrimination. However this view was countered by many of the female gender advocates and some female staff who expressed their structural understanding of power based on evidence that structures themselves reflected unequal power relations and disadvantaged women. A poststructural view of power that sees the organization as a set of discourses that contributes to the construction of gendered identities and behaviours affected by one's structural placement within the hierarchy and one's historical background is also evident throughout this study, though it may not have been articulated by any of the organizational members. The discourses that framed knowledge and identities of masculinity and femininity within INORG will be analysed in Chapter 6 and in Part III.

Actions by the DG and others to allow women a voice, and to create committees, groups and spaces for women's representation, when taken at face value, appear to have been significant structural changes to allow gender equality goals to be reached. But without a corresponding goal for women to hold an equal share of power, no real progress was possible. This became clear through the repeated refusal of the Management to allow structural changes, minor or major, requested by male and female gender advocates that would have significantly advanced women's gender interests within the organization. Instead, gender structures, granted without power and authority, were soon perceived to be superficial features, empty of substance.

Was this an intentional aim of the men in power? This is a particularly difficult question to address, and one that is key to crafting strategies for gender mainstreaming. Data that could reliably show **why** the DG and senior men acted as they did would be difficult for me to come by. Though an insider to INORG, I was excluded from the inner circles of these men, where

secrets were shared and such discussions might have provided insights. Speculation on their intentions was indeed a common pastime in the organization, but these speculations cannot be supported with 'facts'. This is one area where insider positionality may possibly demonstrate too close an identification with the setting and actors. For this reason, I attempted to maintain an awareness of this tendency, and to disallow speculation into this text.

Having stated the limitations above, I will here posit an opinion on intentionality, one that diverges from that of the poststructuralists, who deny that organizational discourses of power can be seen as deliberate acts. Though individually men may not have had a conscious intent to control women, collectively, their actions appeared as attempts to actively maintain structural barriers to women's equal participation in the organization, through mechanisms of habitual behavioural patterns, communication, and the hierarchy itself.

From the analysis presented above, the conclusion is that INORG's structural features were not gender neutral, and that they were, in fact, to varying degrees, actively maintained by senior men in positions of power.

Saying this does not preclude the constraints imposed on organizational actors by the external society and dominant paradigms described in Chapter 4. In the context of INORG, the initial good intentions of the leader could not be realised in an organizational environment that had never been welcoming to women. Without even a quarter of professional positions occupied by women and situated in a geographical region dominated by traditional ideologies about women, even the most egalitarian management structure would have been insufficient to bring about a significant change.

Another reason for INORG's failure to generate structural change was its blindness to issues of power, and its refusal to allow debate on the taken-for –granted nature of the power relations. Misunderstandings and conflicts between the Management and gender advocates from 1998 – 2001 arose in large part due to conflicting views on power, and to differing expectations as to what was desired. Behind the scenes, actions by senior male staff enacting hidden forms of power contributed to the neutral appearance of power and served to blind the gender advocates and all other staff to the internal processes of discrimination. This blindness became apparent late in the process, when it became clear that as the prominence of gender issues increased, so did the resistance, described in Part III.

Women and men of INORG, including me and the DG himself, were both agents and subjects of this power system. The power structure, not static, may be understood in terms of ambiguous and changing social relations between actors. Though perhaps dominated by a group of men of a privileged class and ethnicity, the power relations within INORG were not fixed, but were rather a fluid result of negotiations and interactions between people trying to influence the behaviour of others. An individual's structural location in an organization affects his or her attitudes, values and behaviours through determining the degree of authority and autonomy she/he can exercise over their actions, but this does not determine the degree of resistance and agency that she/he will enact. One's history, gender, identity, ideology and professional ambitions also affect the enactment and effectiveness of her/his discretionary power. This is a poststructural view of power, and one that began to emerge in my own understanding of the process, though I could not

name it at the time. This progress in my own understanding of power is further described in the next chapter.

Structurally, therefore, INORG was ill-equipped to transform itself into a gender responsive organization, not just because it reflected the gender relations in the wider society, but because of the hierarchy and system of power that itself was a gendering process. Transformative change cannot occur simply by a tinkering with structures, procedures or recruitment but requires challenging the existing systems of power. Under INORG's authoritative structure, this was very difficult, as the requirements of conformity and loyalty stifled all voices of alternative views and dissent, and diffused the power of their adherents.

And yet, it was widely agreed amongst the members of INORG that the culture of this highly structured, bureaucratic organization became more gender sensitive in the six years since the gender mainstreaming initiative began. The next chapter will divulge how accurate these perceptions were, and how cultural factors may provide a more insightful analysis of the gendered nature of an organization.

Chapter 6   Gendered Organizational Cultures and Informal Practices

6.1   Introduction

Gender discrimination is common to most organizations, but takes unique forms within each organization according to local histories, symbolic languages and senses of commitment or opposition. The particular discourses and practices that achieve this are its organizational culture. The culture of an organization embodies accepted assumptions about the 'correct' way that a particular organization should operate.

On an analytical level, structural conditions of organizations and the practices of actors within those organizations are separated. But these are inseparable, since just as organized structures determine people's actions, so do people determine the organized structures. If organizations are viewed as cultures, they appear as webs of meaning that are constructed through the everyday practices of actors. Attending more closely to the process rather than the organizational chart will reveal how organizational practices are related to ideas about their proper purpose and rationality.

An understanding of day to day practices found in organizations is crucial to an understanding of the culture of gender inequality at work. These practices include expressions of power, leadership, values and beliefs, organizational norms, masculine and feminine ideals embodied in stereotypes, symbols and styles, and processes of communication and collaboration. It is argued here that in addition to being the cause of gender inequality, these features are fundamental to their daily reproduction and to the continuity of the status quo. Indeed, it is to the cultural features of organizations like INORG that a researcher must look for answers to the questions regarding the causes of structural inequality and the puzzling levels of resistance to change.

Theories used to assist in the analysis of INORG's gendered organizational culture are related to culture, power, leadership, masculinity, and communication. Theories on culture are put forth by Smircich (1983), Alvesson (1993), and Martin (1992); leadership theories are elucidated by Schein (1985) and Sinha (1995); communication by Tannen (1994). Conceptions of power (liberal, structural and poststructural) are briefly reiterated here; their relation to culture is discussed for various interpretations of how and why dominance is informally maintained, outside of the formal structures of the organization. Other aspects of power termed 'authoritative' and 'male' are employed here as well.

This chapter will primarily address the following questions and sub questions:

- How does the understanding of gender expressed in development ideologies and social values impact the culture(s) of an organization?

- What are the underlying assumptions and values of key actors within the organization, and how are these associated with masculinity and femininity? How do these influence organizational practices and social interactions?

Answers to these questions are presented, based on two interpretations of power that are used to describe cultural aspects of organizations - authoritarian (a type of functionalist power) and 'male'(a type of structural power) - to describe the relationship between gender and culture.

Sources of data for this chapter include personal observations during my position as an insider for over 11 years, internal memos and reports, results of a survey to assess gender equity in the workplace at INORG, interviews, entries from my own diary during the research period, from 1998-2000 and notes of formal and informal meetings.

6.2   Concepts of Culture and Organizations

Since the 1980s, the concept of culture in relation to organizations has been extensively analysed. In a seminal paper, Smircich (1983) drew attention to two main perspectives within the organizational literature: culture as variable - something that an organization 'has', and culture as a root metaphor - something an organization 'is'. In this structural perspective that sees culture as variable, culture is the mobilisation of hierarchical power by management to deliberately achieve a unity of meaning for all members, achieved through the manipulation of symbolic devices such as rituals, myths, stories and specialised language.

The second approach –that used in this thesis -views organizations not as what they may become, but what they are, as "expressive forms of subjective experience" (Smircich, 1983: 348). Culture is defined as shared knowledge and meaning, emerging out of the social interactions and negotiation of organizational members, defining in a 'taken–for-granted' way an organization's view of itself and its environment. Culture is both "the shaper of human action and the outcome of a process of social creation and reproduction" (Legge, 1995: 186) and exists as a "pattern of symbolic relationships and meanings, sustained through continuous processes of human interaction" (Smircich, 1983: 353). Research using this approach focuses on shared key values and beliefs that convey a sense of identity to members and offers a sense-making device that guides and shapes behaviour (Pfeffer, 1981).

Drawn from anthropology, this approach requires interpretation or deciphering in order to be understood - a point that justifies the need for a reflexive and open admission of the author's standpoint and historical context. Culture is not seen as monolithic, but rather belonging to all members, who articulate different versions of reality. Here power is not viewed as belonging solely to the dominant group or management, but is individual and fluid. The focus of research with this approach is on language, symbols, stories and rituals, which are thought to be generative processes - not artefacts - that shape meanings.

The two approaches present two widely divergent views of organizational reality and power. Organizational culture may be viewed as a form of 'male power' but this chapter and Chapter 7 demonstrate how subcultures that resist this dominance also exist, giving evidence which suggests that cultures are fragmented, and that the relationships between culture and gender are not as one-directional as the structuralist approach claims.

Initially, the Gender Programme staff and Mulder held views of culture corresponding to those of the first approach. We first believed that, through the appropriate actions of the Management, we would be able to transform the organizational culture and create a more gender-responsive

organization. The dominant view of this group was that the gender biased attitudes and beliefs dominant in South Asian societies could be eradicated within INORG through deliberate manipulation by the DG and the Gender Programme staff by offering structural incentives, gender training and informal discussions. Indeed, the entire strategy for gender mainstreaming was based on this view. How effective and feasible it was is a question to be answered in the conclusion.

Alvesson uses the term "cultural traffic" (1993: 80) to describe the reciprocal influences of organizations and their external environments that affect gender relations, as well as other aspects of organizational life such as class, ethnicity, and professions. He states that cultural traffic is "a key feature of modern organizations, counteracting any unity and unique character and limiting the influence of management." Though the literature includes studies of organizational socialisation, Alvesson claims that little attention has been paid to 'feeder cultures' and the interplay between organizations and society. In contrast, there exists a plethora of studies on 'strong figures', such as founders and charismatic leaders.

An exception is the work of Hofstede (1980), who conducted extensive cross-cultural studies in 50 countries to examine features of power distance, masculinity, collectivism and uncertainty avoidance in national cultures. He pointed out that organizational cultures are a phenomenon different in many respects from national cultures in which they are embedded.

The gendered aspects of organizational culture are discussed by many authors. They are seen in hierarchies and patriarchies by Itzin (1995); social divisions by Newman (1995); departments by Roper (1994); jobs and roles by Kanter (1977); personnel processes by Alimo-Metcalfe (1993); promotions by Davidson and Cooper (1992), salaries by Symons (1992); discourses and sexualised environments by Itzin (1995); and bullying and power plays by Itzin (1995). Acker (1990) and Alvesson and Billing (1997) claim that all organizational cultures are gendered. Gheraldi suggests that the symbolic order of gender is woven into organizational cultures based on familial archetypes of gender relationships (1995). Gender relationships at work reflect, create and amend the symbolic order of gender in society.

Some of these organizational features will be discussed below, in relation to the key elements of INORG's gendered organizational culture.

6.3   Foundations of Power

Various approaches to understanding power -functionalist, structuralist and poststructuralist - discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to formal organizational structures are considered here in relation to organizational culture and informal processes within the workplace. Specifically, this chapter will discuss two forms of power in relation to organizational cultures within the South Asian context: authoritative power and 'male power'. A postructural approach is used to understand power exercised in the events discussed in Chapters 7-9 of Part III.

Authoritative Power

The uses of authoritative power from the functionalist perspective, in formal practices and structures, have already been discussed in the previous chapter. Though this form of power is predominantly viewed using a functionalist approach, because of the complex interweaving of

bureaucracies and society, authoritative power affects informal practices and organizational cultures as well as formal, structures aspects of organizations. As Collinson and Hearn state (1996), hierarchy and managerial control are interlinked in a complex manner with cultural notions of patriarchy, resistance, subordination and masculinity (further discussed on page 114). Acker concurs, noting that it is near impossible to point to analytically independent structures of bureaucracy and patriarchy to capture the way in which gender "is implicated in the fundamental constitution of all social life." (1989: 238)

In a similar vein, Calas and Smircich (1989) note that images of patriarchal paternalism may be embedded in ideals of how managers lead their organizations. The ideal of the strong, competent authoritative leader who looks after his organizational 'family' strongly influences organizational behaviour related to leadership, masculinity/femininity, attitudes and norms.

Due to the hegemonic nature of patriarchy in this geographical region, the power of patriarchs is often taken for granted and considered legitimate, in a cultural sense. The collectivism characteristic of Asian societies also affects power aspects of organizational cultures, as organizational members in positions of authority seek to promote their own cultural groups, whether these are based on class, caste, nationality, ethnicity or gender (Sinha and Sinha, 1995) through authoritative means. These groups play key roles in the construction of informal systems of oppression and resistance through cultural features of organizations; this leads us to a consideration of power from a structuralist perspective as well, seeing authoritative power situated in a continuum between functionalist and structuralist views (see Diagram 2).

Practices of authoritarian power abound within INORG and included many forms of formal and informal processes. Authoritarian power was not limited to the DG, but was widely exercised by the division heads, professionals, and many others in circumstances involving interactions between a 'lower' and 'higher'. Power was often manifest through communication, such as when authority figures decided not to disclose information to colleagues, and to disallow dissent.

An example of the authoritarian power of the DG was found in his control over information and knowledge within the organization. For the female Nepali secretaries and NO staff selected to participate in the gender training course, a requirement was to conduct an internal assessment of their own organization. For many administrative level female staff, this became problematic, after being told by Mulder that they should not do the assessment. Therefore, there was some reluctance to conduct this research, due to a fear of angering the boss and appearing disloyal.

In an entry to my journal, I noted the way in which Management attempted to control my own behaviour and activities:

> I approached Mulder with the idea of my PhD programme, telling him that it was linked to the programme activity that I was responsible for, and that I would not disseminate anything without his approval. To my surprise, he said that he not only approved, but encouraged it and offered that I could take time off without pay. Two days later, he sent a memo telling me my PhD was not deemed to be "in INORG's short term interest" and listed four reasons why my leave was denied, all related to aspects of time. (Journal/1999)

This may not have been the true reason for the attempt to constrain my research, but this denial was perceived by both female and male staff who learned of it as an unfair attempt to control and constrain my professional growth and development in an organization that had been advised by its Board to increase the number of staff holding PhDs.

Intimidation was recognised by many staff to be a common practice of the authoritarians within the organization, but it was particularly felt by the female professional staff: "I am concerned about the atmosphere within INORG; the hierarchy affects men as well through the 'fear factor', but women more as they are at lower levels plus due to their cultural upbringing." (Chanda/interview/2001) The expression of intimidation by the DG was perceived by the senior women to be a particularly potent and damaging form of power which will be further explored in Chapter 7.

Another example of the authoritarian power of the DG was observed when the new DG, eight months into his term, decided suddenly to fire seven senior and long term professional staff, with no discussions or consultation with the Board or his deputy. Though this came as a total shock to staff, his actions were publicly criticized only by those who were dismissed, who decried his 'misuse' of authority to take such drastic measures. Other staff members privately expressed only their fears of being similarly dismissed. Many professionals stated their belief that he had calculated that in an organizational environment so accustomed to authoritarian control, he would not be penalized and would only gain more respect and submission from employees.

One symbolic expression of Mulder's power was that he rarely visited staff in their offices. Instead, he summoned them to his office through a phone call by the secretary – an act that intimidated many staff. Yet he described his management style as one of 'managing by roaming around', which is perhaps the way he thought of his own style of leadership. The reality was very different. In many ways, Mulder was perceived to resemble a traditional patriarch, both symbolically and behaviourally. And yet, his authority was legitimised through a modern, ideal form of bureaucratic power – he came to power through a process of recruitment and selection. The way in which his personality and positional power combined to form his style is described using the contingency theory of leadership later in this chapter.

'Male Power'
A structuralist perspective that conflates 'male' with 'masculine' dominates the literature on gender and organizational culture (e.g., Kuypers, 1999; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Green, Parkin and Hearn, 2001). In much of this work the term 'male power' is used, espousing a view that sees organizations and their structures as tools of men based on men's experiences and attitudes that shape the way in which things are perceived and actualised. Organizational hierarchies, rules and practices are used to exclude women and consequently shape gender relations in a way intended to maintain the existing balance of power, according to this view. This structuralist understanding of power sees women as a homogenous group, subordinated not only at the structural level, but also at the ideological level, through language, images, behaviour and ideas - the construction of 'knowledge' that becomes the unquestioned way of doing and being. 'Male power' is thus understood to be more than rules and hierarchies, and is deeply embedded throughout all aspects of the organization's design and functions.

A large body of organizational research including that of these researchers and others indicates that masculinity determines the general and gender cultures within organizations. As reported by many of these scholars, whose research is almost entirely from Western, developed country contexts, 'male power' includes practices related to masculinity, communication, discourse, imagery, and the marginalisation of family-related concerns. In this regard, the term refers to only one kind of masculinity – that termed 'hegemonic' by writers in this field (e.g. Connell, 1987; Collinson and Hearn, 1994). It does not explain the behaviour and position of non-powerful men. Cheng's study on Asian and Asian American male candidates who were rejected as possible selections for positions of team managers because assessors viewed them as 'too feminine' provides an example of how men, as well as women, can be subordinated and marginalised by the dominant discourses of the West (Cheng, 1996).

Yet it is difficult to avoid this essentialist view that collapses men and masculinity, perhaps due to the pervasiveness of men and masculine values in organizations, even those outside of Western societies. The most easily observable features of the gendered nature of power in organizational cultures are those essentialised male and female characteristics. Traditional notions of the dichotomy between the private sphere associated with women, femininity, sexuality, family and emotions and the public sphere associated with men, masculinity, technology, politics, work and organizations have contributed to the taken-for-granted nature of the dominance of men in the workplace both structurally and culturally. It is exactly this 'natural' aspect of organizational reality that allows these practices to go unquestioned by those women and some men who do not benefit from them.

The hegemonic masculinity to which Connell (1987) refers has a long history in the societies of South Asia. While contested as a valid concept in western, developed countries, the notion of patriarchy as an overarching system of power is much more accepted in the South Asian region (e.g., Agarwal, 1988; Kabeer, 1994). Patriarchy provides a foundation for the legitimation of male authority and cultural domination in the public as well as private spheres of life. A traditional belief in the inferiority of women seems to permeate the South Asian mentality and manifest itself in all spheres of life, both private and public. Though few organizational members seemed conscious of daily examples of its enactment within the organization, there were times when it was so obvious that women pointed it out to one another. One such occasion was a divisional party hosted by one of the Nepali male professionals at his home. As recounted by Doma, his only female divisional colleague:

> Remember how he used to say that he was married to a woman of an ethnic minority group, so there was gender equality in his home. But when we went to a dinner party at his home, his wife was in her apron; she did the cooking and then sat separately from the men. She has her own money that he gives her, and drives her own car but that is the extent of her freedom. (Doma/interview/2001)

'Male power' is not limited to men; it can be utilised by women as well. Though problematic, this view of 'male power' is deemed to be of some use in this thesis, as it presents a view of power that is outside of the formalised, authoritarian power available to only a few men, and may help to understand power that is more widely dispersed amongst men in general. However, this thesis will attempt to go beyond an essentialised approach, to view 'male' power, masculinity and femininity as culturally constructed and not necessarily intentional. In keeping with this,

questions of how women adopt 'male power' will also be addressed. Data on the behaviours of non-powerful men is not included in this thesis, as my interest is in more 'hegemonic' forms of power of significance to gender equality.

Practices that could be seen as those of 'male power' in INORG included many forms of formal and informal processes. Formal structural practices described in Chapter 5 included the selection of staff through hiring, rewarding of staff through promotion and financial incentives, controlling staff's activities through job descriptions and directives, and controlling staff behaviours through threats of contract termination or denying increases. Those that have been documented included: excluding women from important events, meetings, and fora where well-known professionals have been invited; controlling female staff through intimidation and fear; spreading false rumours about women staff that undermine their professional image; taking credit for work done by women and lower level staff; undermining the qualities and work experiences of women; controlling communication patterns and information; determining the discourse of the organization's programmes; setting norms and deciding what behaviours are valued, and sexual harassment. Examples of such power episodes will appear in Chapter 8, along with examples of women's collective action that attempted to counteract this domination and a woman's use of 'male power' as well.

6.4   Leadership
Leadership and power overlap in many ways, most obviously in the matter of style. The contingency theory of leadership espoused by Fiedler (1967) states that a leader will select his/her style based on specific organizational contexts. This approach postulates that the contingency variables that are most significant determinants of leadership style are: 1) the leader's personal characteristics; 2) the employees' characteristics and expectations; 3) the groups' characteristics and 4) the structure of the organization. Sinha (1995) adds two additional variables: purposes for influencing and organizational climate. Styles of leadership correspond to modes of expressing power.

The questions to be addressed in this subsection related to the topic of leadership are:

How is power related to leadership? What role do leaders play in determining the organizational culture, and what practices do they use to do so? What are the predominant styles of leadership, and what determines the choice of strategies? How are the leaders' roles and behaviour affected by national/regional cultural contexts and their own social identities? How do leadership styles affect the gendering of an organization?

Data for this section derives mainly from staff's assessments and opinions about the DGs of INORG. Normally, a discussion of leadership would include the leader's own point of view. While such data would be an asset to this thesis, it would raise questions of authenticity. I had observed, during interviews given to two outside gender consultants, that his responses had not always provided accurate, factual information, perhaps due to his concern about public images. Further, at the time I undertook this study, my relationship with him was strained for reasons described in Chapter 7. However, I did refer to two interviews done with him by outside gender experts and journalists for a local magazine covering organizational development issues in order to glean his professed view of his own achievements as a leader.

Another reason I did not attempt to conduct an interview with Mulder was that I suspected that information he would provide would not be very valuable to this study. Based on events described in Chapter 7, I perceived that Mulder viewed me as someone trying to challenge his authoritarian power. Personality characteristics of leaders affect styles, and his authoritarian style of leadership was power-oriented and based on a belief in centralised decision-making and keeping information to oneself, with an emphasis on power and prestige – none of which would have made an interview with him likely to yield valid or useful results while possibly jeopardizing my ability to conduct the study.

How is power related to leadership? A manager like Mulder factors in the expectations of his/her employees as well in responding to situations. In a culture where patrons play a critical role and where dependency and personalised relationships are extremely important, as in South Asia, employees commonly use approaches that are suited to the styles and preferences of their supervisors to achieve their personal and organizational goals, so the relationship between manager and employee is carefully observed by each partner and adjusted accordingly. This is consistent with comments made by INORG staff that demonstrated a commonly held perception of how one got ahead in the organization:

> People are performing, doing things that are perceived or are acceptable to the DG, not sure of what is rewarded in beginning. Same sort of 'chamcha-ing' is going on now as before. People are watching the DG and the DDG to some extent, very closely; watching the way he wants things informally, sitting arrangements, informal tea times, not making formal speeches, trying to act more on our level. Everyone is trying to impress the DG. (Doma/interview/2001)

Stories of staff who reportedly succeeded in securing the favour of the DG by disclosing and fabricating information about their supervisors and colleagues abound in INORG, according to Roshan and Nirmal. As Bishnu stated, "this reflects Nepali culture, telling the boss what you think he wants to hear." (Bishnu/notes/2000)

One of the characteristics of Mulder that was liked by many was his concern for the welfare of his staff and their families. Mulder and his wife visited staff who were hospitalized and Mulder was known to be very lenient in providing additional sick leave for those who required it. This engendered a sense of loyalty amongst the South Asian staff that he treated in this manner. This personal characteristic, besides being a sincere expression of concern, appeared to be an effective means of garnering power and a feature associated with the charismatic leaders that are believed

by Sinha (1995) and other organizational researchers to be so effective in this region. It was a form of paternalism that staff appreciated and expected of him.

How are leaders' roles affected by cultural contexts and their own identities? A common topic of discussion amongst INORG staff was the leadership styles expressed by the Management staff, including the DG, DDG and Director of Administration. Staff pondered whether these styles developed in response to the South Asian context, or whether they were an inherent expression of the leaders' personalities. Many staff, especially those from the region, focused their attention on analysing his behaviour, likes and dislikes, and strengths and weaknesses. One's relationship with the boss was believed by many to determine one's degree of success within the organization; others, particularly from Western and other Asian countries saw their relationship to him as less critical to their work experience. (Staff discussions/notes/2000)

Cheng (1983) argues that new employees learn about behavioural norms by observing their superiors and by interacting with subordinates. Stories, rumours, myths, critical incidents, written or unwritten instructions and explanations are used to develop a picture of how the organization works. This picture has a pervasive influence over leadership as well. Where the organizational climate and leadership styles match, there is a process of mutual reinforcement; where there is a significant disjuncture; there is a pressure to change either the climate or the style.

It appears that Mulder, in this sense, was also sensitive to the environment of an organization situated in South Asia, though as a Westerner, this was unexpected of him. His authoritarian style of management may have been derived more from his personality or previous work experience in a large, very bureaucratic organization rather than an attempt to intentionally appropriate a style of leadership that could bring him added power. But whatever the source, his style fit the organizational climate of INORG very well, until a change was demanded by internal and external actors.

At the end of Mulder's tenure, the Board made a decisive move to recruit a new DG who demonstrated a different style of leadership. Paul was that man; his style was participatory, and his rhetoric was that of participatory management, management by vision, etc. His entry into the organization was marked by a widespread sense of relief by many professional staff who felt that Mulder's authoritarian style had been excessive.

> We were so much affected by Mulder's autocratic ways that we find it hard now to think for ourselves, make our own decisions, and give inputs to the Management, even when they request it. When Paul came, it was as if the feeling of oppression that existed when Mulder was around was lifted and the door to fresh air had opened. (Bina/notes/2000)

Due to his more open and participatory style, staff claimed that their sense of well being, self – esteem and even personal power increased under Paul's management.

> I have more personal power under Paul. I believe that I am listened to more by Gautam and Paul, I am called more by them for inputs. Never by Mulder. He made me feel like a minion who was never valued, he shot me down. Paul writes emails, asks my opinion, asks me to talk to people, I feel more valued as a professional. He listened to me when I talked about my PhD, I was able to convince him to allow me to do it and I felt proud of that." (Sara/interview/2001)

> People are much more comfortable with Paul then Mulder. Personally, I am more comfortable with him. Not that I had any moments where I had to fear Mulder but still I didn't have the same feeling of openness, comfort. (Doma/interview/2001)

Research shows that even leaders with participative styles resort to manipulation and authoritarian measures in unfavourable climates. (Ansari, 1990) An example of this was evidenced by Paul's behaviour during the first year of his tenure. His rhetoric was that of participatory management, but actions sometimes resembled the controlling style of his predecessor. Given the high hopes of the staff for a new style of leadership that offered them more of a role in decision-making, they were bound to be disappointed and disillusioned by such actions. Some of the staff questioned whether this new focus on dispersed power was sincere or whether it was a political manoeuvre to secure greater support from members under the guise of participation in decision making.

> Even with the openness of Paul, trying to relate to each of us, trust will be very hard. For me, what strikes me the most was when he was trying to be most participatory and inclusive. I thought, 'wow, this guy is great'. But then he changed the daily subsistence allowance without even listening to our working group recommendations. (Doma/interview/2001)

Leaders as Managers of Culture
The perception of leaders as managers of culture was widespread among most of the professional staff. "To a large degree, the culture of an organization is determined by the one or two at the top. A leader CAN change a culture, but he has to make a restructuring. Attitude is important." (Roshan/interview/2001)

Staff perceived that the culture was maintained through the DG's favouring and rewarding certain employees; his selection of which persons were hired was the other major manner in which he was believed to control culture. He was viewed as the manager of culture, as one who could single-handedly transform the organization.

The history of INORG was delineated by the 'eras' of the DGs. At a retreat of all professional staff in 2000, when a facilitator asked staff to recall significant events within the history of the organization, all the memories offered were linked to the man who directed the organization at that time. This process prompted long term staff to recall not only the events, but their opinions on how effective particular DGs had been in managing work styles, productivity and the image of INORG at that time. The vividness of these memories and the staffs' subjective opinions about the effectiveness of various managers pointed to their high degree of significance within the organizational milieu.

Image management was an important function of the DGs at INORG, as the solvency of the organization was based on impressions of donors who determined whether or not to provide funds. Mulder was considered by the staff and many outsiders to be very effective at this, based on the amount of funding he was able to secure during his tenure. Part of his strategy to manage the organizational image must have included praising his staff, for he reportedly spoke highly of the professional staff to outsiders, even of those whom he may have privately disliked or found

unproductive. His use of symbols such as the official flag on the INORG car, though considered by many to be signs of a man who personally needed affirmation of his status, could be considered as a form of positive image management. His attention to his dress was another form of image manipulation; his daily uniform consisted of a jacket and tie. In addition, he was fond of giving formal speeches that extolled INORG's achievements and qualifications.

The new DG used image management as well. The Board's selection of Paul was in part based on their impression of his ability to transform the image of the organization into a more 'modern' institution focused on its mission to assist mountain people while providing more accountability to the donors. His message was one of organizational change, to become a leaner and more competitive research and development organization that could compete with others for scarce funds. His stated preferences for visionary leadership and a more democratic management style were part of the image that the Board wished to present to the world.

And yet, despite these proclamations and symbols of men in control, were these two western men effective leaders, able to mold the organization into what they desired? Were they, as believed by functionalists, able to make significant contributions to the organizational culture(s), or Schein claims, manipulate culture (1985)? Did they provide members with a sense of distinctiveness, a sense of purpose, and the 'glue' that binds people together? Were they instrumental in determining how members thought about the organization and their roles within it?

I would argue here that neither of these DGs profoundly altered the culture of the organization during their tenure. This is not a reflection of their leadership abilities per se, but rather a reflection of the nature of INORG – an organization that could not claim to have a homogenous culture. Staffed by men and women of over 12 nationalities speaking almost as many languages, several castes, numerous ethnicities, four religions, two genders, and over a dozen professions, INORG was an organization of fragmented groups and individuals, united through their employment and in some cases, their ties of nationality and caste.

In Martin's (1992) analysis of organizational culture, she distinguishes three ways to read the culture of an organization through the perspectives of differentiation, fragmentation, and integration. Culture in the differentiation perspective is seen as pervaded by a lack of consensus across the organization due to sub-cultural diversity. In this case, groups exercise leadership, informally, or by leaders within groups. This perspective views as naïve the notion of consensus within the organization and the notion of leaders as sources of integration, and thus weakens the view that sees power as functional.

How do leadership styles affect gendering? In relation to gender equity within the organization, some female staff commented that neither Mulder nor Paul were able to make significant changes in staff attitudes or organizational values. These leaders, far from being the sources of a coherent world-view of gender fairness, were perceived by many women to be sources of ambiguity themselves, by giving mixed messages through policies that were not confirmed through their own behaviours and practices. This was observed several times by male staff who noted that Mulder's behaviour toward female professional and administrative staff did not match his rhetoric for gender equality, making his leadership on this topic inconclusive and open to

doubt by staff members. It also allowed those members thought to be against gender equity a way to legitimate their own discriminatory practices toward women, based on their own interpretations of the DG's actions.

Martin states that leaders in fragmented organizations lack the capacity for 'sense-making' in such environments. She sees that their attempts to impose culture on the basis of their own visions are futile and dishonest as they don't acknowledge the diversity, ambiguity and fluidity of human experience.

One of the implications of the fragmentation perspective is that visions of leaders and the impact of leader-inspired actions are viewed as less central and less effective than within the integration perspective. Views of leaders as cultural manipulators include the belief that values, beliefs and symbols are imbibed by those at whom they are projected, minimizing the role of agency. In contrast, the fragmentation orientation sees leaders' influence as dependent on ways in which others interpret his/her messages. This counteracts the studies of organizational culture that adopt a normative, managerial stance and emphasis on control. And it is inconsistent with the notion of shared meanings.

Yet members can only reject messages that are transmitted and that they are aware of. Much of the attempt at cultural manipulation occurs in framing what visions are heard, which themes are privileged. This brings us back to the concept of power, and to the use of power to shape views and beliefs in such a way that there is a widespread perception that all interests are shared. This form of covert, subtle and insidious exercise of power is not easily discernible, as it happens behind the scenes and does not result in open conflict that is observable to others. Since senior management controlled and designed the messages, many potential conflicts did not emerge, and the members were led to believe that there was such a thing as a homogenous "INORG family" that shared the same values.

Informal Leadership
When INORG staff talked of leaders, they almost always meant the DG, not informal leaders. Though such leaders existed, and were associated with the caste, nationality and sex-based sub-groups, to refer to them as 'leaders' would be to infer that they held power in competition to that power formally held by the DG, which might have been considered acts of subversion. Perhaps for this reason, the term 'leader' was not often heard and informal leaders were viewed with suspicion by some.

Though much of the research on leadership ignores the roles of informal leaders, they are important actors in the creation of organizational cultures (Morley and Hosking, 1984; Bryman, 1989). As seen in the differentiation perspective espoused by Martin, informal leaders of groups with differing values, attitudes and goals exist within many organizations, and certainly within INORG, a multi-cultural organization. And there is diversity within these groups as well.

Leaders of these groups are usually the ones within the higher rank in the hierarchy. They exercise influence by adopting symbolic or authoritative roles and negotiating relationships within and between groups to create and maintain stability and order. By providing information for others, helping them to interpret actions and give meaning and perspective to events, they

acquire power to the extent that they are considered useful to others. INORG professionals were well aware that the control of information provided a base for power; information considered valuable for personal gain was selectively shared with those of one's in-group.

The leaders' groups were built around trust and the exchange of information, taking them beyond the relationships required for formal leadership roles. In a divisive environment such as INORG's, trust was a key feature that determined the degree of information shared and inclusion within social and formal activities. As the informal leader of the women of INORG, I struggled myself to build trust amongst women of all backgrounds and levels, and to share information openly. Yet as an 'outsider' to the region, such trust building did not come easily to me, and I was sometimes viewed with suspicion by women who did not understand my motives. (Kanchan/interview/2001)

DGs came and went, but the informal leaders remained within the organization for longer time periods. This, in combination with the fact that most of them were from the region and therefore held a social legitimacy not provided to the formal leaders from 'outside', made staff take them seriously, giving these informal leaders the power to establish group norms. Given the influence of these leaders amongst INORG staff, it is not difficult to understand how visions and attempts of the DGs to change the organizational culture proved ineffective. In a discussion with Paul, he revealed to me his plan to rid the organization of several of these informal leaders in the belief that they constrained his effectiveness at organizational reform. (Paul/notes/2000)

My Own Leadership Style
Much of the research on leadership has been conducted exclusively from the perspectives of men (Metcalfe and Altman, 2001) – a gap that the 'women in management' literature tries to rectify. However, in highlighting the special qualities of women leaders, an emphasis on women's nurturing qualities has developed. This can be seen as either 'blaming the women' for not being like men, or essentialising women's differences. Much of the literature (e.g. Helgelsen, 1990; Rosener, 1990; Grant, 1988; Fletcher, 1999) promotes female leadership as a way to transform organizations into more humane, relations-oriented, flexible, caring and participatory environments based on feminine principles. Studies of gender difference in management find women to be more open and participative, more comfortable with teamwork, more responsive to learning from mistakes and less authoritative than men (Rosener, 1990). But, as noted by Goetz (1992), to assume that these differences are innate rather than active and strategic responses to the unequal distribution of power, is to reinforce the stability of notions of difference that devalue women's work. Nurturing styles of management bring private gender attributes in to public sphere.

Given the paucity of women leaders in the organization, there is little data on this within INORG, so I will relate my own experience to partially fill in this knowledge gap. Though I did not begin my position as Gender Specialist thinking that it was a leadership role, it became clear to me in 1998, after Women's Week, that I was being seen by the women staff as one of the informal leaders (this was supported by comments made by administrative and NO female staff during interviews for this thesis conducted in 2000 and 2001). Prior to 1998, I had thought that my leadership was limited to that of a formal nature, as a professional with some technical knowledge on concepts of gender and tools of gender integration and training. After the

Women's Week, when gender mainstreaming took on a more political tone and women themselves compiled an agenda for change within the organization, leadership of a different type was needed and requested. Many female staff assumed that I would take on the role, in part based on my formal position and job description to do so, and on my perceived commitment to the cause. The notion that as a Western, white woman professional I would be more influential in this role than a local woman was stated in a meeting of women staff and within a few interviews.(Gender Task Force meeting/notes/2000, Kumari/interview/2001, Chanda/interview/2001, Leela/interview/2001)

I was reluctant to take on a role as an informal leader of female staff in INORG, as I perceived that doing so meant working with interpersonal conflicts amongst staff members – male and female, DG and staff, and various women individuals. I felt unprepared for the challenge. I had never been in such a position before, and was without anyone inside the organization who could provide mentorship. Anne was also viewed as an informal leader, so we did share problems and experiences, but neither of us was particularly knowledgeable or had received any leadership training.

I struggled with notions of power and leadership, feeling uncertain of how to gain the requisite degree and type of power (informal) needed to influence and change attitudes and behaviours amongst primarily the senior men of the organization. I was very aware of my status as a Western woman in a culture dominated by South Asian high caste men, and I felt uncomfortable with power, perhaps because of its association with authoritarianism within INORG. And yet I sensed that without it, professional goals for gender mainstreaming could not be met. I wondered how to gain power when it had not been provided to me in a formal, structured manner. And I worried how my female colleagues would accept me if I were to gain such power. The notion of popularity as a basis of power may be more common to women than men, who may be selected for leadership positions on the basis of their achievement or performance. In the end, I had good cause for such concerns; in two separate incidents, female friends in the organization demonstrated their resentment of my leadership and took actions that publicly undermined me. One of these will be described further in Chapter 8.

I attempted to use a participative style of leadership, particularly with the female staff, that felt natural to me and was based on an ideology of participation and inclusion. I wanted to send a message that all women, regardless of their position in the hierarchy, were welcome to join our meetings. I purposefully arranged opportunities for the secretarial and administrative women to join professional women, and to attend gender trainings in order to raise their levels of awareness and self-esteem, and yet played down my role in doing this. Without being cognizant of why I did so, I believe that I had a deep sense of the 'rule' (described in the reference of Heim and Murphy, 2001, below) to maintain equal levels of power and visibility amongst women.

Did my style differ with men? In many ways, it seemed more of a challenge with men due to their direct criticisms of my behaviour. Some male staff claimed that I did not have enough interaction with professional colleagues (I believed that they meant male staff like themselves) and that I was too close to the administrative and support staff (who comprised most of the women in the organization). One male advised me to decline the position as the female representative on the Management Committee, though as the person in charge of the Gender

Programme, I was the logical choice. He accused me of using the Gender Programme to gain personal power, and told me that I would gain more respect if I did not accept the invitation. In general, men and women of the region found me direct and critical, though there were exceptions to this. For example, one Indian and one Nepali professional woman expressed their opinions that I was not vocal enough in challenging the barriers faced by women in the organization. On the other hand, Mulder told me that I was "aggressive and confrontational". It was difficult to find a balance that would please everyone. But then, the very act of trying to please them was perhaps an expression of my femininity, my female socialisation. Or maybe it reflected my marginal status, not as a woman, but as someone trying to influence others without having the authoritative power to do so. I wonder if a male leader would have been more likely to please only his superiors, and not have been so concerned about the responses of women and 'lower' level staff. In the power equation, they certainly mattered less.

With men, I relied on rational arguments to influence their opinions and gain their respect. I could not coerce anyone to engage with our programme, as my formal power base was too weak. I was not a Division Head, and so had no more authority than any of the other professional staff. My informal power base was weak with some groups of staff as well, once they perceived that Mulder did not like me and was not serious about making the organization gender sensitive. They surmised this from their observations of his treatment of women, and his public bullying towards me, but most likely it served their purposes to interpret his actions in this way.

With women, I tried to use an empathetic leadership style, listening to their complaints against male supervisors and their perceptions of gender discrimination in the organization. In a sense, I tried to build a coalition – a movement within INORG. Due to the very low numbers of professional women, I felt I had no choice but to try to include women of the administrative staff as well – an act that no doubt threatened the management and the South Asian male staff who appear to have a strong need to differentiate and distinguish themselves from that group. Women seemed to respond positively to this style, and we were able to use it within the mixed male and female GWG with good results. Although this style suited my personal ideologies and preferences, I was aware of the fact that as a woman with little formal power, I had little choice but to use this style of inclusion, teamwork and openness to entice as many women as possible to join and support our initiative, hence providing me with informal power to make up for the formal authority that I did not perceive I possessed.

This is difficult to gauge, and even more difficult as both researcher and change agent to describe here, due to my reluctance to 'take credit' for the positive impacts that were seen as group efforts.

Women against Women Leaders
When women take charge, direct others, strive for high levels of achievement and seek out positions of influence, supervisors see them as negatively related to leadership (Merrill-Sands and Kolb, 2001). This raises the stakes and risks for women who take up leadership roles. Such female leaders are often described by both their male and female colleagues and bosses as 'aggressive, bitchy, manipulative, pushy,' etc.

Female staff are often perceived to be the harshest critics of women leaders. Women who employ authoritarian or coercive strategies with other women meet with resistance; only indirect styles of power are sanctioned. This is due, in part, to the socialisation of girls that emphasizes relationships of power sharing and does not provide girls with opportunities to use power in a hierarchical manner. And yet women are generally unaware of the source of their discomfort with women leaders, taking for granted the differences in what is considered acceptable forms of power displays for men versus women.

Heim and Murphy (2001) describe the unwritten rule amongst women that compels them to maintain equal levels of power and self-esteem with one another; women may be uncomfortable when those rules are not observed by a woman who presents herself as independent and self-assured. The result is often social exclusion and indirect forms of aggression, including gossip, slander, sabotage, and the formation of cliques to exclude the leaders.

Most vulnerable to these attacks are women who are promoted within, and who then must supervise women who were formerly on their level. Within INORG, there was only one example of a woman promoted to a supervisory level. When Anne was appointed Acting Division Head, her female colleagues expressed their opinions that her style of management had became more controlling and authoritarian because she was not accustomed to having such power. (DOP/interview/2001)

Women may be more adverse to female power than men. Rudman (1998: 304) reports that a Gallup poll in 1995 showed that both men and women in 22 countries preferred having male bosses, though women did want equal opportunities for women in the workplace. But as members of a marginalised group, women may not be anxious for other women to be in charge, as they desire men and women to be equals. According to Rudman, they don't want women to take on masculine roles and traits associated with dominance and leadership.

Given the biases against female leadership coming from both traditional men and women themselves, it can be seen that women leaders must behave in ways very different from male leaders. They must pay utmost attention to their presentation, dress, and communication styles so as to appear 'masculine enough' to the men and yet feminine and 'equal' enough to please female colleagues and staff.

The masculine underpinnings of leadership and its expression through styles of management and leadership have been made clear in this discussion. The authoritarian style of management commonly found in organizations throughout the South Asian region maintains the status quo of organizational cultures, implying the reproduction and maintenance of the gendered bureaucracy that privileges men in these organizations. Such leadership styles also stifle initiative and innovation, as well as affect staff psychologically. Fundamental to the discussion is the concept and use of power and authority, which is, to a very large extent, determined and controlled by managers.

The opinions of Metcalf and Altman (2001), Fletcher (1999), Calas and Smiricich (1991) and many other feminist organizational researchers are that women can be themselves in a leadership role only because men perceive it as beneficial to the patriarchal and organizational systems. I

concur with this - I myself felt as though I had to tread carefully as an informal leader, to avoid the attention of the men while still carrying out activities that I saw as intertwined with gender mainstreaming processes.

Metcalf and Altman state that "women and their special qualities are still being defined and constructed in relation to, and in support of, men and leadership" (2001: 118). The presence of women in managerial and leadership positions may not be sufficient to break down the deeply entrenched attitudes that link masculinity to power and status.

And yet, as Martin (1992:38) reminds us, organizational members are not "cultural dopes who impassively imbibe cultural messages from leaders." We must question the seeming omnipotence of leaders. The view of leaders as builders of culture may be naïve, but leadership is a potent form of organizational agency that can create, reproduce or change organizational cultures.

6.5   Values, norms and beliefs
Organizational values, norms, and dominant beliefs about the nature of reality determine, to a large extent, how gender identities are produced and reproduced through the everyday processes and practices of organizations. These are reflected in norms - rules that groups adopt to regulate members' behaviour that comprise some of the least visible and most powerful means of control over human action (Wageman and Mannix, 1998). The impression of an organization's formal rationality hides the gendered values, norms and assumptions, leaving only the technical rules or components visible.

This section will identify organizational values, beliefs and norms; the process of how these values and norms are conformed to and challenged will be discussed in Chapter 7. How are they expressed? What are the dominant ones and what ones are held by others? How do they differ for men and women? Is there a pattern based on ethnicity, gender, caste, class, etc? How are dominating values and beliefs associated with masculinity and femininity guiding everyday organizational life and social interactions? How are the values people bring with them when entering the organization influencing the way things are done? Are these values influencing the formation, distribution and exercise of power?

Data for this investigation is provided through narratives, storytelling, observations of meetings and informal events, interviews with staff who have 'broken the rules', interviews with 'outsiders' within INORG, interviews with new staff, reports of staff retreats; and a reconstructed history of the organization and its founders/heroes.

My own values and how they have impacted the research process are also discussed.

Values
When questioned about behaviours that are rewarded and valued within their organizations, a group of gender training participants from the South Asian region responded with examples of social values twice as often as with examples of work values. To the question, "what is the biggest mistake one can make in your organization?" "challenge the boss" was the most frequent response. The group discussed the source of their organizational values, and many stated that

they came from the family, especially the notion of respecting and obeying the boss, based on their patriarchal social system. Some believed that for this reason, participatory development and management approaches were incompatible with South Asian society. Others stated that the inordinate amounts of respect and obedience given to the elderly, to men, and to the boss hindered processes of participation. During discussions on organizational values, participants reiterated the belief that the boss was entitled to more respect due to his position in the hierarchy. And that what was valued was submissive people and submissive behaviour. (Gender training course/notes/1998-1999)

Nearness to Power
When the same group of South Asian male and female participants was asked "what kind of people are most likely to get ahead quickly," many answered with the response "smooth talkers". Most of the INORG participants agreed that these same values of loyalty and ingratiation were found in their organization as well (Table 2 in Appendices). "Who you hang out with affects whether you stay or not; people try to influence the DG in order to build their power base and keep their jobs." (DOP/interview/2000)

"Everything here is so hierarchical, looking up towards management. The behaviour that is valued and rewarded is that that the Management likes. I don't think that merit-based performance is valued. It's the same old story." (Doma/interview/2001)

One of the staff widely believed to epitomize the 'smart' behaviour was Indra. Several staff, including some from the region and the West, concluded that Indra manipulated the DG through his cleverness and 'smooth talking'. Many seemed jealous, envious of the skill he had in speaking in a gentle and convincing style. He was commonly referred to as the 'blue-eyed boy' of INORG, referring to the perception that he could do no wrong in the eyes of the DG. Anyone that close to the DG could not be easily trusted by the rest of the staff; the women's group declared that "Indra is not an appropriate person to include in our Gender in Workplace Committee, as we cannot trust him. He is too close to Mulder, and is seen very regularly in his office." (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

Clever people were perceived to be the ones who knew how to manipulate the DG by doing things such as "telling him what he wants to hear about staff he doesn't like, giving him ammunition to hurt them." (Bishnu/notes/1999).

Another example of the high value placed on this type of strategic manoeuvring was seen when Bishnu admonished Bina on her failure to gain a promotion from Mulder. By not seeking the support of himself and Raj in the process, as another woman had done, he claimed she overlooked their critical roles as gatekeepers to power. Bishnu reminded Bina of how much the DG liked and respected him and therefore his importance to her.

Rewards were based on political considerations as well as on merit. Sara noticed how her personal power within INORG changed once she was perceived by others as being close to the new DG: "Since Paul came, I have noticed a change in my own status. It has gone up. People see me as a friend of his and so I have acquired more power. They express this by trying to communicate with me as now they have to show that they are team players."

(Sara/interview/2001) Sara was subsequently invited to be part of the DG's 'inner circle', where key decisions were reportedly determined by a few select staff.

Even those of us who had considerably less power than the DG were apparently watched, in order to uncover our likes and dislikes. "Truly international staff, who are not from the region, like you and Sara are influential. I don't know if you realise it, but there are certain things that people perceive based on what they think you like and they cater to that." (Doma/interview/2001) This is one way in which my position of insider may have hindered honest responses to interview questions; I was, after all, still a staff member during the time of the research process. For this reason, information from interviews was cross-checked with observations and additional data.

Caste Values

Many staff of INORG, including the management, professional and administrative staff, blamed the caste system and the high position of Brahmins as the source of cultural differences within the organization. Gautam, the Director of Programmes stated that "Brahmanical beliefs influence INORG greatly, especially in terms of gender relations. This current Brahmin domination is a relatively recent phenomenon. Traditional values of the Nepalese were of justice, equality, honour, and honesty." (Gautam/notes/2001)

Even highly educated Nepalese who obtained PhDs in US universities claimed that as INORG was far better managed than the agencies of the Government of Nepal, we should not criticise the way it was run. Roshan, contradicting his earlier statements about the privileges of the organization's Brahmins, stated that "hard work is appreciated here. Anil was promoted to Division Head, similarly Nirmal. In that way, based on their performances they were promoted." And yet, when questioned about what was valued and rewarded within the organization, Roshan stated, "I can't say openly but feel sad that people don't value every work. Maybe is due to family or culture." (Roshan/interview/2001)

Work Values

When gender training participants (INORG staff and others) were queried as to "what gets rewarded in your work and the way you perform?" most people answered "outputs on time" (Table 2). When asked "from whom will you accept and follow instructions?" "the boss" was the only response provided. As the Pakistani trainer replied, "this is why initiative is not valued in organizations in South Asia. We say 'who the hell is this person to tell me what to do?' Taking risk is not valued. In output -oriented organizations, process-oriented work, like gender mainstreaming, is not valued." (Gender training/notes/1998-1999)

A group of female professional and NO staff in DOP perceived that their work was not valued significantly:

> In Publications, we do the 'donkey work', we have no secretary and the expectations of our work are higher than for others. They (Management) don't follow the rules for hiring and promoting. They do verbally give us recognition, but not by changing our status or through promotions. Our intellectual contributions are not recognised, we are supposed to be just editors, not expected to make any creative contributions. (DOP/interview/2001)

A woman professional posted in a very remote area seemed to get the worst of it:

> Despite the sacrifices, the hard work I do seven days a week in rough field conditions, I am rapped on the knuckles by Management. They are used to control, not to bringing about the staffs' best performance. As a woman, any critical feedback I give is taken as negative feedback; men can be critical of one another, but our inputs are not welcome. Outspokenness is not appreciated by Management. (Catherine/interview/2001)

Some staff believed that what was most valued was the ability to bring in outside funding through projects, and stated their opinions that the heroes were the ones who brought in the money.

'Western' values

Despite the strong influence of 'feeder culture' values perceived to comprise the organizational culture by its members, there were many staff who held firmly to the belief that, as an international organization, INORG was dominated by work-related values conforming to Western standards related to merit-based performance for productivity, application of technical knowledge and quality of work. These beliefs were expressed publicly, especially amongst the administrative staff, but also amongst the professionals who were personally invested in the organizations' public image as that of a modern, international organization. Yet the new DG held a different view, seen in his statement on personnel policies: "we want to reduce the categories of staff and increase the dignity. We are an international institution and must begin to model that behaviour."(Paul/retreat notes/2000)

According to the Director of Programmes, the organization wanted staff to bring in innovative ideas. But the organization did not generate this behaviour amongst its members. Those who did innovate usually did so without encouragement from their supervisors, perceiving that creativity and innovation were not valued nor encouraged, making such acts risky. (Anne/interview/2001)

Sara often expressed frustration that an emotion she personally valued highly –passion- was not recognised as a desirable characteristic within the organization: "the underlying thing that keeps me here is passion, but that is not institutionally valued here. There is no institutional reward for passionate innovation." Other women shared her view, and similarly felt motivated by passion and ideals to do things. When expressed publicly, however, these passions tended to draw criticism by male professionals, even those in the GWG. Activism of any kind, but particularly that related to gender equity was greeted by the men with strong objections. "Ahmed objected to the activist agenda of the GWG policy dialogue proposed. Bishnu also opposed activism." (GWG minutes/1999) Anil's evaluation of the gender training that he otherwise considered excellent underlined this point: "a bit too much activism had crept into the course." (Anil/report/1998)

Service to others was another action that was not valued, and was in fact discouraged. As my supervisor, Anil warned me not to make the job of the Gender Specialist one that assisted other professional staff: "identify your own areas of work, do not be a service to other Divisions or individuals, as you will never gain credit." (Journal/1998)

My responsibility for organization-wide gender mainstreaming made this advice seem ridiculous, but his comment showed how some male staff strategised to make their work highly visible, knowing that this is what was valued. This information was most likely known to male staff who were members of subgroups where such things were reportedly discussed (DOP/interview/2001). And yet, in a rare occasion when Anil tried to show his interest in my career advancement, he advised me how to get ahead, in a manner that seemed infused with masculinity.

My implication as an INORG member involved in this process of gender mainstreaming requires that my own values are laid bare in this discussion as well. As Hofstede argues, the values of the researcher determine, to a large extent, the way in which data are observed, described, classified and understood (Hofstede, 1980). In fact, Harding (1987) argues that the very criteria of objectivity, reliability and validity championed in scientific study are based on the value system of stereotypic masculinity – a bias that can be overcome through studies of women's lives in local contexts.

Norms
Organizational values are reflected in normative behaviours. Consistent reactions to a specific situation form the basis of the development of norms, which subsequently serve as informal mechanisms to evaluate a particular behaviour as appropriate or inappropriate. They are rules that groups adopt to regulate members' behaviour, and are among the least visible and most powerful means of control over human action (Wageman, R. and E.A. Mannix, 1998).

Newly formed groups may or may not have a high level of consensus on norms and values. When group members agree on norms, harmony and coordination are promoted. By contrast when low-value consensus exists, members' core values and beliefs about their work are challenged, creating friction and emotional upset (Schein, 1985) such as that witnessed amongst the 'outsiders' of INORG. There, differing values caused members to perceive things differently. Value differences between INORG's leader and those who were not accustomed to an authoritarian style of management were a continuous source of tension.

The best way to study an organization's norms is to observe the process through which a new employee tries to fit in to the organization. Mizuho joined us to serve as a project staff. After being on the job for six months, she revealed how difficult it was for her to manage the work relationship with her superiors and colleagues, as she attempted to cautiously maintain the hierarchical boundaries of power: "I have to carefully manage my relationship with both DG and DDG. The relationship between Paul and Gautam is strained; instead, Paul uses Indra as his advisor. I am too young and too junior to be in charge of the project, though since I am in charge of the budget, staff try to get my help. But they don't respect me." (Mizuho/notes/2001)

Mizuho's initial enthusiasm for working in INORG wore thin as she came to face the lack of respect of her colleagues and bosses. But she learned the norms for communication up and down the hierarchical ladder, and tried hard to fit in.

Doma is another woman who struggled to adapt to a new environment. One male colleague who seemed sympathetic to her situation told me his perception of her dilemma:

Doma is much more open than others. When you are in an organization where people have to weigh every word you speak, then you have to be careful. That is a real constraint for really mixing with each other, sharing together. Doma used to be okay, but she has to be accepted by our colleagues. Peer group pressure, this makes organizational culture restrictive. No matter how you try to make them open up, they will not due to peer pressure. The Brahmin men have a meeting and try to discipline what she talks. This is due to the system they have in their own country, in India, but it is not found in Bhutan where it is open. This is a mix of culture plus office governance.
(Roshan/interview/2001)

Norms related to organizational loyalty were some of the strongest within INORG.
The loyalty one was to express was to one's boss, or to the organization as a whole. Individually, loyalty was to be given to those superiors who one depended on for a job or promotion. For example, Roshan claimed that Doma owed me respect and loyalty because I had hired her and brought her to INORG. To me, this was not important; her recruitment was based on her qualifications, and the fact that I wanted a woman from a mountain community for the sake of diversity. But it seemed to matter to Doma and others.

These norms were not verbalized, formalized or obvious to staff, especially those from non-authoritarian backgrounds. Staff learned of how inviolate these norms were only by 'breaking the rules' and being punished for doing so. Loyal behaviour seemed in Mulder's time to consist of obedience and actions to buttress the positions and statements of him self and other powerful actors in the organization. Loyalty to a set of principles was apparently not valued, except by a few staff who spoke of being torn between adhering to their own personal beliefs and official actions or words of INORG that went against such beliefs.

Gender equality was one value that proved difficult for INORG to operationalise, so some of the Western female staff were penalized, at times, for being critical of the way in which the organization tried to publicly profess values that did not exist in practice. My own loyalty to the organization was questioned more than once by my immediate supervisors (Anil and Raj) and Mulder, based on their own conceptions of loyalty and behavioural expectations that I did not share.

Another professional woman, Catherine, discovered in a discussion with European donors financing her project that her contract was not to be renewed, as she was not liked at INORG. As Catherine herself realised, "I think the reason for their strong dislike is because a fellow INORG colleague reported to them my comment that 'INORG is a 3rd rate organization'." (Catherine/notes/2000) Catherine had broken the unspoken rule to never criticise your organization. In this case, she spoke out in front of a colleague who she considered a rival, thereby providing her with information that could be used against her to eventually bring about her dismissal.

In my own case, once I had, in Mulder's opinion, violated the loyalty norm, he informed me of their dimensions: "Mulder told me that it was okay to criticise inside the organization, but not outside." (Journal/2000) This became an important point for the new DG as well, as he made loyalty a priority issue on his agenda of organizational change:

> If you join an organization, you should promote it outside, try to change things inside or leave. We need to open up criticism inside; we should setup a grievance committee as soon as possible, and build up institutional loyalty. We need clear institutional representational norms for internal and external behaviour. (Paul/retreat notes/2000)

But this notion of presenting one face to the outside world and a different one inside presented gender activists like me with a serious obstacle to effective collaboration with members of the women's movement and other colleagues outside of one's organization. Too much interaction with the outside could be seen as a violation of organizational norms to the extent that it can be viewed as eroding the integrity of the organization. But to be uncritical of the organization would be to violate the professional norms I understood to belong to gender professionals. Personally, it resulted in dividing my loyalties and may well have helped to undermine my credibility in the organization.

There has been relatively little research on how norms form and who is responsible for them. The early work of Sherif (1936) proposed that experience is organised around collectively produced frames of reference; Feldman much later (1984) proposed that norms form in four ways: 1) explicit statements by supervisors or co-workers- by fiat; 2) critical events in the organization's history; 3) primacy - based on early behaviour patterns that setup group expectations, and 4) carry-over behaviour from past situations. Norms generated by fiat are similar to rules, in which a powerful individual explicitly expresses values, norms or prescribed behaviours. This position supports the functionalist perspective that credits strong leaders with manipulating culture to provide members with a sense of distinctiveness, a sense of purpose, and the 'glue' that binds people together. Other researchers (Bettenhausen and Murnighan, 1985) found that group norms emerge from members' definition of the situation and the schemas or scripts that they used to frame the situation – an approach more in line with that of structuration and agency and one that is useful to goals of gender mainstreaming.

Cultural Differences

In INORG's environment of culturally differentiated groups whose members generally distrusted non-group members, outsiders were regularly excluded from social and work related activities, and sometimes treated with hostility by those who socially dominated the organization. Outsiders, particularly those from Western countries, did not realise at first the cultural reasons for this behaviour, and often took the negative comments and hostility personally. The very behaviours that were valued in workplaces of their home countries in the West –those of individualism, achievement, critical thinking, taking initiative, outspokenness, etc. put them at a disadvantage in this collectivist community. They were distrusted by others and they themselves began to distrust those who at first seemed harmless. At times Western staff could not make sense of their colleagues' behaviour towards them. Sara was one who was especially affected by this situation:

> People think I am ambitious and have an agenda. Some offer support, but I don't trust them. I can't believe anyone, even my own DG. I avoid the environment of INORG. I try to talk to Gautam, and even wrote up a list of project teams that I could contribute to and gave it to him. I thought he would be happy, but he said that he thought I was trying to avoid other work. That was a real indication of how his show of support for me is not

real. I have many skills, in many different disciplines. I can see linkages that no one else sees. My strengths are not valued. (Sara/interview/2001)

Anne, on the other hand, was more apt to see this as a cultural difference: "whenever I have to say anything honestly, I am called confrontational. But that is my culture, and reflects where I come from." (Anne/notes/1998)

According to Tripathi (1995), values are historical by nature; they are rooted in geographical realities and as such, vary significantly between and within developing and industrialized countries. They are a result of interactions amongst organizational members and others outside the organization and direct the preferences and reactions of members.

Research in social psychology (Kramer and Hanna, 1998) has shown that individuals often overestimate the extent to which other people share their values and worldviews. In multicultural environments such as INORG, this was a source of frustration to Westerners some of whom assumed, like Sara, that because INORG was an international organization, they would not experience a clash of values: "I joined INORG believing that we were to be a big happy family, sharing similar values." (Sara/interview/2001)

The Nepalese and South Asian staff, however, seemed for the most part unaware that others experience discomfort in fitting in. Discussions of intercultural differences within the organization rarely came to the surface. One of the senior Indian staff commented that culture meant nothing more to him than singing and dancing, and therefore did not require INORG's attention. Within 11 years of my tenure there, there never occurred a formal meeting or discussion about cross-cultural differences within the organization, and how they may have presented special problems for some staff. The assumption was that non-South Asian staff had to adjust themselves to the prevailing social system, without INORG providing the means for them to understand what that system of values entailed. An awareness of cultural differences did exist, however, amongst some staff. The GWG's report of their organizational analysis claimed that there was a need to provide cultural orientation to all professional staff so they would become sensitive to existing cultural differences within the region, including but not limited to those related to gender. (GWG/report/2000) What is interesting to note here is that only professional staff were supposed to have this orientation, leaving out all Nepali staff, and supporting the view that it was only the outsiders who needed to change and adapt.

People's whose worldview includes a belief that others are well-intentioned and their behaviour honest may tend to underestimate the extent to which more Machiavellian or manipulative strategies and tactics are being used against them, according to Kramer and Hanna (1998). Organizational members are most certain to encounter superiors who attempt to hold them back, rivals who seek to displace them, and subordinates who try to curry favour, particularly in highly politicised environments. Some staff of INORG referred regularly to Machiavellian behaviours within the organization, and expressed their belief that staff must be cautious about placing their trust in others – a fact that significantly constrained the degree of cooperation and teamwork that could exist. In these environments the increased vigilance of others' behaviour and the propensity to ruminate about their motives, as Roshan expresses here, may be functional in assisting staff to learn norms and ways to survive and get ahead.

The high class doesn't mix with foreigners and females, as they have to maintain their power by not mixing with them. That might go out of their control. People use other members of ethnic group or caste to influence, gain power. They maintain high status by getting lowers to do errands, make tea, run around with papers. It is important here to raise funds, establish relations with people. Form linkages, then you get status and confidence. Need to make your superiors happy. You have to play the power game. Like once I realised that the DDG was sympathetic to a certain group, the DEI group of Brahmins, I had to get close to his people, so he will like me. Winning or losing depends not on what you do, but how you are perceived. (Roshan/interview/2001)

Gendered Values and Norms
As people internalise the values and assumptions of their societies, they also internalise its class, race, gender and ethnicity-based hierarchical relationships (Allen, 2000). In Kanter's study of Indsco (1977), she states that there is a clear preference for those people who share 'in-group' values and frame of reference, which revolve around concepts of masculinity. Within INORG, it appears that members who held values similar to those of the dominant cultural groups were favoured and had an easier time fitting in and progressing in the organization. These values were clearly related to the social distinctions of caste, class and gender; the degree to which these values related to local concepts of masculinity, though, is harder to discern. As the dominant groups within the professional realm were populated entirely by South Asian men, mostly of high caste backgrounds, the values promoted were those learned from their early socialisation processes in the home – with few exceptions, these relegated women to a gendered world where they were assumed to be more fit for domestic rather than professional work. More than once, male staff commented that women professionals did not need a salary because their income was secondary in the household. This gave the impression that women were not serious about their careers, and that the reason they worked was to provide 'pocket money' for shopping.

The values held by Sara and I for passion and service to others may have been considered 'feminine'; these were less valued than other values already mentioned. Other female staff shared this value for caring and assisting others, though it was often difficult to express this due to the high degree of distrust of others in the organization, in part due to political manipulation and manoeuvring.

The importance of loyalty as a value and norm and the frequency with which it was demanded of the female staff in particular may have been due to a distrust of women in general by senior men. There was no basis for this fear; in fact, the few times that INORG was publicly 'damaged' as a result of staff leaking stories to the local press was due to actions of men who had been fired. But I do believe that many men found women 'mysterious' and their actions sometimes inexplicable.

It can be concluded that INORG was an organization similar to others within the South Asian milieu, based on its dominant values and norms and what is known about South Asian organizations from the literature. As such, social values predominated over work values in determining the character of everyday practices, and the practices of power. The significant degree to which social values permeated INORG provides an explanation for the inferior positions of power held by women and members of the non- dominant caste groups within the organization, as well as the degree of discomfort and even hostility that they faced. The collusion

of values held by members of the similar Hindu-based cultures of India and Nepal and the Western men who were INORG's formal leaders created a cultural alliance that some foreign staff and Board members found impenetrable and uncomfortable.

Within INORG and other organizations, certain attributes were more valued than others. Gender inequality was at least partially a result of social norms and the fact that women had, to date, not possessed the power to define norms suited to their multiple roles and aspirations and to assume leadership roles. Foucault (1980) argued that power and knowledge are equivalent; within INORG, by and large it was men who had defined knowledge, and who controlled access to this process. Patriarchal knowledge has defined femininity and masculinity in this part of the world, and in doing so, largely determined gendered identities – the topic of the next chapter. This has, in turn, limited the discourses available through which to understand gender - power relations within organizations in the region.

Masculinity and Femininity
Masculinity and femininity are categories defined within cultures, not by biological realities, and are created out of a complex of dynamic and interwoven, cognitive, emotional and social forces. Throughout the Western history of philosophy, male and female have been contrasted using opposite traits: rationality/emotionality; culture/nature, objectivity/subjectivity. Masculinity and femininity are not fixed, but are changing culturally and historically and are dependent on the meanings ascribed to them.

Organizational discourses that define work are derived from assumptions and ideology about goals that reflect values of the Age of Enlightenment and its emphasis on rationality and individuality. Feminists have called attention to the way these organizational values are closely aligned with images and attributes that are socially ascribed to males (Fletcher, 1999). How did it happen that this view of desirable traits, values and attributes came to be regarded as so normal that they are rarely challenged? How did it come to be that these masculine values of abstraction, rationality, and control dominate organizational life? What systems of power between the sexes do these norms keep in place?

This section will attempt to address questions related to how masculinity and femininity affected INORG's organizational culture. To what extent did values of masculinity permeate understandings of organizational reality, its purposes and structure within the organization? How were masculinities expressed in INORG different from those of the West? Were they similar to those defined as Asian masculinities? Could ideas, values and actions be described in terms of masculinity/femininity? If so, how were dominating values and beliefs associated with masculinity and femininity guiding everyday organizational life and social interactions?

Data for this investigation is less plentiful than data of other sections in this chapter. Though masculinity was most likely infused throughout the organizational culture of INORG, empirical data to show how it is perceived and expressed is sparse. Questions to respondents about their perceptions of masculinity yielded little information, as few could identify behaviours that they would call 'masculine'. Feminine values were more easily observed, perhaps as they were not as much aligned to the norms of the organization, and therefore stood out as aberrations.

Masculine roles and stereotypes

One area within INORG where masculine behaviours were on display was the international or regional seminar or conference. These were frequent events in the organization, coordinated by professional staff in charge of projects or programmes. Invitees were often almost 100% male, dominated by men from South Asia or China. Here, the atmosphere was one of rivalry where participants showed off their academic knowledge in what appeared to be a competition for intellectual leadership and control over the discourse. Morgan (1981) describes how notions of men and masculinity dominate the production of academic work, especially in sociology. Seminars, conferences and exchanges in scholarly journals seem to be arenas not only for the practice of academic rationality, but as displays of masculinity. Though from a dated source produced over 20 years ago, Morgan's observations of how these men avoided themes of feminism and gender relations, even though they were engaged in social research, is similar to what was observed in INORG seminars and conferences, where women attendees were usually the only ones to mention issues of gender equity. One way I contributed to the INORG gender discourse was simply to be present at these conferences; without me as the sole female participant, I believed the group would have simply forgotten about the 'other' sex and the reason for keeping them in mind when discussing development issues.

According to Collinson and Hearn (1994), within organizations, men do not seem to recognise their reactions as expressions of men's power and male identity. "Where men see humour, camaraderie and strength, women perceive crude, masculine aggression, competition, harassment, intimidation and misogyny. Men are ignorant about and even antagonistic to any critical appraisal of the gendered nature of their actions, and are unwilling to reflect upon the way masculinity can shape their relationships, thoughts and action". (1994:18) Though categories of masculinity are crucial to organizational analysis, they remain taken for granted, hidden and unexamined by those engaged in organizational assessment. This may explain, in part, why INORG male staff had difficulty in identifying expressions of masculine behaviour in the office.

One indication of masculine stereotypes at play in INORG was the negative reactions that male secretaries received from their peers. When asked "how is it being a male secretary?" one of the two male secretaries stated "people twist their noses, both inside and outside. Drivers look at us like tea-makers, treat us with low status. I don't have the feeling of belonging to the group of secretaries." (DOP/interview/2001)

Another issue that appeared to be sensitive to many men was an impression that they were controlled by their wives. One male senior in age and reputation was teased by his younger colleagues about how he must maintain his status of employment due to his wife's 'henpecking'. These men claim that he lost his dignity and self-respect due to this 'nagging'. A feature of masculinity for these men was being in a position of control over women in their lives.

The importance that men attached to being leaders and the main breadwinners of their families was evidenced by the contradictory comments of one of the Brahmin Nepalese, who, after telling me that he believed he was destined to rule the country, revealed that his kids ask him why he isn't a boss like their mother (she is employed by an international organization). He seemed uncomfortable with his current status, lacking in the level of authority and male power that he

desired, and yet this man was viewed by many as an informal leader who was in the boss's favour.

Men's domination of senior positions within organizations produces many interconnections between masculinities and managerial practices, leading to the conflation of men and masculinity in organizational life. Cheng, in a survey of the characteristics considered to comprise the ideal student manager (1996), found that characteristics associated with good managers were directly related to masculine characteristics: assertion, aggression, athleticism, ability to make decisions easily, and dominance. All of these reflect the profile of the effective, rational organization, recalling Weber's concept of bureaucracy. Kanter's (1977) 'homosociability' accounts for the exclusion of many men - those not of the same race, class, or background as the managers – as well as women. This suits the managerial need for certainty and trustworthy employees. Managers identify with some men, while differentiating themselves from others and most women. Masculinity is performed by women as well as men (Cheng, 1996: xii).

Leadership is synonymous with men. Charismatic leadership draws on the imagery of organization as family. Managers are positioned as the patriarchal head of the family whose authority is expressed in paternalistic discourses. Paternalism not only reinforces the power but confirms rights of management and men to manage. According to Burton (1991:3), "most organizations are saturated with masculine values."

Discourses of Masculinity
Dominant discourses and legitimating ideologies imprinted on organizations form the backdrop on which organizational norms, values and behaviours are based. To a large extent, these are characterised by masculine values and ideologies. For example, the gendering of authority symbols makes it difficult for women to command authority and results in the common phenomenon of women having to assume male attributes such as downplaying the demands of home and family and their feminine ways of dressing, and acting in masculine ways in order to gain recognition and respect in male dominated systems.

The multiple forms of masculinity apparent within INORG can be described using the framework of Collinson and Hearn's 1994 work, 'Naming Men as Men'. They identify five discourses of masculinity that are pervasive, persistent and dominant within organizations. The first, authoritarianism has been discussed in the previous section in relation to the style of INORG's leaders. It is characterised by an intolerance of dissent or difference, rejection of dialogue and debate, and a preference for coercive power relations based on dictatorial control and unquestioning obedience. Based on bullying and the creation of fear in subordinates, authoritarianism is identified with a brutal and aggressive masculinity that it self is a criterion by which self and others are judged. Those who fail to comply are treated with hostility; this may include women and men that possess little power or status. These groups are dismissed as weak, as authoritarians try to differentiate and elevate their own masculine identity and power.

In contrast, paternalism – discussed in relationship to authoritative power on page 83 and commonly expressed within INORG - emphasizes the moral basis of cooperation, the protective nature of authority, the importance of personal trust and the need for staff to identify with the organization. Highlighting the interdependent nature of hierarchical relations, paternalism

engages in the "pretence of equality for the purpose of securing instrumental gain" (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993: 665). It draws on the familial metaphor of rule by the father who is authoritative, wise, benevolent and self-disciplined as a masculine discourse of control. Power is exercised in ways that meet the self-interests of subordinates. Its effect is to reinforce organizational members' compliance and to legitimise managerial directives both for those excluded from decision making and for decision makers themselves. Investing in paternalism, managers seek to differentiate themselves from women and identify with other men, in a form of homosociability. In addition to affording protection to women, older men are paternalistic towards younger men, forming a club of gentlemen that excludes women. So long as women conform to conventional notions of femininity there will be no hostility. Women's feminine qualities are emphasised, and they are treated as delicate and precious, in need of protection. Many women are able to manipulate men through their paternalistic behaviours to obtain what they need (further discussed in Part III).

Within INORG, this type of ideology was very evident in the behaviour of senior male staff, including the DG himself. The senior women were well aware of the culturally predominant high status for older men and the assumption that their work was of a high quality: "there is age discrimination here. For men, age adds to their status, but for women, it acts against their professional status. Our ideas are not respected, taken into account." (Anne/interview/2001)

The behaviour of some Nepali professionals was paternalistic towards their female subordinates and even peers. In an action seen by many women to be thwarting efforts to give women a voice, some men suggested that they should speak on behalf of the female staff in formal staff meetings, to "put things across in a better way rather than allowing the female professionals to speak for themselves." (Bishnu/notes/1999) Bishnu was heard boasting about how he was responsible for getting one woman a promotion, through his good offices with the DG. He offered a similar form of assistance to me, urging me to use him to take messages regarding gender to Mulder. This same colleague revealed later that the reason I did not receive permission to obtain time off to pursue a PhD was because Ganesh did not support initiatives that were not first fully discussed with him. In other words, I had not demonstrated my patronage to him by performing the proper submissive role. If I were a man with whom he had social contact, this would probably have been easily communicated to me, or perhaps it would not have been an issue.

The third category of entrepreneurialism articulated by Collinson and Hearn is seen to be a concept that is more suited to the Western industrialised countries than developing countries. This is the view of the workplace that involves working long hours and meeting tight deadlines. Most women are not seen to be fit for this. Within this discourse, pregnancy and domestic commitments are taboo, as they are perceived to undermine practices and the taken for granted masculine discourse that separates public from private domains. Only those women who can comply with male model of breadwinner patterns will be accepted. Childless and divorced women are likely, if any, to be accepted into this image. And yet, in Asia, the stigma of a divorced or childless woman does not make this an attractive identity within an ideology that values hardworking people. To work long and hard hours, accompanied by frequent trips outside of the country, as all INORG professionals were required to do, implied that you were not a good wife and mother, but to avoid these meant that you were not considered a serious professional.

From sentiments like these, many professional women in INORG had the sense that they could not win the respect of their male peers in any way, either as professionals or in traditional roles.

The fourth category is informalism. Through informal relationships men build with one another, they identify with in- group members and differentiate themselves from other men and women in a discourse referred to as informalism. Literature on masculinity and organizations in Western contexts states that men typically relate to each other through sports, drinking, cars, women, and humour. Within INORG, men's informal discussions reportedly included politics and women; some talked about sports, but rarely about family. Surprisingly, in this culture where family is considered so central and where fatherhood is an idealised masculinity, few male staff discussed their children. Sexual jokes abound, particularly within one group of senior Indian and Nepali men who met regularly for drinking and playing cards. One senior man, in particular, was well-known within the organization for his propensity to tell dirty jokes. He was referred to as the 'dirty old man' by some female staff.

In addition, during lunchtime there was a group of men that strolled outside the INORG compound to purchase *pan* (betel nut) and another group of younger men that smoked together within the parking lot. These relationships frequently transcended hierarchical boundaries and were said to provide members with valuable work-related information.

A fifth form of discourse is that of careerism - the notion that upward advancement is desirable and important to male identity. This discourse does not always produce collaboration and trust, and is more accurately characterised by competition. Competition is often expressed in preoccupation with hierarchical advancement. The search to validate masculine identity through upward progress intensifies as competition intensifies. Careerism can be a primary orientation to work characterised by a concern with impression management and the elevation of self in public ways. It is often noticed by the way in which men define themselves publicly, in meetings, seminars, and conferences as noted above and through their interest to get their names on publications.

Competition for career progress comes to be synonymous with masculinity, as upward mobility is a key objective. It creates deep-seated divisions, not only between men, but also between their work and home life, as they strive to meet rigid work demands that take them away from domestic needs. And it sets impossible requirements for women and men who must balance their domestic needs with their professional lives. This distancing from family life is seen as evidence of commitment to the organization and strength in the individual who is able to control private life by keeping it separate from home life, to attend residential training programmes, work on holidays, take unplanned overtime, and work long hours. All of these reflect and reinforce the dominant masculinity of the workplace. Collinson and Hearn state that men's understanding of time seems to be based on the patriarchal notion that the home hinders "proper" work, while in practice their time is often made available by women's labour and flexibility which remains unseen and unvalued in the public sphere. An interesting observation, as one hears frequently, in the company of professional women, statements that acknowledge their gratitude for the nannies, husbands and mother-in-laws whose childcare allows them to progress in their careers.

The responses to the survey questionnaire returned by over 40 male and female staff (Table 2) reflected the men's emphasis on performance in the workplace rather than family responsibilities. Some men said that women were friendly and efficient, others expressed belief that women were discriminated against by other male staff. One man said that women had better forget about career development, given their family responsibilities. In a show of paternalism some men said that women should not be given late night responsibilities. Many men expressed their opinions that female staff should not take advantage of gender issues and shirk their duties. It seemed that an impression amongst the some male staff was that the new focus on gender provided an excuse for women not to perform, and gave them a platform to complain. This emphasis on women's 'complaining' came up time and time again, but the cause was not clear to me or to other women in the organization.

All men surveyed thought the working atmosphere was satisfactory/very satisfactory, partly because they were satisfied with their career development opportunities and challenging jobs. One male NO stated that challenging assignments beyond office hours were entrusted to male employees only, so men had better career opportunities. He believed that women were patronised by management, and had an easygoing life in terms of assignments. Another male staff at the lower level believed that since INORG had a gender sensitisation programme, women were very much encouraged by management and therefore advantaged professionally.

An understanding of gendered power requires an exploration of the ideologies, discourses and material relations that influence each other in a self-perpetuating way. Power is not only that coercive, gendered power of men to physically prevent women from entering into organizations and advancing on an equal basis, but also in terms of the use of discourse and communication to dissuade women from resisting that situation – the power of ideological conditioning. Organizations are arenas where gender politics are played out, sometimes in subtle manners. Anti-discriminatory policies may address the symptoms, but not the causes, which are maintained in the dominant ideologies (Hardy and Clegg, 1996) and may be expressed under some conditions. An example of the expression of some staffs' negative attitudes about women and the conditions under which they are divulged will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Feminine roles
In the survey questionnaire distributed to INORG staff, many women articulated their opinions that the organization was not 'family friendly', and ignored the need for leave to care for sick family members. They claimed that the travel and leave procedures did not recognise the dual roles of women, at work and at home. They complained that the day care centre ran on insufficient funds and had an insufficient number of care providers. In fact, the women staff needed to advocate strongly to convince Mulder to create the day care centre in the first place. A comment made by a male staff at the time was if women need a crèche, then they shouldn't be working in an office at all, they should be at home tending their babies. This was an example of how women's primary role in South Asian society –that of a mother- was kept in the consciousness of the organization and its members, affecting women's abilities to be perceived as equally qualified and committed working members. Women complained that women were not recognised for their capabilities and professionalism, and that even other female staff took women professionals less seriously than they did the males. They also observed that male

supervisors undermined their work and played down their achievements, and that men often seemed to notice only the bad points about women. (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

Female staff were sometimes told that they were hired because they were women. One senior woman complained that her credentials and qualifications were continuingly questioned by male colleagues. In a frank question, one of the Nepali administrative men asked: "are women here hired based on their own capacities?" (Gender orientation/notes/1998)

There appeared to be a large degree of variance in men and women's perceptions of being respected by their peers. The large majority of men felt appreciated by male colleagues, and two-thirds felt appreciated by female colleagues, but only one-half of the women felt appreciated by male colleagues most of the time. The other one-half felt occasional appreciation by the men. Two-thirds of the women felt appreciated most of the time by their fellow female colleagues. This last finding was interpreted as proof that women didn't appreciate each other as much as men did; it may have also been a function of homosociability, as there were several clichés of men within the organization. Men may also have supported one another with confidence in the knowledge that one of them would likely be in a position of power in the future, and therefore able to provide them with more power. One woman staff said that her contributions were once in a while appreciated by men and women due to "the nature of work and the way a working female is viewed." Another professional said she felt appreciated by those colleagues who knew her well, but felt that she was labelled negatively by others. (Woman professional/survey/1998)

These perceptions and behaviours point to the notion of sex role spillover. Whereas, for example, the expected behaviour for men is to be tough, competitive, assertive and leader-like, the roles for women are more oriented towards motherhood and sexuality. Though gender roles interfere with work roles in all organizational situations, sex role spillover is exacerbated by skewed sex ratios within the workplace. When the ratio is highly unbalanced in one direction, as in INORG, the work role takes on many aspects of the sex role of the majority sex. Male dominated jobs are seen as encompassing characteristics of activity, rationality and aggressiveness while women's work is associated with nurturance and passivity. Since men are in dominant positions and male traits are valued, there are fewer problems created by this spillover effect for men. Female-dominated jobs, however, are devalued as the traits associated with the stereotype of women are less valued in the workplace. This explains men's attitudes towards secretarial jobs but does not explain their attitudes towards the women in professions dominated by men.

Women employed as scientists or computer technicians in INORG faced a different kind of discrimination. There have been few of these in INORG's history; most of the women professionals were in positions as gender experts and publications production. Only Sara, Catherine, and Rita were employed as scientists. The two Western women were single, and therefore probably not affected by the sex role spillover concept in the same way. As single women, they may have been perceived by male colleagues more in terms of their sexual rather than motherhood roles. The physical appearance of both these women was a topic of discussion amongst some men. After spending two weeks together on a field mission, two senior colleagues told one woman directly that she was "too fat". Men voiced their disdain for the other's appearance as well, questioning her choice of hairstyle.

Sexuality within the workplace was not as obvious as it may be in a Western context, but some male staff were known by the women to be flirtatious. When one woman came to the office in a low cut sweater, several male staff appeared to try hard to be in her presence as much as possible, and were seen rolling their eyes. Women staff from the region or who had been living in Nepal for some time were keenly aware of their appearance at the workplace, and carefully balanced their efforts to be attractive with the desire not to appear sexually 'suggestive' (Kanchan/interview/2001).

Sexuality is used as a way of devaluing and trivialising women and their professional roles. For example, one woman professional was reportedly not taken seriously by the professional men, due to her dress, her age, and her high-pitched voice. Even the professional women found it hard to think of her as a colleague due to these features. Tannen notes that the range of acceptable behaviour for women is very narrow, as they can be perceived as too sexy, too severe, or too feminine (1994). Men's sexuality, however, is not noticed, or is excused, making the workplace a far more comfortable place for them.

Stereotypes of women
The predominant attitudes of men towards women in the organization may also be explained through an examination of stereotypes and the way that they are perpetuated. These evolve through an unconscious acceptance of a society's definitions of femininity – notions that are described in contrast to those of masculinity, thereby demonstrating an inherent 'second-ness' about them.

Within INORG, the stereotyping of men and women, of Nepalese, other South Asians and Westerners was very common. It may have been a function of the high degree of physical and professional segregation maintained by the structure and an authoritarian leadership style. It may also have been an outcome of groupism, the informalism that dominated the organizational culture.

Some knowledge of the gender stereotypes and perceptions of INORG staff can be gleamed through their responses to the survey questions. Evidence of stereotypical beliefs about women was found in the responses by staff at all levels of the organization. These perceptions of gender difference appeared to be firmly held by many staff.

Throughout the literature on masculinity, the feminine principles are seen to include characteristics such as interdependence, acceptance, receptivity, emotional, holistic, relationship-focused, concerned with equality, nurturing, responsive, and tentativeness (Marshall, 1984). These principles of femininity were not likely to be challenged by the men and women of INORG, based on my discussions and observations. INORG women noted that: "women are expected to play submissive roles. People in this society view women as more conniving than men." (Women's meeting/notes/1998) "I would definitely say that in my observations of staff here, there is still an old obsessive idea of women being emotional and irrational. It dominates the reactions of some senior males." (Doma/interview/2001)

Women in authority are often stereotyped. One way this occurs with the Western female professional staff is that they are often told that they are too aggressive, based on what they say

in staff meetings, and the style of their communication. Anne was called "confrontational" in such meetings; I was also viewed as too direct and aggressive, at least by some Nepali male colleagues who advised me to build support for my ideas before voicing them, or otherwise, say things very softly. They appeared to want us to be more feminine, to conform to their ideals of how a woman should behave, and to remind us that we were treading on their territory. However, these stereotypes persisted no matter what changes women staff made to accommodate their requests.

Some of the female professional staff were accused by their male peers of being too emotional in relation to work-related matters. (Sara/notes/2000) The message that these men conveyed was that it was not professional to be personally committed or attached to your ideas or work. Or, as Sara calls it, passion: "I have passion for my work. I think it's a feminine trait but I could be biased." (Sara/interview/2001)

And yet despite these expressions of enthusiasm, in general women were assumed by some to have less commitment to the organization due to their domestic roles, as expressed by some men in their responses to the survey questions. Some appeared to believe that mothers would always put their domestic roles ahead of work requirements, bringing about a poor performance at the office, and providing an excuse that men did not have. This may be in part the reason that men referred to women's attempts to raise their voices about discrimination as 'bitching and moaning'. Some believed that women already had an easy time and were treated leniently by the Management because of their dual roles. (Male GS staff/survey/1998)

Different types of stereotyping which penalise women are often unconscious. Roles and stereotypes cause problems for working women due to their dual roles in household and workplace. But where there is an intention to exclude women from positions of power, a belief that motherhood is the proper fulfilment for women can also be used to rationalise their exclusion from promotions and management positions (Mills and Wilson, 2001). Women at INORG perceived unfairness in promotions for women, as expressed by Kumari, but based on a general attitude about women's capabilities: "many female staff in the GS 4-7 level are qualified to move to positions of responsibility. It has taken place mostly in the case of male staff - probably female staff were thought incapable of handling the position of responsibility." (Kumari/notes/1999)

On the issue of perceived gender equality within the organization, some male staff remarked in the survey that the issue should be "de-emotionalised", and that gender gaps should be separated from general issues: "focus on institutionalising gender rather than 'fighting' on specific issues." This reference to fighting expressed another belief of some men both inside INORG and outside that women were not capable of working together, that they would "tear each other down whenever possible." (Male professional/survey/1998) Women at INORG were fully aware of this stereotype and often referred to the need to 'prove them wrong' by acting in unison.

'Feminine' Styles
One topic of frequent discussion amongst the female staff was the very masculine, formal ways of the organization and how uncomfortable it was for many women: "I need a place where I feel nurtured; this is definitely not the place. The culture of INORG is very formal and does not

reflect women's style" (Sara/interview/2001). Some women tried to do things in their own style, within their own 'turf'. Doma and I tried to focus on relationships, on linkages to our partners as people rather than things and to be responsive to their needs. In a memo to the Management, we outlined our strategy for gender mainstreaming:

> We value linkages to our partner organizations and personal relationships developed with participants in the training course. Recognising that individuals make the difference in organizational change, we would like to fully support their efforts to mainstream gender. We would like to be flexible enough to develop responses to their needs. (Jeannette and Doma/memo/1998)

There was no response from the Management or other members of the GWG to this communication. One professional woman stated in the survey her perception that there was no space for feminine creativity and expression and yet another, Bina, stated "we are more informal in DOP due to having more women. We laugh and enjoy a lot."

The seeming lack of respect and value given to the less formal and bureaucratic styles that women said they felt more comfortable with may have been due to the fact that feminine principles that characterised such approaches are deemed antithetical to bureaucracy and traditional notions of organizational progress in the workplace. Fletcher notes that even in organizations that in the 1990s tried to present a new face by emphasising the value of relational skills to meet client needs and build teams, such feminine behaviours were viewed as inappropriate to the workplace because they collided with powerful, gender-linked images of good workers that remained unchanged (Fletcher, 1999). The women of INORG could express their own styles of work only in spaces where their authority was unquestioned and protected from the inquisitive eyes of men, i.e. within their own projects, where they alone were responsible for coordination of meetings and field activities. This space proved precious to women who felt stifled by the masculine environment of INORG's organizational culture. Women's creation and use of such spaces will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

Impact on Women (and Some Men)
From the survey questionnaire, responses showed that the same work environment was experienced differently by men and women at INORG. Half of the women felt the work atmosphere was satisfactory, half thought it unfair. Yet all men thought it satisfactory for women as well as for themselves, and didn't see any difference. Some women staff expressed their perception of being constantly, even if inadvertently, judged by biased attitudes about their understanding of issues, whether they be simple, like those related to the management of the canteen, or more complex as those related to career development.

Many women had the perception that they were being watched and judged by their male and female colleagues. They believed that the men were not subject to the same degree of assessment.

For some, this sense of being different from others came as a surprise. Sara was one who had always fitted into her male dominated surroundings easily, and had not expected it to be different at INORG:

> All my life, I had to ignore the fact that I was a girl, since I was in a male dominated household. I have a lot of male traits, competition, aggressive, assertive, and opinionated. I didn't believe when I first came here that I would have any difficulties adjusting to this environment. I try to hold my own here, but I see it as a very difficult place for women. I have become more confident, I can stand up to Raj while three years ago, I was afraid to. I have become a lot mellower. I have lowered my expectations of others.
> (Sara/interview/2001)

Women like Sara had not before encountered strong stereotypes that made them think of themselves as different from their male counterparts. I myself experienced the same. Though my previous work experience included three years with INGOs in Nepal, I had never felt discriminated against as an outsider, nor diminished by my femininity. The self-awareness that arose within INORG for me, Sara, Anne and Catherine was that our self-esteem had been battered and bruised during our years at INORG, and that we had given up some behaviour that we admired amongst women because of the difficulty these caused us within this heavily male-dominated environment. These were largely qualities of leadership – speaking our opinions, advocating for change, criticising as we felt necessary, influencing other women to join us, etc. We laughed when men called us confrontational, as in our self-perceptions, we had long ago given up our tendencies to speak our minds.

Just as women in most organizations, we had to adjust to masculine values, and to men's ways of playing the games. Like others, some of us did not wish to work within these frameworks, but had to adapt to the existing norms and standards of male colleagues in order to be deemed 'successful' and in order to maintain our professional positions and salaries. As Catherine put it, "we are like thorns in the side of this organization." (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

Several studies on women managers in Western countries (e.g. Marshall, 1999; Maddock, 1999; Meyerson, 2001) suggest that neither women's attempts to resist or blend in are effective strategies of gaining acceptance. The flurry of women reportedly leaving their managerial jobs in the US and the UK is due to several reasons. One is their dislike of male dominated organizational cultures characterised by hostile, tense relationships, isolation and stress; another is that they are seeking more balanced lifestyles, avoiding dual roles that were impossible or de-motivating. Disillusionment with male managers is a significant factor influencing the decision of many women to leave (Maddock, 1999).

The impact of these hostile cultures on women can be significant. The environments are highly stressful as adapting to organizational norms requires suppression of aspects of identity that do not fit (Bell, 1990). The personal cost is high, forcing individuals to sacrifice racial, ethnic, and/or feminine parts of the self. This stress could theoretically be experienced by men, as well, who do not fit into the hegemonic ideals of masculinity, howsoever they be defined according to specific historical, cultural and geographical contexts. The suppression of identity can happen at superficial levels, such as that of dress and language or at more substantive levels of social, personal, and political values.

Women, including in this case women of different nationalities, cultures and educational achievements, are pigeonholed into stereotypic and subordinate sexual or maternal roles, and

commonly collude with such roles. Attempts to subvert the masculine order are usually unsuccessful, with dominant groups of men attempting to re-feminise, sexualise and maternalise such women by devaluing their work. This is done not only through discriminatory selection, mentoring and training, concentrating homosocial men at the core of the organization, generalised sexist or sexual harassment and differential treatment, but also more subtle and unrecognised forms of indoctrination and conditioning. This keeps women out of key positions, perpetuates their often lower levels of self-esteem, and convinces them of their inferiority. It also controls the behaviour of other men, thus perpetuating and reproducing the relationships between gender and power. Some men left out of the dominant power holding groups at INORG may also have experienced some of these impacts, but to a lesser degree.

From the above examples and analysis, it can be seen that masculine values and expressions very much affected the organizational culture of INORG. Though most staff were not able to identify ways in which this was so, it was through the experiences of the Western female professionals that these can best be seen. This may be due to their heightened knowledge and awareness of gender issues, or to the fact that as outsiders, they were more liable to notice cultural differences and their affects on them. It may also be a result of being exposed to other cultures in the West, where stereotypes of women –particularly those related to their roles as mothers- are not as common and strongly held. But even women of the South Asian region were aware of the biases used to discredit their career orientations.

The masculinities expressed in this Asian setting resembled those described by Western scholars, and do not appear to differ much. However, there was less of the type of hegemonic masculinity that exists in the West, allowing for more tolerance of behaviour that is less aggressive and competitive. This is believed to be a cultural contingency of the Asian context, where collective behaviour and tolerance are still the norms of society.

These constructions of masculinity and femininity depend on social and historical contexts and change over the lifetime of individuals. They may vary according to race, class, profession, religion, age, organization, etc. Instead of tying the concepts of masculinity and femininity to the physical bodies of men and women, they could be treated as orientations, forms of subjectivities that are potentially present in all humans. Women can be seen as more characterised by femininities than masculinities, with a great variation in terms of composition of both qualities. In this way, the two orientations can be seen as complementary rather than polarised, as women and men can enact either orientation based on the situation. Part III will examine how various masculine and feminine orientations were enacted in specific episodic events.

6.6   Patterns and Practices of Communication
Communication is the creation of meaning produced through language and interaction. As such, it is all-pervasive and affects all of the elements of organizational culture discussed in other sections of this chapter. Common understandings are critical to effective communication – a point that should be underscored in a multi-cultural context like that of INORG.

Questions to be addressed herewith are: how are power relations demonstrated through communications? How do patterns of communication affect gender relations and identities?

Communication and Power
Even some professional colleagues from outside the organization and the region were aware of the power games played by INORG staff to show their strength. One professor in the U.S. wrote "Anil's lack of communication with me was a way to make sure there were very few outside connections to the project; that is, keep it all in-house and under his control." (Professor/email/2000)

To understand the practices of power, one must analyse the patterns of communication as the control of information provides a base for power. Power influences not only the content of communications, but also who communicates with whom, the ways it occurs, and the degree to which people attend to communications of others. Interruptions, for example, are a commonly used strategy of gaining control over the discourse and topic of discussion during meetings. Communication needs to be analysed as the medium through which relations of power are produced by exploring connections between everyday communicative experiences and underlying systems of power.

Powerful individuals within INORG were observed to talk not only more often, but for longer periods of time in meetings, conferences, and other formal events. These people express their power by controlling the topic of discourse in meetings, for example, through agenda setting, the use of questions, directives, interruptions and the determination of who was allowed to offer comments and suggestions. For example, all the DGs, but especially Mulder, used lengthy, formal speeches in seminars to state their own beliefs, reinforce policies, and exalt the organization. Under Mulder's tenure, staff became accustomed to such long and formal speeches even at informal social events such as farewell tea parties.

Power was also maintained through the use of organizational humour, which sometimes poked fun at certain groups of people based on their caste, ethnicity, nationality or gender. In many organizational contexts within INORG, sexual references and jokes were accepted as natural and seem to be much enjoyed by both men and at least some women (usually the Western women). These jokes unintentionally reaffirmed the lower status of women and other groups, and were a way of maintaining 'male power' in a seemingly harmless manner. The fact that women were frequently the topic of these jokes could be perceived as a way of reinforcing the assumption that their presence within the organization was on limited terms.

Gendered nature of language and communication
There has been much written about the exclusion of women from men's informal groups, resulting in their exclusion from information needed for their career advancement. Men of INORG had many opportunities to communicate with each other when women were not present, both in formal organizational meetings and informal events such as the daily games of ping-pong and smoking and betel nut chewing rituals already mentioned. Regular informal meetings of women occurred most commonly amongst the secretarial staff, usually at the canteen and occasionally at the Gender Centre. Women's separate talks may have provided them with important information about colleagues and supervisors, but this information was not likely to provide them with access to sources of power, as they themselves were situated at the lower levels of the bureaucracy. This was not the case with the male ping-pong games, for instance,

where the Head of Administration played daily with men of all levels, giving them informal opportunities to talk with him and perhaps gain his favour.

The content of women's informal discussions in the segregated environment of the canteen, according to some male staff, was about mother-in-laws, shoes, boutiques, and beauty parlours. This seems to reflect the stereotypical beliefs they had about women and specifically about Nepali women secretarial staff. Male staff did not find these topics of interest to them. (DOP/interview/2001) However, when the professional women gathered in a place such as the canteen, some male staff appeared uneasy and joked about how women were "plotting to overthrow" the men. In part due to these comments, many women preferred to meet in the Gender Centre – a space on the edge of the INORG compound not visited by men.

Organizations are havens of sexist language. The most obvious use was found in job titles at INORG that expressed sex-role stereotypes and appropriateness, and the degree of power and status associated with their jobs. Power differences were reflected in norms about who will be called what and by whom. High status people such as DGs, DDGs, division heads, and older staff were called by their title, whereas lower status staff were called by their first names. Even female professionals were called by their first names by staff of all levels, except the drivers, who referred to everyone as 'Ma'am'. Female and male staff from the region, even professionals, claimed they had a difficult time in using first names to refer to the senior-most men, reflecting the fact that the use of names was determined by cultural as well as gender differences.

Another example of sexist language is described in detail in Chapter 8; a second aspect of sexist titles was the use of a suffix to one's name to indicate respect. This was particularly common amongst the Indian male staff who used it only for each other. For example, Anil called his Indian colleagues 'sahib', like 'Ravisahib'. They also add '*bai*' to the end of a name to indicate endearment, such as 'Indrabai'. This communication pattern was used to establish and publicly demonstrate a special respect and status for one's in-group members. Women were never addressed or referred to using these terms, except in a joking manner.

One way in which communication and power are linked has been established through a discussion of the masculinity of workplace talk in the previous section on Masculinity and Femininity. The dominance of masculinity as a communication style seems almost expected in an organization so populated by men.

Examples of masculine styles of communication were found in memos of some male professional staff who were in disagreement with the Management over an incident that happened in 2000. When Paul terminated the contracts of seven male professionals, he received a memo drafted by Feroz in a forceful language that was straightforward, confrontational and threatening. It appeared to me at the time to be a Western 'hegemonic' style of masculinity that was being expressed, using facts, rationality and reason as a basis for his argument that Paul could not legally take such an action. The Nepali and other South Asian men affected by the action were similarly extremely angry, but expressed themselves more through verbal condemnations shared within their groups of friends. I do not know if any of them took their grievances directly to the DG, though they did sign Feroz's memo in a show of solidarity. One of the affected staff, Krishna, expressed his anger at the DG's identity as a cultural outsider, and as

such, one with no right to such levels of power within Nepal: "he thinks this is HIS fiefdom, which he will manage with his 3-4 trusted advisors, but INORG is bigger than him. We will take action to make sure this never happens again." (Krishna/notes/2000) This notion of taking action, getting back in control, seemed again to reflect a masculine orientation, and one expected amongst the Brahmins who were used to being in control.

Female staff used similar means to communicate their grievances - memos were the media of choice, reflecting a communication norm within the bureaucracy. But the style and tone of the women's memos that I was aware of tended to differ from those of the men. Often the language of these was obtuse and vague so as to appear polite and non-confrontational to the audience (the supervisor or DG). These memos were carefully crafted by women, and usually shared with trusted female colleagues before sending them off. The first drafts of memos prepared by Western and some Nepali women were rewritten and toned down before they reached the desk of the DG, often with the help of Anne's editorial advice to soften the language. In this way, she acted as a mediator to put forth complaints in a manner deemed acceptable to Management.

Masculinity was seen in men's daily exchanges with female staff. They often interrupted women in meetings, or whispered to each other when one of the female professionals tried to make a point in a staff meeting. Another common occurrence was the reinforcement of the opinions or suggestions of their male colleagues. Female staff learned to support each other in staff meetings as well, even if they did not necessarily agree with one another, to show solidarity and try to gain control over the discussions. But this support mechanism worked only when other professional women were present; when alone, women were much more vulnerable to the practices of power and control used by the men to exclude them. Most vulnerable, perhaps, to these was Doma, who was the single non-male, non-Brahmin, non-PhD holder in her division: "when I disagree with the men in DEI, some will hear me out, then try to make me interpret my thing differently. Others don't let me speak completely." (Doma/interview/2001)

In interviews, some staff mentioned the advantages that women had in communicating with their supervisors due to issues of sexuality. Male administrative staff and secretaries stated that their female colleagues enjoyed better relationships with their immediate bosses than they did.

> At our level, women can talk freely to male bosses, we cannot do this. Women can talk informally or flirt. An example is that the woman secretary can communicate easily with the boss, because the down-up relationship is taken for granted. It is less so with the male secretary, so communication is not so easy. (DOP/interview/2001)

Balaram agreed: "when working with my boss, Sita had a completely different relationship with him. He was strict with me, but chatty and friendly with her." (DOI/interview/2001) It seems that both the norms of masculinity and hierarchy prevented men from communicating personal and emotional matters to their male colleagues. Balaram's comments indicated that at least some did desire to discuss personal topics with those they trusted to keep them confidential, perhaps reassured that their position of power over the other would enforce the secrecy. There is much in the literature on secretaries and how they fill the roles of wives, providing emotional support and encouraging emotional expression (e.g. Tannen, 1995). Or it may be that these topics were raised in attempts to flirt or establish intimacy.

Another communication effect of the hierarchy was that administrative staff were not informed about matters that 'they do not need to know'. Female administrative staff complained of their lack of access to information: "we are considered just secretaries, so staff do not tell us about programme matters, just bark directions at us." They also objected to the tone with which they are spoken to, by both men and women of 'higher status', and to their lack of voice: "we must scream to make our voices heard." (Women's meeting/notes/1998) And yet, they rarely did scream, or even complain to those whose behaviour was offensive to them. They seemed to always be aware of the norms of behaviour towards one's superior.

The communication of female professionals with women secretaries or administrative staff varied, based at least in part on backgrounds. Many of the women professionals tended to use a friendly, chatty style that inferred an equal-ness; this often included sharing their emotions about work-related or family events and organizational gossip that was otherwise not available to 'lower' level staff. After this sharing of information, it seemed easier to request some work to be done by this group of female secretaries, leading one to question whether this was not merely a form of manipulation. But it appeared to be more than this. Through chatty exchanges, these women thought that they could decrease the dehumanising aspects of the workplace, and downplay their authority so that the job could get done without using formal power. This may be an example of women's attempts to maintain the appearance of equality discussed by Heim and Murphy (2002), who state that women's choice of communication styles reflects their socialisation to maintain a sense of equality with other women, to avoid one up-manship and conflict. There seemed to be an expectation amongst the female staff for such feminine treatment, and when someone instead chose to demonstrate her power with a demanding tone of voice, the secretaries complained bitterly about her and her behaviour. Based on female staffs' complaints that secretaries do not carry out their responsibilities for them as efficiently as they do for men, it seems that neither the feminine, 'power-equal' nor the authoritative styles of communication were effective for women professionals in dealing with secretaries and administrative staff. This apparently reflected an organization-wide preference for male leadership and the seemingly 'natural' circumstance wherein women secretaries took their orders from men. It was the language and style of communication of men that was the norm.

There is much evidence in the literature to show that women and men talk differently (e.g.Tannen, 1994; Gilligan, 1993). Men are said by these scholars to be socialised into a competitive form of speech, favouring strategies which foreground power and status differences while women are socialised to use more cooperative forms. According to this perspective, women's talk is inter-action focused, using questions to bring others into discussion and enhance the self-esteem of subordinates. Many of the women of INORG tended to use the words 'let us' as a prefix to a directive, stressing collaboration and cooperation; achievements were often expressed as the work of the group, not the individual. This may have been due to habit, but could well be based on women's understanding that a boasting, self-confident woman would not be liked by women or men; and popularity was highly valued by most women in the organization.

This form of speech using 'us' and 'we' was not used by the men as frequently; in staff meetings, professional male staff usually spoke of their own individual contributions and ideas. And yet there were some men who did refer to their group successes, particularly those working

in congenial, teamwork-oriented divisions, such as DCI. These men demonstrated a high degree of pride in their abilities to work together, though others observed that they were almost all members of one ethnic group.

Tannen states that style that emphasizes group achievements is devalued by organizational norms that perceive this as weakness on part of women. One problem for managers who are searching for organizational leaders for promotions is that this style does not demonstrate an ability to lead, using the traditional notions of leadership imbued with masculinity. Therefore, when the style of communication is selected to not appear boastful it is wrongly perceived to be due to a lack of confidence, and women and others who use these terms are not given opportunities to advance to management positions.

Within INORG, where women professionals were so few and so closely observed by others, women were very aware of their communication styles and the impacts they had on others. Most women tempered what they said so they didn't sound aggressive. So as not to appear too bossy or full of self –confidence, they phrased ideas as 'suggestions'. Yet amongst men, taking leadership was admired and respected. When women spoke in 'male styles', they were called aggressive, strident, and confrontational. According to the norms of the INORG, very much influenced by the norms guiding the behaviour of women in this part of the world, we were often advised to soften our styles of speech, even more than we were advised to change the content. Negative perceptions of Western professional women were produced, or more accurately, confirmed when our ways of speaking were not recognised as just styles, and were taken literally. And yet, according to the results of the organization- wide survey, many women of other backgrounds shared this experience. One half of the female respondents stated their belief that male colleagues responded negatively to their comments. Men, however, seemed to think that everyone appreciated what they had to say: almost all the men perceived that their male and female colleagues responded positively to their comments, and 100% of the men stated that the women responded positively to their comments.

As stated by Tannen, a linguist who studied conversational styles to understand human relationships (1994), gender is only one of the influences on style. Ethnicity, class, age, occupation, geographical background, and other factors affect choice of style as well. Since gender is a primary category of identity and deeply rooted, certain behaviours seem natural because they have been ritualised. Misunderstandings are caused by differences in style when rituals are not shared and recognised as such. In our culturally diverse organization, misunderstandings were common, yet rarely recognised as an outcome of the diversity. Rather than expend the effort to process the communication messages of someone from a very different background, it was all too easy to dismiss that person as ineffective, aggressive, etc. It was not difficult to understand why people preferred those of their own social background as friends and colleagues, for straightforward and easy communication. This is one way that organizational cultures are perpetuated, simply based on ease and comfortableness. This must be particularly so amongst the top management, who have more responsibilities and less time to process and make sense of confusing communication. If there is truth in the findings of linguistic researchers such as Lakoff (1975) and Gilligan (1993) that men's and women's speech differs significantly, then men's confusion about women's intentions and positions is easily grasped, as is women's sense of frustration in making themselves understood.

Through this investigation of patterns and practices, the central role of communication in the daily interactions that produce the gendering of INORG was observed. This gendered perspective sees communication as a process that creates meaning, in a process of sense-making and the determination of 'truth' as put forth by the sender. Communication involved an interaction between individuals, whose identities included elements in addition to that of gender, and thus was affected by issues of power and status that in turn affected the exchange. Gender differences, while significant, did not fully explain the various styles and practices of communication found within INORG.

6.7   Collaboration

Closely related to communication, collaboration - or the lack of it – within an organization is a key feature of an organization's culture, and one that determines to a large degree worker satisfaction. However, the principles of teamwork and collaboration are in many ways in opposition to those of bureaucracies and to those of patriarchy, leading us back to investigations of how power is intertwined with this topic.

Members of INORG often expressed the opinion that the organization was characterised by 'turf wars' – that a key motivation of professional staff was to gain power and control over a particular project, activity or area of knowledge that established their 'niche' related to a particular knowledge and thus ensured their job security.

> The thing that struck me the most when I first came here was this divisional compartmentalisation. There is a sense of territory, individual turfs. This may be changing a bit, but there is still an attitude of "you scratch my back and I will scratch yours". There are colleagues who are more appreciative of me than others, but it is because I do something for them. It's hard to say when people are friendly to me whether it's me or for their own work. (Doma/interview/2001)

Through this competitive process, professionals were reluctant to allow others access to the resources, networks of partners and knowledge for fear of losing their power and status. Knowledge and information were traded – not shared - in a form of reciprocity that was perceived to provide each party with advantages. This behaviour fits with the norms of professionalism previously discussed.

Professionals were all members of teams set up by Management to create cross-disciplinary programmes and perspectives on key areas of activity termed 'thrusts'. Each project or programme had its own team of four to eight persons, each of whom was to bring his/her special knowledge to bear on the programme's objectives. As gender was a cross-cutting discipline, either Doma or myself were included as members of each team in the organization. And yet, we attended few team meetings.

Though directed by the DG to hold at least one or two team meetings a year, in reality few professionals did so. Some team leaders did hold informal meetings instead, but only with those members of their own choosing. This meant that Doma and I were left out of many of the planning and monitoring activities, making it impossible to represent gender interests and see that they were included throughout the organization.

The reasons for non-compliance with the DG's directive were several. First, as professionals did not themselves select the team members, there was an automatic resistance to being told who to include. Imposed inclusion was based on staffs' professional disciplines and place in the hierarchy, not on social connections and networks, and hence ignored the behind the scenes subgroups and power holders that were such an important part of INORG's culture. This is not to opine that the DG was in error with this selection criterion, but to explain the response of some professionals. If a professional's team included some members that he/she did not like or felt challenged by, it was very unlikely that he or she would call on those members for advice, or even provide them access to information about the work. Unless obliged to follow the rules of the DG, people found ways to work with those they felt most comfortable with.

The exclusion of female staff has been discussed in other sections of this thesis, but should be reiterated here as well. Women professionals felt that they were intentionally excluded, initially by the DG in his selection of team members for various projects and activities, and subsequently by the male professional staff who did not communicate programme-related information to them. They had few opportunities to give their inputs. In a meeting with professional and NO women, it was stated that "even within the teams that do work, everyone listens to men." (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

An exception to this was found in the DOP division, dominated by women. This was an anomaly within the organization where only one man could claim that he worked primarily with women, while one half of all female staff worked with mostly men. The social dynamics here were observably different from the rest of the organization. The active participation of all staff, including the administrative members was encouraged, perhaps due to the values held by its Division Heads.

The staff and management had long been aware of the poor degree of integration within the organization. In 2000, a committee was formed to determine the causes of this problem, which they listed as follows (Integration Committee/report/2000):

- Professional sectors reluctance to integrate
- Being put into boxes - being identified as a specialist instead of recognised for knowledge of many disciplines
- Hierarchy
- Imposed Project Teams
- Lack of autonomy, need for decentralised management
- Attitudes
- No common philosophy or vision, values. We need a discussion on development paradigms
- Lack of capacities for integration - facilitation skills, management skills
- Ownership lacking, common identity missing
- Time

The group concluded that an 'integration of attitude' was lacking, based on a lack of trust amongst members. As these conclusions demonstrate, the barriers to effective collaboration were

perceived to be more social than structural in nature. The notion of belonging more to a division than to the overall organization expressed staff's sense of the fragmentation, based on physical groupings of staff rather than groupings by caste, nationality, or gender. This statement may have been based on a perception that the separation of the Division buildings caused such groupings to occur naturally, or it may be because segregation and discrimination on the basis of caste, nationality or gender were not legitimate discourses within the organization. As an international organization, INORG was assumed to be a place unfettered by these 'social evils', though privately staff knew a different reality.

As such, the recommendations of the Integration Committee were for the creation of structures to break down social barriers by providing opportunities to interact informally (in retreats, common rooms, and sports events). Good will, good programmes, and trust among staff (female and male) were considered by the Committee as prerequisites for developing gender sensitive programmes and a gender-neutral working environment.

The goal of achieving gender equity within the organization provided an impetus for more collaboration. Yet an outside gender consultant observed the weak degree of integration and the resulting difficulties in gender mainstreaming:

> There is a lack of communication and collaboration in INORG's organizational culture, making it very difficult to integrate gender in such an environment. Because this lack already exists, gender sparks off divisions amongst people. Female staff are very pleased, others see this as a women's issue, even see the GWG as a labour union.
> (Consultant/gender monitoring report/1999:5)

Integration of Gender Concerns: An Impossible Objective?
One would expect that in an international organization, collaboration amongst highly trained professionals would not be a difficult achievement. One could further expect that integrating gender within such a setting would be feasible. And yet there were some fundamental issues that may well have precluded the possibility of true integration. These were related to power, ideologies, values and individual personalities.

The expression of hierarchical or positional power by the management staff at the top of the organization prevents real collaboration from occurring. When power is interpreted as domination from the top, as in INORG, most staff feel thwarted in actions and ambitions. The imposition of the choice of team members was one example of this, but the general impression of being 'micro-managed' from above acted as a strong disincentive to innovation, creativity, and inclination to do things differently. The team model is based on principles of collaboration, empowerment, reduced hierarchy and open communications (Pinchot, 1992). Without these key requisite features in place, any attempt at teamwork can be superficial and meaningless. As observed by Thomann and Strickland, "for a team-based organization to fully utilise collective knowledge, resources and expertise, collaboration will need to replace positional power throughout the organization" (1992:37).

An underlying ideology based on the unequal distribution of power and the centrality of a patriarchal figure maintains structures and cultures that undermine the team model and its empowerment ideals. The organizational culture assumes significance because of the type of

people in power, the cultural norms that uphold their positions of power, and the structures and systems that reflect dominant ideologies about power. The masculine nature of these notions and systems, already elaborated, reinforces the organization's resistance to challenge these deeply embedded features, and allows gender mainstreaming to exist as an 'add-on' programme. In this context, organizational leaders can be assured that such an initiative can never grow beyond its marginal status. The feminist ideals of empowerment that match with those of the team model cannot be realised in such an environment of non-collaboration.

The antithesis of collaboration is individuality. By rewarding individual rather than team contributions, organizations are dominated by individuals who seek to differentiate themselves from others in order to be rewarded. Despite the existence of teams at INORG, an individual's contributions to a team were more or less ignored. There was no category in the Performance Appraisal for team performance, and no way for supervisors to assess performance outside of their own divisions. Time given to team meetings was thought by staff to be an extra, 'optional' duty since they believed such activities were not valued by Management. Despite the collectivist values that underlie the culture at INORG, as long as the DG valued individuals rather than their team performances, staff would display their competitive nature and downplay or hide those behaviours that might demonstrate collaboration. Both orientations were present within the Asian and Western staff of INORG and were expressed depending on the nature of the context.

Individual factors also influenced the degree of collaboration. Many of these were related to differences in styles, ethnicity, gender and levels of authoritarian power; some team members were unwilling or reluctant to give up position, power and their past practices. Other factors included inadequate levels of skill or experience of performing in teams; difficulties some had when their individual beliefs were challenged; and the degree of trust and perception by staff that that the organization was truly committed to sharing power and leadership.

In the case of the Gender Programme, some of the female professionals after the fifth year expressed their doubts as to the effectiveness of any attempts to change the existing gendered dimensions of power within the organization. This was not a statement of resignation as much as a statement of awareness of the degree of power behind the structural, cultural and individual factors that comprised the organization. As the leader of that effort, I wrote these words at the time: "I tried to manage the GWG as a team, with feminist principles of inclusion, equality, etc. but in the midst of this traditional structure of power and hierarchy, I could not succeed." (Journal/2000)

But some data demonstrates that I (or we) did succeed. There was a general sense that INORG's culture had become more gender sensitive, expressed by the GWG:

> Gender issues and staff's participation in gender activities has gradually gained acceptance among staff members. Although a significant level of awareness on gender issues has been attained, much effort is still required to integrate the gender issues and be applied by staff members. (GWG/report/2000)

This was reiterated by a team of external consultants in an evaluation of the organization in 2001:

> The management as well as many staff of 'INORG' has shown considerable interest in the development of procedures and principles for making 'INORG' a gender sensitive organization and an equal opportunity employer… Gender equity has now generally been accepted as an integral part of the business of 'INORG'… 'INORG' has become known for its gender friendly work environment and programmes. (Quinquennial Review/2001:32)

Some of the women staff, notably at the administrative and NO levels, saw positive changes: "remember our first women's meeting? We have come a long way in these three years." (Kanchan/interview/2001) The gender consultants noted "generally, a positive attitude towards dealing with gender issues could be noticed with a very supportive management. People show a certain pride in the results and a sense of ownership." (Consultant/gender monitoring/report/1999:7)

But also reported by the gender consultants was that "individual members ranked the level of resistance towards gender differently." (page7) Many staff, including me, were of the opinion that significant resistance still existed. GWG members remained cautiously optimistic, believing that a new leader could provide the required impetus. But despite Paul's rhetorical orientation towards participatory management, without dismantling the existing organizational structure, he allowed teams to remain as add-ons, still embedded in the hierarchy.

6.8   Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the key features of organizational cultures that were fundamental to the production and maintenance of gender inequality and to the continuity of the bases of power that existed within INORG and similar organizations. These cultural elements are both the cause and effect of the structural features of organizations; the combination of the two generates the organizational realities that are experienced by its members, and known to outsiders.

The multi-cultural makeup of INORG's staff accentuated the divergent versions of reality, confirming that organizational culture is not in any case monolithic, but rather is experienced differently by all members. Some of this divergence is explained by the various forms of power held by individuals within the organization – authoritative, male and informal power are described in this chapter. Despite the concentration of formal power in the position of DG, informal power was extant as well, held by social subgroups and individuals. Here power is not viewed as belonging solely to management or the dominant groups, but as individual and fluid, changing with the circumstances. It is argued that when authoritarian and male power coalesce, as they did at INORG, the organizational culture is saturated with masculine values that underpin and are underpinned by ideologies, norms and attitudes that serve to perpetuate the existing gendered condition, despite structural attempts to change policies and staffing arrangements.

Organizational culture may be viewed as a form of 'male power' but Chapter 7 will demonstrate how subcultures that resist this dominance also exist, supporting the evidence provided in this chapter that suggests that cultures are fragmented, and that the relationships between culture and gender are not as deterministic as the structuralist approach claims. Still, this chapter shows that men as a group seemed to experience the organizational culture more comfortably than women, and were better able to reap its benefits.

The influences of the external environment of South Asia on the gendered values, norms and behaviours of both men and women were found to be a significant feature of the organization, to a large degree countering any strategies of manipulation and influence exerted by the DG's use of his authoritative power. Processes of communication and collaboration were constructed on a daily basis through informal practices that produced and maintained the local cultural norms dominated by South Asian values and ideologies. Expressions of masculinity pervaded these values and norms, and were to various degrees, adhered to by women as well.

Stereotyping was found to be abundant and habitual, systematic and structural. Its effect on women of the organization was significant, with psychological repercussions. To some degree, stereotyping was unconscious and unintentional, but there is also evidence of episodic agency, whereby individual men intentionally used their power to meet the interests of men as a group, or for their personal interests. This raises a key question addressed in the previous chapter as well, on the extent to which male dominance is intentionally maintained.

The difficulties I encountered as researcher in avoiding speculation as interpretation were discussed. This may be due to limitations in "making the familiar strange" as Hammersley and Atkinson exhort researchers who study cultures similar to their own to do (1995: 9). A process of 'defamiliarisation' is necessary for insiders to create a distance to analyse features of social life. A very fine line needs to be maintained between such distance and the exploration of culture as a subjective experience, based on Smiricich's notion of culture as a "root metaphor" instead of as a variable (1983:348). This is a balance between what appears self-evident and unproblematic, on one hand, and what can be interpreted as the 'freezing' of social life for analysis, on the other, so that it becomes an object of further scrutiny and critical interpretation (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000).

Changes in cultures are continuous, in part due to management directives, acts of individuals, and changing external contexts. To some effect, these altered the gendered aspects of the organization, but rather than a dramatic change, it was a mixing of existing traditional cultures and changing values that occurred more slowly. Possibilities existed for individual women (and men) to challenge, resist, and modify the dominant gender power relations with a view of power as diffuse, and belonging to particular individuals regardless of their gender or structural location within the hierarchy; these will be explored in detail in Chapter 7.

Part III: Enacting Gender: Battles for Meaning

Overview
The description of the actors, structures and cultural aspects of the organization in Parts I and II provide the backdrop for the final discussion on the enactment of gender. Part III analyses the 'battles for meaning' that men and women of INORG engaged in while demonstrating their compliance and resistance to organizational norms and stereotypes evident in the organization, and in relation to the gender ideologies being promoted within INORG and the larger society. It examines the micro-level aspects of the organization - the individuals and interactions amongst them that construct identities and comprise their actions to enact, resist, and negotiate the world as given, and in so doing, 'make' the world. This 'making' may reproduce the same old reality, or it may produce something new. But without careful analysis of the cultural meanings and structural arrangements that construct and constrain their agency, research on individual agency can be misleading, giving a perception that intention is all that is required for effective human agency.

Identity is explored as a motive for resistance. Agency is examined through a discussion of individual and group acts of compliance and resistance, and actions of women resisting change.

Questions to be addressed in this Part are sub questions of the third research question, 'what are the causes of the deep resistance to change for gender equity in such organizations, and what are the implications for organizational transformation?'

Chapters 7 and 8:

- What were the strategies used by actors who resisted dominant organizational ideologies and norms? By those who promoted and complied with them? Did these strategies differ between men and women, or between individuals and groups? Which was more effective? How did powerful agents exert influence over those resisting? Did this differ for men and women?

Chapter 9:

- How is gender identity influenced by language, patterns of interaction and social practices? To what extent do organizational processes maintain and develop a person's gender identity? How do organizations play a part in socialising processes in which people acquire, mould, change and constrain gender identities? How are gender norms embodied?
- How do class, race, ethnicity and age interact with gender issues? How do organizational practices produce and reproduce diverse identities, valuing some and devaluing others?

Though these questions have been addressed in earlier chapters, the same questions will be examined here from a different perspective – that of the individual. Reflections on my own involvement as a key actor in the events will be discussed as well in the conclusion.

To address these questions, I use grounded observation of individual and group experiences and actions informed by detailed analysis of the local context. To examine the complex linkages between context, subjectification and agency, three events were selected based on their degree of historical significance as perceived by some female and male members of the GWG and myself, as key events or expressions of meaning for the organization's gender equality agenda. The three chapters are built around these events, describing them in detail with the understanding that the meanings are found in the subtle innuendos of statements and behaviours that would be missed in summaries of discussions. This gives space for individual agency and subjectivity, and recognises the crucial role played by events at the local level that affect both agency and identity. An analysis of each event follows the description.

The three events are sequential and narrate the process of change over a period of three years.

This discussion is informed by theories of power, practice, agency and resistance, and subjectification described in Chapter 2.

Chapter 7: Women's Week and Women's Agency

Women's Week was an event held in March 1998 to celebrate International Women's Day and to use the occasion to build gender awareness widely throughout the organization. It started out as a simple, apolitical activity of the Gender Programme, but quickly acquired a level of meaning unexpected by the Management and the women themselves. Three years after the event, it was still recalled in detail by some women who described it as a time when the organization's rhetorical support for gender equality was shown to be less than sincere. In retrospect, it now appears to have been a turning point in the relationship between men and women of the organization, and between the Gender Programme and the Management – a time when each group realized, perhaps for the first time, that it stood in opposition to the other.

It started with the report of the major findings of an organizational analysis completed by five INORG staff members, men and women, who had undertaken such work as a requirement of the gender training course. Data from two separate meetings with female professional staff and female administrative staff was presented to the Gender Committee at a meeting in February. The DG noted that while a few issues or problems raised were specific to female staff, most were common problems that perhaps concerned male staff as well.

From this meeting evolved the idea, initiated by me and strongly supported by the DG, to hold a separate meeting of all women staff, to listen to their views about gender inequality at INORG; the DG added his suggestion to then have a whole week devoted to gender issues. Following this meeting, the female staff proposed that the week begin with a gathering of all women at the INORG farm outside of the city to discuss, first amongst themselves, their experiences of gender inequality in the workplace. It was decided that issues raised there would be brought to the attention of the DG and Director of Administration after lunch at a nearby resort.

According to the plan, gender awareness sessions were scheduled for all staff during the rest of the week These sessions, to be hosted and attended by the DG, would report the women's experiences to all staff in a series of half day sessions organised for staff of the three levels – professional and NO, administrative and service staff. The DG announced this in a formal memo issued to all staff:

> On the occasion of International Women's Day, I intend to review with all staff, male and female, whether INORG and all its staff ensure that women and men are treated on an equal basis, according to the standards I set four years ago and those established in international conventions or agreements. In this connection I intend to have separate meetings with groups of staff. I am looking forward to open discussions that will result in even better working environment for all our female staff and remove any real or perceived discrimination against female staff that might still exist. (Mulder/memo/1998)

The DG had, on several occasions, given speeches referring to the need for INORG to practice gender equality in staff meetings, farewell parties, etc. As stated, with these public statements, he had established a gender policy that he expected to be followed, as with all other organizational policies. His statements drew on international policy agreements such as CEDAW and others to legitimate his actions, and to remind staff that as part of an international organization, they were expected to live up to international standards of behaviour.

Meeting of all INORG women
The meeting of the female staff was attended by almost every woman at INORG, including the part time cleaning staff. All were encouraged to freely bring up their own experiences and perceptions. Facilitation, done by myself, was difficult as so many voices were speaking simultaneously. There was sense of excitement in the air, as this group had never before had a chance to meet together solely in the company of women. And the fact that the DG himself had invited them to do so heightened the expectation and added to their hope that what they said would be listened to with interest by Management and the men at the top. The lively discussion was very much dominated by Nepali women secretaries and administrative staff; in fact, very little indeed was said by the professionals. The environment seemed to be comfortable for all the women, with the exception of one – Rita, who listened with interest but who had already expressed her opposition to such a meeting. The others remarked that they were able to say things in this environment that they were unable to say openly at INORG. Some of their key points not yet reported were as follows:

> Balancing Family Life: Attending long term training is difficult; women are not given annual leave, maternity leave if they have not been with the organization for at least one year. There are bad feelings towards women who cannot stay after 5:00. Cooperation with male staff should not be misunderstood to assume there is sexual activity.

> Facilities: Canteen staff and drivers pay less respect to women. We feel uncomfortable in the canteen. It is full of male cliques. Women are made fun of, through whispering in the canteen and in staff meetings, etc. Administrative staff respond to the hierarchy and so don't give us the respect that they do to the male professionals. Men are better off in terms of facilities; all male professionals have their own cars. Pickups are not often to homes, but to drop off points, and the drivers are not responsive to our needs to be taken to our doorsteps at night.

> Professional staff have more clout with drivers and others due to the hierarchy. Administrative staff have no chance to attend divisional meetings. Trust is low, so we need authority to follow through with ideas. Performance evaluation is very dependent on having a good relationship with the boss. Women are not listened to in decision making. Information is not circulated to everyone. There is no representation of women on any decision making body. Female secretaries are asked to do things like light heaters, bring newspapers, and serve tea. They are afraid to say no.

> Values/Culture: The values of INORG are those of South Asia. We should have women on selection committees for hiring; candidates should meet the rules in terms of qualifications. Overtime pay is given to some close to division heads and not to others. (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

After completion of the women's discussion, and long before they were due to arrive, Mulder and Pralad appeared at the meeting place. The women later expressed how surprised they were by this, and recalled that the mood of the meeting changed. They stated that they then did not speak out as they had planned to because of their presence, recognising that they needed time to develop confidence before being able to do that.

The DG provided the group with his reactions to their issues. He was concerned with what he saw as 'perceptions' rather than the 'facts' he was expecting to hear related to the environment for women at INORG. He had expected recommendations for separate toilets, for example.

The DG then mentioned the need for a gender policy, stating that the commitment to gender equality was understood at the programme level from his speeches. "We need an internal policy statement; it could be drafted this week. Then we can separate gender-specific and non gender-specific issues." He then instructed us to form a working group, type up these ideas and determine the priority issues for each group of staff.

Pralad mentioned his concern about the point raised by women that supervisors gave preferential treatment to men who were close to them. He expressed his sadness about staff disrespecting women, and his desire for INORG to set an example by setting its own house in order and contributing to rural women as well.

After hearing the results of the discussions from a few of the bolder women, including Bina – Nepali NO staff, the DG approached me with his reactions. He was unhappy and surprised about the women's complaints, had expected they would be limited to gender, asking for separate facilities, etc. He stated his belief that I was using this platform to voice my own, personal issues, and said that he believed I was pushing for my own promotion. He added that I had failed in my responsibilities towards the Gender Committee because in the two years since its inception, I had done nothing on workplace issues. I asked him to let me lead the Committee (it had always been under his leadership), but he stated that he considered gender issues "too important to leave to the women". (Journal/1998)

The Gender Orientation for staff was held during the next two days. It was well attended by staff, with the very visible and notable exception of many professional males, though they had been told by the DG to attend.

The DG opened the session for the NOs with a statement of his own opinions about the Godaveri meeting of women staff. He stated that many feelings and perceptions were raised at the meeting that he believed were not related to gender, but noted that I had pointed out that they are related because women are not represented at higher levels. He stated that the rationale for this exercise was efficiency, to gain the optimal performance of staff in a fair working environment so that INORG could work to its full potential. Pralad tried to focus on the positive aspects of the event, appealing to men's pride: "men are celebrating Women's Day, this is unique." (Gender orientation notes/1998)

Many questions followed. Some staff wanted to know how INORG compared to other organizations in its statistics. A high level administrative staff questioned why there should be male dominance at the higher levels, though he could understand it at the lower level. Another pointed out that the statistics used were not relevant to the discussion, and spoke of the fear factor that prevented any honest discussion of women's opinions within the organization. He stated that if there is hesitation to speak, we should give training on self confidence. Another questioned whether men were the culprits and whether gender sensitisation should only be

provided to men. Many women noted that these supportive comments were offered by men of the NO and administrative levels, not by professional men.

Though these few men seemed supportive, questioning what they could do to improve the situation, one NO women stated her opinion that "there have been negative vibes from this process. The basic complaint is that women are left out of decision making bodies, we want to open the gate." In front of others, Bina was not afraid to say this, and was the only Nepali woman who spoke on behalf of the group. Gender orientation notes/1998

For the session with the professionals, the DG presented a more complete set of statistics, and changed his stated objective, mentioning that the purpose of the Women's Week was to examine biases within the organization. He then shared the statistics to show that 16% of the professional staff are women, all at the P2 level. He pointed out that there was no representation of women at the higher level, so gender interests were not represented there.

Several comments from the professionals followed. Raj stated that gender issues were class specific, so these issues looked familiar to them. He focused on the divide between the administrative and professional staff, which was an issue that had been extensively discussed by the women. Another professional male cautioned the audience to see if these points were really representative of women or were only of certain individuals. At this point, the DG defended the process, stating that the list of the women's issues was typed at his request, and was a result of two working groups.

Other staff continued to add their input on this theme of which items were gender specific and which were not. Others mentioned that gender issues could be an excuse for poor performance. Krishna, then told the audience that women's attendance in the Management Meeting would not assure representation, to which Indra responded "we have a long way to go," noting the resistance.

When the DG asked his senior staff as supervisors, what they felt about treatment of women, Raj responded "I would like to disagree with their points, but must accept them because they come from a group of people who feel it." As the DG told me later, there was a sense of resentment by managers who felt misunderstood and unnecessarily blamed. (Gender orientation notes/1998)

An example of women's agency was observed soon after these discussions. A group of 14 women of the GS 4-7, NO and professional staff held their first meeting to discuss their task. It was there decided that the issues raised should be written up in a report to be circulated to all staff via email, so as to have transparency amongst the male as well as female staff. The group chose to name themselves the Gender and Workplace Working Group and agreed to meet frequently over the next three months to prepare the draft gender policy statement (as suggested by the DG). This group had discussed the reactions of the staff to the gender orientation sessions of the Women's Week and concluded that generally, the reactions at the administrative level were not positive:

> He asked the supervisors to give their opinions as against us. We were afraid to talk until Jeannette spoke, then we spoke out. Even if they allow us to be in the Administrative Meetings, we will be scared to talk. Shyam supports us, wants to put women in the

Administrative Management meetings, but he is the only one we know of. (Gender and Workplace meeting/notes/1998)

At a second meeting in May 1998, the group voted to remain autonomous, as a forum where female staff could comfortably speak and give their honest views. The group decided to rename themselves the INORG Women's Group, and to welcome all women staff to join. It was agreed that one male Nepali administrative staff (Shyam) should be asked to join as a representative of the non-professional male staff. This group offered to work with the GWG to help form a gender policy.

DG's Version of the Event
Soon after the completion of the Women's Week, I drafted a five page report of the process and outcomes of the women's meeting, which was then agreed to and signed by all members of the Gender and Workplace Working Group (all female at the time). This was then duly submitted to the DG. Within a few days, his secretary Kumari informed us that he had prepared his own version of the event, which we intercepted from the secretary assigned to type it. We circulated copies of his draft throughout the women's group. The response was one of shock, for he had altered the report significantly.

What he had left out:
1. the history of similar efforts undertaken by our gender training course participants;
2. a paragraph of analysis stating that many of issues were viewed to be more related to organizational hierarchy than to specific gender issues; a description of the subtle relationship between the two, using a paragraph from a study of another international organization to describe how women feel left out, less valued, and less connected when they are not represented at higher levels. This insertion would have broadened and legitimated the issue to INORG men (and women), and showed how the issue was common to even large, international organizations;
3. an alternative interpretation of the statistics he presented showing numbers of women vs. men hired, promoted and trained;
4. a sentence stating that there existed a marked disproportion of women within the Professional and GS 1-3 levels;
5. a sentence stating that the fact that most women were so reluctant to speak openly during the formal meetings should be seen as a reflection of the social norms of this South Asian society and not because they doubted the validity of the points they had made;
6. a paragraph stating "many references were made to the unproven nature of the women's "perceptions'; these were juxtaposed against the 'facts' proven by the statistics. Yet statistics alone are insufficient to demonstrate patterns of human relations; hence the need for the collection of evidence including anecdotal experiences and observations that make women experience the workplace differently than men do." (Women's Week Report/1998)

He also omitted three recommendations of the women for future action:
1. Establishment of regular monthly meetings of the GS level staff where women and men could have opportunities to access information and bring up issues of concern to them;

2. Encouragement of female staff to take leadership roles by making presentations, representing their divisions, and the interests of other females in meetings, etc.;
3. Creation of opportunities for more interaction amongst men and women within the organization, both formal and informal. (Women's Week Report/1998)

In addition to making deletions, Mulder added the following to his version of the Report:
1. "In the selection process, the Administration has tried to be gender fair and the feedback on the performance of female staff hired has been good."
2. "Jeannette requested that women be represented at the Management Meeting for regular reporting and information flow."
3. a paragraph on his appreciation of the seriousness with which this event had been taken; his surprise about the range of issues, of which, in his opinion, several were not gender specific or true. He noted that INORG did not have a gender policy apart from the statements within speeches he had made.
4. highlights of discussions with GS 1-3 and 4-7, NOs, and international professionals.
5. a statement about confidence building: "training in confidence building could overcome some of the fear that female staff have expressed."
6. a statement that no direct sexual harassment had been reported though some subtle remarks with a sexual overtone were occasionally expressed. (DG's Version of the WW Report/1998)

From the session with the professional staff, he noted the following comments had been made: "of the issues listed by the all-women meeting, several did not seem to have a gender specific focus and the following distinctions could be made: sex specific, level specific, and class specific. However, even if they were not considered sex specific, and not supported by all female staff, they should be taken seriously by management and all senior staff." In reference to the attitude of male supervisory staff: "those speaking out on this issue denied any preferential treatment of male secretarial staff." On gender equality: "while gender should never be a disadvantage in making a career, it should neither be an excuse for inefficiency. In the South Asian context, subtle values and cultural factors should be recognised when addressing gender issues at INORG."

The DG's report concluded that:

> In general the meetings were held in an open and constructive atmosphere with all interventions discussed or commented upon as reported above. A major unresolved issue was that of perception. While several, if not the majority of the female staff perceived a certain bias against female staff compared to male staff, male staff thought that they behaved on equal terms towards male and female staff, if not even sometimes were more favourably towards female staff. Obviously there is an urgent need to try and reconcile both perceptions as early as possible and take necessary action and/or clarifications to remove any doubt about gender inequality at the workplace. We should proceed with a continual process of institutional and personal introspection by staff on this question of which issues are gender specific and which are not to prepare an appropriate policy and encourage gender fair attitudes and behaviours amongst all staff.

Women's Response

The response of most women upon reading the DG's version of the report was one of surprise and disappointment. In the words of one:

> Feelings are of trust betrayed, that he is mocking women's attempts to voice our concerns. Most damaging is his statement that women's points were considered 'untrue' by him. Also there are some inaccuracies in his report. But the main thing is that he cut out almost everything substantial, giving instead his one-liners to describe gender equality, for example. He said our perceptions were proved wrong by statistics but those statistics are on points that we did not bring up! The DG and Pralad think they are so powerful that they can change the social behaviours of drivers and staff. (Bina/notes/1998)

My own journal notes reflected my reaction:

> Many of us feel shock, humiliation, devalued. What does it say about my professionalism if even a five page report is not accepted? And why did he do this? He has now endangered the whole process of gender mainstreaming here. Does he realise this? Was he pushed or supported by others? It seems such a very unthinking response on his part. Is it a trick to get us to react? We presented up-front and honestly our thoughts and now feel the backlash. There are subtle mocking inclusions – we mentioned our non-judgemental intent of accepting everyone's points. He turned it around, and used it to support his point of being non gender-specific.
>
> We don't know the best way to respond, we will call a meeting of Gender and Workplace Committee today. I am reading a book on how to negotiate, very helpful to give us steps of action, to put us back in control. (Journal/1998)

Response of the Gender Committee

In a meeting of the Gender Committee attended by the Mulder, Ganesh and other senior male professionals (Ram, Feroz, Nirmal, Ahmed), Anne and myself, a long and heated discussion was held on the matter of the two versions of the Women's Week Report. I queried why the DG felt the need to rewrite it, without discussing it with me or any other women. Before he was able to respond, Mulder was called out of room for a phone call. I took the opportunity to speak frankly with the Committee members in his absence, and explained the broken trust felt by the women, and the lack of respect he had showed to me and others. The Committee agreed that there should be a special meeting called on this topic and supported my statements. I was instructed by the acting chair, Ganesh, to immediately send out the women's version of the report to everyone in the room, in the same spirit of transparency of the women's meeting at the farm. Upon the DG's return, Ganesh summed up the discussion by saying that

> The report circulated by the DG today does not reflect all the facts and points accurately enough. The report prepared by Jeannette as rapporteur of Women's Week should be shared with all staff and comments should be requested from all, as the list of issues compiled from the meeting had been shared in the same manner. (Gender Committee Meeting/notes/1998)

After the DG had issued his version of report to Committee members, and in line with instructions given by Ganesh, a few women hand-delivered copies of both his and our report, asking Committee members to read and compare the two.

After others had left the room at the close of the Gender Committee meeting, the DG told me that he and Pralad were very upset with my report, saying that it reflected only the women's view. He didn't like it, because the Women's Week was his initiative and he didn't feel the report credited him enough. He talked of the need to "reconcile and put in one line" everyone's views and attitudes about gender. In the edited version of the minutes of the GC meeting, he deleted Ganesh's comments about the inaccuracies of his report. (GC minutes/1998)

This was the first round of responses to the Women's Week, and those that occurred within three months of International Women's Day. As will be evident in the descriptions of other events, this can be considered an event of major significance to the women of INORG and one that affected the Gender Programme, its staff and the gendered norms of the organization for years to follow. It demonstrated to the women staff that gender initiatives would be acceptable to management only when they were on terms dictated by the DG and senior male staff.

Analysis

In order to 'unpack' the complex meanings generated by this event, a cycle of resistance described by Ashforth and Mael (1998) will be employed here as a framework. This cycle outlines an iterative process of control – resistance – counter control that ostensibly leads to a state of mutual accommodation between the actors in their negotiation of meaning. In this case, the cycle will describe actions of the management and female and male members of INORG as they struggled to make sense of the events of Women's Week and its outcomes and assert their positions.

1. Control

Given the hierarchical nature of INORG under the leadership of Mulder, control was most closely linked to his actions and his attempts to define their significance to others. At times, his deputies Pralad and Ganesh were also involved in exerting control over the situation.

Initially, Mulder appeared genuinely supportive of gender equality within the organization. He frequently made references to international agreements, the values of the international donors and so-called international standards of behaviour to support his creation of the Gender Programme and the Gender Committee. His own views about the degree to which the INORG staff were in agreement with him on this issue was unknown, but from his statements during Women's Week, it appeared that he sincerely believed that open discussions between men and women on this topic would erase the sense of discrimination that some believed to exist. An initial trust in his good intentions was felt by almost all of the female staff at INORG, including myself, and it was this trust that led them to speak openly at the meeting of women staff. (Kanchan and Anjali/interviews/2001) The women believed that Mulder had recognised that their status as female staff members meant that they experienced the organization differently than the males, and that he was seriously interested to learn of their realities. In fact, many may have believed this of the other men in the organization as well, with the exception of one professional woman from South Asia who spoke of men's fear of women's equality.

Women's Week was the DG's idea, and did not originally come from me or the Gender Committee as part of a strategic plan for gender mainstreaming; we had wished to hold only a

meeting of the women, not a week of discussions with the men. His purposes for this are not known; some believed that he expected to gain some professional or personal gratification from showing himself as a manager who led and supported a process of gender awareness. (Women's meeting/notes/1998) But the act may well have been part of his own identity construction, and desire to align INORG's realities more closely with his own liberal values and belief in individualism. With his expressions of Weberian philosophies and ideals of organizations as neutral spaces, he may have been deeply disappointed that the values and realities of South Asian societies had hampered his goals for the organization.

Whatever his reasons, he attempted to control the processes of 1) women speaking out, and 2) brokering their position with the men of the organization in order to achieve what he thought would be a more positive working environment for women and men.

His management colleagues supported him initially, through expressions of the need to increase the 'voice' of female staff and to sensitise male staff on gender issues. Pralad sounded to the women as sincere as Mulder, based on his intent listening and responses of sympathy to their narratives of unfair treatment by supervisors. This, some believed, was based on his own identity as a staunch Communist who had lived for many years in China under the Maoist system.

What happened, why did Mulder's enthusiasm and support turn to disillusionment and resentment?

It appears that, because the women did not speak of the issues he expected and was prepared for, he lost control over the process. As a man who tended to avoid conflict within his organization, he now had to bear the outcome of legitimising the complaints of the women. He had not been prepared to hear their requests for more equal decision-making power and representation along with the senior men. The nature of the issues reflected their frustration with the hierarchy and their lack of power within the lower levels of the organization's structures – frustrations shared by many of the men as well. He expressed surprise that the problems raised were related to relationships between management and staff rather than between men and women. Upon this realisation, he attempted to gain control over the discourse by insisting that we separate gender – specific and gender non-specific issues. This effectively closed off our opportunities to show how the two were linked. But still trusting in his good intentions, the women agreed to try to do this. We were not willing to lose the support of the DG in our efforts to give more attention to women's differing realities.

The women believed that, with the DG's directive to establish a committee and issue a report, the Women's Week had ended. But for Mulder, it seemed that he had yet to ascertain a satisfactory level of control over the meaning of the event. In another, more significant show of power, Mulder used the discourse of rationality and the scientific paradigm to de-legitimise women's subjective knowledge, described as their perceptions. This was done through his alteration of the report, which was so extensive that it became known as the 'DG's Version'. Herewith, the major point of importance to the women was his insistence that their expressions were merely those of 'perception' and not 'fact', and therefore had little significance. He had juxtaposed their subjective statements of their experiences against the 'facts' using statistics, thus denying their knowledge and claims that their reality differed from that of men's. He indicated that the

women's reluctance to speak up (in his presence) was an indication that they themselves doubted the validity of the points they had made. In this way, he denied the 'truth' of what the women had dared to say in his presence.

By this action, Mulder privileged a certain form of knowledge –that of objectivity and science - over another type based on subjective experiential knowledge. This was supported by his statement to the male staff that the rationale for the gender awareness exercise was efficiency, to gain the optimal performance of staff in a fair working environment so that INORG could work to its full potential. Through this, Mulder juxtaposed the public and technical sphere against the personal sphere. Women's subjective experiences in the workplace thus did not 'count'; subjectivity is associated with femininity and emotions, and as such, is disdained in the masculine world of organizations. As Schiappa (1989) notes, this distinction between spheres of discourse and knowledge is characteristic of the classic liberal tradition that separates the public and private realms of life. Women, as belonging essentially to the private realm, may not matter as much as men to the organizational discourse. This fits with the effectiveness model of organization that privileges conceptions of the individual as unitary and undifferentiated. An alternative view sees organizations as public spheres in which identities and worldviews are shaped, rather than seeing them as conglomerations of private, corporate individuals (Deetz, 1992). In addition, feminist research has demonstrated the ways in which different conceptions of private and public serve different interests, often producing and reproducing extant power relations (Mumby, 2000). In this instance, Mulder's use of statistics, testimonies of male supervisors, and literal transcription of his view about the women's version of the event demonstrated his attempts to fix the meaning in a way that fitted with his worldview and legitimised it through inclusion in an 'official' report prepared by himself while appearing to be written by the women, or at least by myself.

With his statement about women's perceptions of bias against them by men and men's perception of women being favoured, Mulder did acknowledge that two realities existed side by side. His discomfort with this duality and the potential state of conflict may have led him to plead for a reconciliation of opinions in order that he be provided with one simple picture of the gender realities at INORG. His role as a manager may have prevented him from viewing the organization as fragmented along gender lines that could be perceived as an unmanageable situation.

And yet, it appeared to some of the women staff that he intentionally attempted to divide the group of women through his omissions of their recommendations for the administrative women to take leadership roles and have a regular forum for voicing their issues. It seems that fragmentation along class lines may have been more acceptable to the group of dominant men than a division along gender lines. This view was supported by the statements of several of the senior male staff, who repeatedly questioned the alliance of the professional women with the women of the 'lower' ranks. As observed by many of the professional and NO women, the friendship and spirit of 'sisterhood' expressed by women at all levels seemed to make professional men, especially those of South Asian backgrounds uncomfortable. This extended even to instances where professional women seated themselves with women secretaries at the canteen.

The DG's accusations against me of using this platform of women to voice my own issues and use them for personal gain were seen by the women professionals as his way of relieving himself of the responsibility for having initiated an event that did not meet his expectations, and which might prove to create a conflict within the organization. (Women's meeting/notes/1998) His point about me using the platform to achieve a promotion sounded irrational to me; even if true, achieving a position of political influence did not seem a way to gain a promotion, which, in any case, only he could grant. In addition, he indicated that I had made the recommendations for women's representation, though this was a demand voiced by all women.

These comments seemed to be a way that the DG attempted to assert his worldviews, which he may have believed to be challenged by my public statements linking gender inequality in the workplace with organizational hierarchy. It was easier for him to deal with the conflicts arising by portraying me – one individual - as the source of the problem rather than dealing with the issues and their causes systematically. This served to delegitimise the event, in a way - to remove the sanction that had been initially provided by the DG's initiation and support of the women's meeting. According to Ashforth and Mael (1998), acts of resistance that are targeted, facilitative and authorised are most effective, as they focus attention directly on the organizationally sanctioned issues using organizationally sanctioned means. The more oppositional and unauthorized, the more likely that it will be ignored, or perceived as a threat to the organization, provoking counter control. By portraying me as the trouble maker, Mulder would be able to justify his use of counter control measures, such as issuing his own version of the Women's Week event, and censoring some comments in the Gender Committee meeting that supported the women's version of the Report.

In addition, and of great significance to Mulder was the fact that I did not first bring the typed list of the women's issues to him, but instead chose – as suggested by the women and pushed by Bina in particular - to send it around to all INORG staff on the email. He stated that this was a breach of proper procedure and act of insubordination on my part. In fact, I had not even thought to check with him first – perhaps this was a sign of the strength of conviction that developed from having so many women in agreement with me. (Journal/1998) In retrospect, this act seems naïve and courageous, but at the time, we were unaware of the high level of resistance to drawing attention to issues of gender inequality in the organization.

But it may also be the case that Mulder's own perceptions of his staff were challenged by this event. It is often be the case that heads of organizations are not fully aware of the sentiments and strong opinions of all of their staff, and may even be misinformed by those close to them who assure them that everyone is satisfied. If this was the case, and Mulder had been led to believe that all INORG staff were basically happy, based on the fact that they received relatively high salaries, then news of the women's sense of unfairness would have disturbed him, and possibly shaken up his self-image as a man who played by the rules and valued fairness and equality. His statement about gender issues being "too important to leave to the women" demonstrated this as well. He was of the opinion that the issue was important, and he impressed many staff as wanting to have an impact on it. For Mulder, having an impact meant asserting control and 'getting in one line' everyone's views and attitudes about gender – an impossible goal that did not take into account the vast diversity that existed within INORG.

The irony of this event, at this point in time, was that until his accusations against me, I did not perceive animosity between us, and believed that we were basically working together on this issue of gender equality in the workplace. This conversation between the two of us and indeed the whole Women's Week event was a turning point in our relationship, showing that our gender agenda was not neutral, but that we and others would be taking sides. It demonstrated to me and to some of the women that the DG was not completely with us - not ready to take on our agenda for change in a significant way. My reactions and those of others to his show of power will be more fully described below.

2. Collectivised behaviour and resistance of women

Prior to this event, the INORG women did not perceive themselves as a group with a significant common identity. Nationality, caste/ethnicity, class, language and profession drew distinctions between us that seemed to matter more to our identities than the common gender that we shared. That is not to say that women did not move across these divides to make friendships and have informal interactions together. But the organization had not formally brought together women on the basis of their sex to provide invited inputs that the management believed would be based on commonalities of identity. The initiative of the DG to hold a meeting of all INORG women, and his later surprise that their inputs were not limited to 'gender-specific' items indicated that he viewed women as a singular group, with similar interests.

Though aware of our differences, at least some of us also believed that we would have come up with a very similar list of issues. During the women's meeting, a few of us were aware that we 'lost gender' in our discussions with the women. It was difficult to keep the talk focused on gender issues when most of the complaints and experiences centered on the privileges of the female as well as the male professionals. In this way, it appeared that identities of class or nationality superseded gender identities. For this reason, the professional women attending the women's meeting were not able to vocalise their own issues – the mere numerical dominance of the administrative women gave them the upper hand. The professional women kept silent, as well, in recognition of the fact that for most of these women, this meeting provided a rare opportunity to speak their minds without the fear of reprisal from men. Some of the most talkative women agreed amongst themselves to keep quiet to encourage others to speak up.

After the lively discussions that resulted in the realisation, for many women, that their problems and perceptions were shared by others, this group felt emotionally let down and disappointed by the DG's admission in the afternoon that he had expected requests for toilets and better day care facilities. His statement reflected women in an embodied state, providing a stereotypic portrayal of these working women as mothers and bodies that differed from men's, and who therefore required separate physical facilities. Their plea for a more active role in decision making and communication, and for promotions and appointments of women to higher positions of authority was downplayed by the Management.

This response was interpreted by many women as an insult to their intelligence, to their ambitions and career goals, and to their self-esteem. In short, it created a disharmony between the self identities of many of these women and the officially proclaimed perception of their identities by the DG. When the DG denied the validity of their inputs by claiming them to be 'merely' perceptions, many women, including the secretaries, expressed their anger and sense of

humiliation brought on by his public declaration of his rejection of their statements and feelings. Women claimed they were bruised emotionally. Some expressed their opinions that their innocent attempts to accept everyone's points as valid and to share their views openly were naïve and a strategic mistake. They started to doubt the 'correctness' of their actions in light of the DG's statements. They began to use the word 'backlash' to describe the actions of Management and some other men. (Women's meeting/notes/1998)

For several women, the response of the DG and Pralad to their risk-taking behaviour to speak up and publicly voice their complaints may have been what spurred them on to collective action. Their action emerged in response to Management's attempts to control the meaning of Women's Week in a way that showed disrespect to the women and affected their identity. The DG's version of the Women's Week report was interpreted as a way to publicly disclaim the women's complaints and recommendations, as if they were not entitled to make such statements or have such ideas. This raw show of power apparently brought on an identity struggle wherein some women perceived threats to their dignity and status. A reading of the literature on workplace resistance suggests that such perceived threats to self-esteem, social regard, individuality, autonomy, and moral principles produce motives for resistance (Ashforth and Mael, 1998; Collinson, 1992; Hodson, 1995). Resistance can be seen as a contest for meaning - a way of asserting or preserving a valued sense of identity independent of or even antagonistic to an organization's definition of identity (Kondo, 1990). The normative controls of organizations foster images of who one should be and how one should act, thereby overwhelming or undermining one's existing sense of self (Kunda, 1992). Acts of resistance can provide a countervailing sense of one's organizational self that is more consistent with one's own sense of self, grounded in valued personal and social identities. Workplace resistance is one's willingness to negotiate identity in the face of pressures to simply accept an assumed definition of organizational self based on stereotypes and prefabricated ideas. In fact, the more inappropriate an organizational definition is perceived by the beholder to be, the more likely one is to define the self via resistance, thus preserving a sense of an 'honourable' self.

Could this group of women, comprised of a few administrative staff, a few NOs and a few international professionals be motivated for collective resistance by their needs for positive identity construction? Resistance could be used to defend the relatively strong self identities of these women – the women that sustained resistance over the long term were those who displayed higher levels of confidence and self esteem. Others who may have felt similar levels of anger may not have joined in the collective acts of resistance due to fears about job security or further loss to self respect. Research has shown that individuals generally seek to affirm their sense of self, valuing consistency over change, even if change is perceived as improvement (Swann, 1990). This desire for affirmation may cause some who believe them selves to be helpless or dependent to resist opportunities for change through empowerment, for example. There were several INORG women of South Asian backgrounds who demonstrated these tendencies within the workplace (a more nuanced description of this phenomenon will be provided in the last event, Women Resisting Change). Or individuals may not have resisted as they did not know how to break their constraints, acting out of habitual tendencies. Compliance creates a strong normative expectation of continued compliance.

Another reason may be that many women did not frankly believe that resistance would bring about any changes, and therefore did not perceive the risk to be worth the effort.

Many women would not confront Management directly due to their fear of being reprimanded, or otherwise punished, and so used more covert and more 'feminine' methods of resistance such as gossip and non-cooperation. Implicit in their behaviour was a level of support for those who chose to resist in a more public fashion, but it was rarely voiced except in small informal meetings attended by only women, and only women who were trusted by the others. Compliance with Management was external, without altering internal beliefs, so it could be easily demonstrated without disrupting the inner sense of meaning. Many chose to distance themselves from conflict by not taking the issue personally. Others were not able to let it go so easily. Why the difference?

For the more senior level women, and particularly for the international staff, it was a question of professional integrity. The fact that the DG did not accept a report that I had prepared was interpreted by me and some others as a slap to our sense of professionalism. Perhaps our professional training and socialisation made our professional and personal identities more closely linked than those of the administrative women. Maybe it made more difference to us when professional norms were not adhered to. Maybe it was because of our backgrounds, our nationalities, our personalities, our degree of financial security and even our family situations. Because identities are mainly constructed and maintained through social interaction, one's organizational self can come to dominate one's identity. This can result in a fear of the loss of one's self. Certainly there were times when Sara and I feared that we had given up too much of our selves, and had developed into women who behaved in non-assertive ways that we ourselves did not respect.

All female INORG professionals, including myself, had at some time, experienced and wept about the humiliation inflicted by various DGs through complaining about our work, questioning our qualifications, forcing us to leave meetings, denying us deserved promotions, telling us of our male colleagues' lack of respect for us, etc. A common form of intimidation used by at least two DGs was to question women's loyalty to the organization whenever we raised criticisms or tried to work collaboratively with other organizations for activities that they believed "belonged" to INORG. All but one member of the professional women staff welcomed an opportunity to join with the larger group of female staff to bring these gender issues out in public.

The professional women banded together with the larger group of INORG women in a form of collective resistance that focused on our identities as women rather than professionals staff, fostering a sense of shared fate and identity. By doing so, we privileged our gender identity over class and professional identities. This confused many people, mostly men. We had the impression that we individually lost some power in this move, as others observed that we mingled with the 'lower' class, but we were of the opinion that this was necessary for the sake of the group. We believed we were too few (three international professionals and two NOs) in number to make an impact on our own. In addition to achieving a numerical significance, it was also the ideology of our discourse to discard class distinctions and treat all equally. There were obvious differences between the groups of women based on class and profession, but to the degree to which we were able to cultivate a shared identity and cohesion, we were able to form a subculture that gained salience relative to individual and organizational interests.

In this conscious attempt at building solidarity, there was more than one informal leader. Bina played a key role, as a Nepali woman who displayed the confidence and skills to articulate her sense of anger and indignity and rally the Administrative staff as well as the other NOs. Together, Bina and I encouraged this sense of camaraderie, asking women to watch out for each other, perceiving a threat to one as threat to all. This resulted in three or four administrative women staff coming to me with complaints of discriminatory behaviour and abuse; this kind of relationship between us had not existed prior to Women's Week.

As a social entity, the group of women staff could develop, articulate and sustain countervailing views of what was to be considered just and appropriate behaviour. In an environment of domination such as existed in INORG at that time, this group served a need to legitimate alternative rationalisations that an individual acting alone could not do. Thus it helped some individuals to justify and thereby normalise their resistance, which in many cases was likely as much a result of the dissatisfaction that had long existed due to the strong control of the DG and Pralad as it was of gender-based unfairness.

Yet as this group was composed of individuals with vastly different identities and thus potentially contradictory goals, values, beliefs, and perceptions, it was not automatically unified and took the efforts of one or two 'leaders' to maintain the cohesion and sense of urgency. This was not an easy job that was made more difficult when the group and its individual leaders were targeted in efforts to debase its sense of unity and identity.

3. Agency of Women: the Struggle for Representation
Within the specific context of INORG and the power relations evident in its structure and culture, it can be seen how acts initially thought of as resistance were transformed into acts of agency through praxis. In this case, I will argue, the women 'activists'- myself and one or two others -within the organization were able to capitalize on the feelings of hurt and anger expressed through the resistance of the women to enact agency, to build support for a larger effort to achieve significant gains in the position of women in INORG. This was done through a conscious process of reflection with the group of women, encouraged by the DG himself through his suggestion to hold gender awareness sessions with staff of all levels. It could be argued that after the initial rejection of their voices and identities by the DG, at least some women gained a critical awareness from these sessions to help them make sense of his behaviour, perhaps understanding it as an example of discriminatory behaviour in the organization. Whatever the reason, the weeks after Women's Week saw a flurry of interest by women at all levels to participate in activities and meetings that could further their own recommendations put forth in the Women's Week report. None of us had an idea of the long struggle that lay ahead.

In informal and formal meetings, it was decided that, of the many recommendations of their report, we would focus on one unanimously considered most significant – the representation of women to the Management Committee. This exclusive group of all Division Heads and management staff met every week to review programmes, air problems and make decisions. There were no women on the Committee and the DFS Division Head could not be relied on to represent the Gender Programme there. Women put forth their strong demands for a woman to represent their interests and the interests of the Gender Programme at this forum.

It took the DG eight months to finalise the Women's Week Report and announce his readiness to take action on a few of its recommendations. One year and three months after the Women's Week of 1998, in June 1999, I reminded members of the Gender Committee meeting that no progress had been made on this issue and we reviewed the state of affairs in regards to the Women's Week recommendations. I reported that the Gender and Workplace Working Group had been dissolved, merging it with the GWG. What I did not tell them was the real reasons why the members wished to dissolve: 1) many women felt uncomfortable to join such a group after the backlash started; and 2) there was pressure from Management to put men on it, and women didn't want this, and didn't feel that they would talk openly in the presence of men. I did not report this, as I did not wish to portray these women as unable to voice their real concerns to this group of men, or to provide more fuel to the fire of the backlash against them. I chose instead to protect them, seeing their interests aligned to my own. We had to pretend to welcome men into our group, for the sake of gender mainstreaming, but none of us desired their presence there, knowing it would prohibit us from talking honestly of the problems and issues we faced. The women's initial trust in their male colleagues to sympathise with their issues, expressed during Women's Week, had been replaced with a sense of general distrust of all men in the organization. There seemed to be no point to have a Gender and Workplace Working Group in the women's eyes if it could not serve as a permanent forum for them to voice their concerns.

The women's recommendation for representation of female staff at weekly Management Meetings and Meetings of Heads of Administrative Units elicited a very lengthy discussion with much resistance expressed. Most members asked for clarification and justification as to the expected role of the representative. Some questioned whether it was to be a representative of the Gender Programme or of the women staff; some stated that the divisional staff meetings and other existing forums ought to be adequate to address the concerns. The DG pointed out that all MM members were already on the Gender Committee, so the avenue to put gender issues before Management was already realised. (GC/minutes/1999)

Female members of the Committee (Doma, Anne and I) said that over and above programmatic concerns, having a female representative in the MM would give a stronger voice and confidence to the women of the organization as a whole, and help change the image or impression of INORG to the outside world. We made the point that even if one were to look at it from the angle of the planning document, RCP II, the present Management Committee membership excluded the Gender Programme, despite the importance given to it as one of the cross cutting themes. This argument was generally accepted, but some male members still felt that the present setup, structure and function of the Management Committee might have to undergo some change in order to align it with this thinking. All of the men in the room started out by saying they were not against the request for representation, but then gave the reasons they were against it:

> If we let the Gender Programme be represented, we would have to change the whole structure of the Management Meeting. Besides, nothing really happens in the meeting, so why do you want to attend? Representation means confrontation. We Gender Committee members must be able to bring up women's concerns ourselves in this forum. (GC meeting notes/1999)

One male, Ram, did show his support: "It shouldn't be a big deal to invite the secretary of the Gender Committee, man or woman, to permanently attend the MM. If we are mainstreaming gender, then this is important." He became less vocal, however, as the discussion went on and he realised his opinion differed from that of the DG and others. (GC meeting notes/1999)

Mulder replied with anger that this was the first time this had been discussed. He then suggested, in an abrupt turnaround, that a bold move be taken and asked if the Committee could agree to me being appointed permanent representative to the MM as secretary to the GC.

Anil objected to his suggestion, as did Ganesh: "we should first see that gender is incorporated into all divisions, until that is accomplished, we should not try to get into Management Meetings." This may well have been a tactic to delay or shelf the issue all together. He was unwilling to discuss women's representation in the Administrative meetings until I explained that professional women were not trying to represent administrative women, and that was why we requested two representatives. Anne, Doma and I stressed the symbolic significance to women.

Other expressions of resistance by the men continued. Anil stated his concern that "once we open this up on the basis of representation, other groups may also ask for representation, so we should be careful of this." This opened up a new argument, not heard before, that extended resistance beyond the representation of women to the representation of other social groups as well.

At this point, one of our own made a statement that turned the progression around. Doma stated that "we should consider everything one more time. The lines of authority will get confused." This statement surprised the women, as it appeared that she was now unsupportive of getting a woman onto the Management Committee. She didn't appear to be aware of the conflict in her statements, or perhaps was trying to resolve the impasse, but Anne and I believed that her statements would be understood as compliance with the resisting men, thus deflating the progress that had been made through such effort at this meeting.

I tried another tactic, stressing the policies of the government of Nepal: "as we know, women extension agents can communicate more easily with women. The same applies in INORG. The National Assembly of Nepal gives women 5% of seats; the Forest User Groups give 30%. Isn't it the same thing we are asking for?" I noticed a shift in the general mood at this point; maybe they were seeing the legitimacy of it or were afraid of being seen as more backward than the government.

Perhaps based on this argument and due to the DG's statement that it was time for action, the group discussed and approved a trial run for six months, with the position rotated every three months. I again pleaded for representation at the administrative level as well. Part of my reason was selfish as well; I wished to disempower the critics who claimed that I was doing all of this for my own promotion. It would feel very awkward to accept the representative position, though it made most sense structurally. At this point, the chair said he would discuss the issue with the Administrative Head.

Their decision was to allow the women to select their own representative. Doma was selected to be the first representative to the MM. As explained by the women of the GWG, this was

considered politically expedient, as she was thought to be more liked by the men than I was, and she was the only other woman who represented both women and the Gender Programme. All went well until a morning in September, when I attended the meeting in her stead because I had an important issue to raise and discuss within the MM. Before beginning my sentence, however, the DG told me to leave the meeting, stating that I was not supposed to be there, that Doma was the representative. Deeply embarrassed, I explained that I had an issue to discuss with the Division Heads then left immediately. Others in the room looked very uncomfortable and awkward with his action, and later stated that they had considered his actions to be much too severe.

I felt humiliated and violated by his words and actions, and so vowed to confront him with the incident, to gain back a sense of my own dignity and control. But how to do so effectively? I had no experience in asserting myself under such hostile and intimidating circumstances, and no one within INORG to advise me. I considered alternative actions: silent protest, indirect aggression, contact Board members, send information to the major donors conducting an evaluation, keep records of his abusive behaviour to others, build support within INORG, etc. I was unsure if his move was an attack or a trick. The plan was to reframe and ask questions: why did he feel it necessary to kick me out of the meeting? Why did he humiliate the senior women with yelling, name-calling, and threats? Why did he think it necessary to rewrite our Women's Week report? Who is his audience, who is he accountable to? I decided to make a reasonable request, let him know what I want changed and for what reason.

I took the initiative to set up a meeting with him the next day, after carefully preparing my statements, rehearsing them with a male friend who managed an international organization in Nepal to boost my confidence and courage. I took a deep breath to calm myself on the morning of my appointment with him in his office, a daunting environment where he sat in a state of obvious tension, nervously shaking. My journal notes recorded immediately afterwards describe the exact words that I used:

> I regret to remind you that this is not the first time that you have undermined me. You rejected my Women's Week Report, questioned my loyalty to INORG, and expressed your doubt about my professional qualifications. Other women here have had similar experiences with you. Yet I have brought this matter up for the sake of the Gender Programme. Now this harassment or abuse has reached a public level, so I feel that your demonstration of a lack of respect for me is not in keeping with our stated policy of trying to achieve gender equity within INORG. It is very difficult to maintain the appearance of gender mainstreaming under these conditions. (Journal/2000)

I stated that his undermining and abusive behaviour towards myself and other women was not consistent with our gender mainstreaming goals, and that I would "be forced to consider the options available" if it did not cease. By 'other options' I meant that I would write a letter of complaint to the Board of Directors, but I did not express this threat directly.

Seemingly challenged by my assertive behaviour, Mulder tried to shift the blame, to focus on my perceived vulnerabilities. He said that I had humiliated **him** by intentionally not obeying his rules relating to participation in the Management Meeting. Then he told me how hard it had been for him, how I had been confronting and challenging him for the past 18 months, since the time

of the Women's Week. He claimed that he had been my biggest supporter, had tried not to micro manage me and let me do things my own way. Then he told me how disappointed he had been in me: I had not done as per my job description; I had not taken his Gender Committee seriously. He still didn't believe that a gender representative needed to attend the management meetings, and argued that the Gender Committee was a better forum for us. He said not to involve others in this conflict; this was between the two of us.

But buttressed by a sense of empowerment from having told the boss that I was aware of his abusive treatment and was prepared to take action against it, these statements did not affect me much. I now understood his use of humiliation as control. My knowledge of it as a tactic disempowered him, and erased its significance to my sense of self. Through an act of agency, I reclaimed my identity. I proudly told the other women of my act – not just to gain their admiration and assert my identity as a leader, but to let them know that I spoke on behalf of all of us so that they could share in the sense of power. I didn't know if they did, however. For me, the constructed identity as a rebel, as a woman who did not sit passively under conditions of abuse became valuable to my sense of self, and one that I therefore attempted to maintain.

Counter actions of women
Soon thereafter a meeting of women staff was held to discuss the state of women's representation on the Management Committee. According to the terms set by the DG for our representation, we needed to select another person now that Doma's three months was finished.

The professional women thought that representation at the Administrative meetings was needed as well, but this was not a priority of administrative women, who thought the Management meeting was the more important forum and so were satisfied with their representation there. I thought they felt I was shirking my duties as a leader by asking them to represent themselves. It seemed that they would be happiest to trust the professional women to represent them, though some of us did not feel comfortable with this. I speculated that perhaps this was a cultural difference between us, and was an effect of their patriarchal system. I told them that I had heard that some were unhappy with us representing them, but they denied this. This may have also been due to their self perceptions as people who did not have the confidence to speak out, which was later borne out in interviews of Kanchan and Chanda (interviews/2001)

Based on discussions held in this meeting, Anne drafted a memo from the female members of the Gender Committee and the GWG to the DG and Management Committee: "we would like to thank you for the opportunity to serve on the Management Committee over the last three months. We understand that the Committee will evaluate the effectiveness of the representation after another three months of the trial. In the meantime, we ourselves have been assessing the initiative." Here is an example of women's agency, taking actions to preclude opportunities by the men of the Committee to evaluate us:
   Before we assign another representative, we would like to share certain concerns that have
   arisen in discussion with our female colleagues:

   - During Women's Week of 1998, the female staff requested representation for both
     administrative and programme-related matters. Accordingly, female admin staff do

not see themselves adequately represented by the professional female staff at the MM.

- It is a matter of chagrin that whereas female professional staff do have representation, they do not come to the MM on a basis that is equal in status to that of other professional representatives. Their representation is on a trial basis, to be assessed by male colleagues, although we are not aware of the criteria for assessment. Whereas heads of divisions unable to attend can depute representation, this is not the case for female professional staff, and attendance is to be on a rotational basis.

Therefore, in terms of the integration of gender concerns in the professional work and standing of INORG, we do not see how the current arrangement under these terms and conditions can possibly serve such a purpose. The current arrangement is rather one of observer status (special invitee) rather than full membership.

We have arrived at our concerns through full discussion with female staff, both professional and administrative. In concluding, we should assure you that breaking new ground is never easy. We are confident of your best intentions. (Women of the GWG memo to MM/1999)

The soft and congratulatory tone of the memo was intentional, to falsely demonstrate to Mulder and the senior men that we abided by their terms and recognised their control. Yet rationality was used to debunk the arrangements that were drawn up by the DG and approved by the Committee members that demonstrated the unequal conditions for the female member. Finally, this group of women expressed discontent while assuring the DG of their trust in his intentions and leadership, and empathising with his difficult job. The memo was signed by all women of the two committees to denote solidarity.

The DG responded:

From the Report of Women's Week and the minutes of the management meeting of July 99, it is clear that representation of female staff, both professional and non-professional at the MM can take care of all concerns of female staff. The MM decided to experiment first with representation at this level as it could cover both the thematic and administrative issues. Although through an oversight it was not mentioned in the minutes, it was agreed that in the absence of the gender rep, the Gender and Development specialist (J. Gurung) will represent the female staff. The assessment envisaged after six months was not intended to exclude the gender representative, as she would attend the MM. (DG's memo to women of the GWG/1999)

It sounded as though the DG regretted his action to kick me out of the meeting, and tried to reinstate the formal recognition of me as leader of the gender initiative in the organization. He may have understood that to do otherwise would be to encourage my renegade position. As mentioned by Ashforth and Mael, an irony of resistance is that managers' acts of counter control often serve to transform and politicise the individual, perpetuating the cycle that is sustained by strong emotion, self-interests, and stereotypes.

Later in the memo, his tone changed to once again reflect his dissatisfaction with my performance: "when discussing the need for representation the role of the GC and GWG was

also raised, as they were among others constituted to establish adequate mechanisms for ensuring female representation in advisory and/or decision making bodies. It has been a disappointment to me that both groups have hardly met in 1999 or interacted with the Directorate."

Once again, the female members of the GWG felt the need to respond to his statements, to put on record their side of the story:

> Thank you for your memo, giving us the opportunity to review and address the issues of overriding concern to gender integration. We were pleased to note your continuing concern and suggestions for action. Your concern about the effectiveness of both the GC and GWG is well taken. The GWG met 6 times last year. We are concerned about the effectiveness of the GC due to declining attendance in the last years. After careful consideration and discussion, we have requested Chanda to represent the female staff until we have had an opportunity, as per your suggestion, to discuss the roles, functions and effectiveness of these structures with the GC. (Women of the GWG/2nd memo to DG/1999)

Through this gently-worded memo, the women put down in writing their perspective of the truth - that the resistance was found primarily amongst the senior most men, in the Committee headed by the DG himself. They asserted that the GWG, comprised of men and women who had undergone gender training, was an active group. As the GWG was under my leadership, this was also a way of defending me against his claims of poor performance. Again, all women of the committees signed to show solidarity and to avoid accusations that the professional foreign women had acted to promote ourselves.

This prompted Mulder to respond with another memo stating his opinion that all women should have a turn as representatives. This point contradicted his earlier statement that professional women could represent all others. And it denied the representation of the Gender Programme, as none of the women were sufficiently knowledgeable about the day-to-day activities of the Programme to represent it at the MM. Again, it placed women's engagement on a different plane than that of men, giving them different rules that seemed to change according to the whim of the DG and/or MM members. Within a one-year period, there was a switch from representation of a thematic program to a directive to have all women have a chance to attend a MM meeting. Some women thought this was a strategy to keep any one woman from gaining too much power and influence and trivializing our representation in INORG's highest decision-making body. (Anne/notes/1999)

This long-standing struggle over the decision of whether or not to allow women a presence in the Management Committee, and if so, under what terms, was all about a contestation for meaning. Our persistence about the significance of this issue to women signalled to the DG and senior men that it was an important and meaningful struggle that they must engage in. This issue became the rallying call for female agency, even after Mulder's termination as the newly appointed DG in 2000 heralded the beginning of a new era under a more 'modern' and sympathetic leader. So we thought.

At some time between 1999 and 2000, the issue of representation of the Gender Programme and women grew beyond a call for a seat on the Management Committee. Rather, women and men of

the GWG initiated the idea of having gender placed at a structurally more significant node, under Management itself, so as to have the kind of crosscutting and organizational impact merited by a gender mainstreaming focus. This was supported by an outside organizational development expert hired to offer suggestions for organizational improvement mandated by the donors as a condition for future funding. (Organizational Development Consultant's report/2000) A new unit titled the Organizational Development Department (ODD) was to be set up based on the consultant's recommendations; the GWG, in a one day retreat, stressed that gender should be one of the major concerns of the ODD.

Mulder responded to the GWG's recommendation in a memo: "the GWG Retreat Report is a valuable starting point for developing a policy and strategy for gender mainstreaming. I have, however, reservations on moving at this moment the position of gender specialist to ODD, as it would contravene the commitments made with the Board when it approved RCP II and the seven European core programme donors supporting it." (DG's memo/2000)

The women of the GWG and the larger organization were not surprised by this kind of 'foot-dragging' and expected it from Mulder, just as he was retiring. But they found the new DG's reluctance a bit of a surprise; some assumed it was due to an impression that the Brahmin men of INORG had already won his allegiance. The result was that many staff expressed their opinion that he was not supporting gender. (Gender Task Force meeting/notes/2000)

In a meeting of the newly-formed Gender Task Force (an all-woman group) in October, Paul explained his rationale for not making a structural change was due to a need for more information. He then assured us that we could expect maximum support from Management for placing gender in the ODD. He referred to his wife's work as a gender specialist in a large international development agency, and spoke of the dilemma of whether to create a separate unit or integrate in all departments. He cautioned us to wait.

But after two years of struggling to gain structural legitimacy, this group of women did not want to wait any longer. Manju used all the reasons she could think of to convince him to take urgent action: "there are reasons for the urgency, related to Jeannette's departure and time for new terms of reference, upcoming board meeting, and the advice of evaluators to strengthen the ODD." She tried to pressure him by evoking the power and intentions of the donors.

Women in the room – even those who were not part of the GWG - spoke up in strong support, noting the men's resistance and the need for someone in the ODD to push for change. Noting the ODD's mandate to strengthen and service all divisions, they could not rationalize the resistance to the Gender Unit's move there, and believed gender would be marginalized by instead just including it in each division. (Gender Task Force meeting/notes/2000)

At the end of the meeting, the group decided to push the move themselves, agreeing to the suggestion of one woman, Manju, to tell Paul in direct language that he should move the Gender Unit within a month. This was a desperate move, showing the high level of impatience of the women who had waited for years for some positive response and action. It also demonstrated the women's sense of ease with Paul; such a dramatic move could not have even been contemplated under the fearful environment managed by Mulder. But Paul reportedly did not like what he

believed to be an ultimatum, and declined to make a decision. (Paul/notes/2000) He talked of the men's resistance, despite the reiterations of advice from his own staff, donors and evaluation teams encouraging him to be proactive on this issue. The result was that he eventually did place gender structurally under the ODD, before trying to hire a new gender advisor in 2001. But as of late 2003, INORG had still not hired someone to fill the position and had a much-reduced structural role for gender, under one project within one division. The women who had spoken so passionately and with such conviction were no longer speaking up on this issue. It is unknown whether this was due to a sense of frustration and giving up, or because there was no focal person keeping the issue alive after my departure from the organization. As late as May, 2003, Kumari voiced her hope for the imminent arrival of a new Gender Specialist, though no vacancy announcement existed to show Management's similar expectation.

Analysis

Given the statement appearing above, of reports of an almost complete lack of structured activity or struggle to achieve gender equality by the women of INORG after my departure leads me to question how extensive and significant women's agency was at the time of my employment there. A critical examination shows that only a few women were active, and were willing to take perceived risks to push requests forward. Anne and I were the only professional women to do this, Bina and Manju the only NO staff who were publicly outspoken. Kumari showed her resistance to men's control by verbally questioning those who were at her level, but otherwise, most of the women expressed their resistance through more subtle means, such as sharing information /knowledge and non-cooperation. One woman who considered herself very much 'with us', Chanda, was normally silent outside of the all-women meetings. Her agency was expressed through a unique practice of sending frequent emails to her network of women friends with jokes about men based on negative stereotypic images. She considered this a form of resistance significant due to its power to "remind ourselves that we are equal to men. Because many of us still retain the deeply ingrained conditioning that we are not, and we need constant reassurance." (Chanda/interview/2001) This is an example of an "everyday form of resistance" that Scott refers to: an individual action requiring little coordination or planning, avoiding any form of direct confrontation with authority (1985:29).

Chanda did sign the memos drafted by the women professionals, however, signifying her willingness to join in collective and public forms of resistance that brought the risk of possible retaliation. However, the acts of the other Nepali female staff were invisible and covert; they used channels and spaces available to them to express their support for the women's 'culture of resistance'. An example of this is the secretary's phone call to me to warn me that Mulder was about to issue his own version of the Women's Week report that she had been given to type.

These acts of 'petty rebellion' differ from the more dramatic and open acts of resistance and collective defiance that dominate the study of peasant and working-class politics (Scott, 1985). Scott theorises that this form of 'passive' resistance rarely challenge the definitions of power and hierarchy, but still achieve greater results than the heroic armed uprisings if done on a massive scale.

We did not have the force of numbers of women enacting petty resistance to affect policies of the Management or perhaps even the culture of the organization. However, I argue that these acts of

resistance were not insignificant, though, as any assertion of one's desired self-conception through resistance has symbolic value beyond the substantive outcomes. The fact that one resists at all, in any small way, may well be more important than any substantive change that results. Both symbolic and substantive practices define reality and open up new opportunities for change by providing a "fertile seedbed for collusive activities" (Trice, 1993: 67).

My own active involvement in this event and role as an informal leader must be analysed as well for its impact on the act as well as on the interpretation and representation of the event. There are a few examples in the chapter of my own agency and emotional responses to these events, showing my alignment to a perspective for political change. . Though not fully aware of it at the time, I was starting to be viewed by some women as a leader, as well as a staff member formally tasked with gender mainstreaming. (Kumari/interview/2001) At the time of Women's Week, this new role was uncomfortable to me, as I perceived that I was taking on a position that was beyond my level of competency, and one that might place me in the DG's disfavour. Yet after initially becoming aware of the forms and practices of gender discrimination in the organization, it was a role I felt compelled to take on. I did not view it as part of a political agenda per se, but rather, as per a functionalist view of power, a way to build a more effective and fair workplace. The DG himself had, after all, hired me for this position in part due to his perception of my commitment to the cause of gender equality. Had he not behaved in such an authoritarian way after the meeting of all INORG women, we may all have proceeded under this cloak of naiveté; instead, his actions to assert his power in ways that denied their sense of personhood served to mobilize women down to the lowest levels in a way that no amount of gender awareness training could have achieved.

Chapter 8: The Backlash: Counter-control and Resistance by Men

Men's practices of resistance against gender equality in INORG were numerous, both at the individual and collective levels. The individual remarks, banters, jokes, and body language did not go unnoticed by women, but it was the episodes of collective resistance, as well as the episodes of humiliation by Mulder, that were considered to be most significant and sometimes damaging to women's egos and sense of self.

Many attempts of collective resistance by the group of Nepali and Indian men appeared to use tactics of what some women called 'divide and conquer'. These men tried to delegitimise our collective identity as women, trying to persuade us that issues of class and nationality were more significant than any commonalities that we might have as women. This practice began in the days following the Women's Week meeting, in what appeared as an attempt to break the spirit of 'sisterhood' that had arisen, but they were repeated over the next few years by the same group of men. After the gender orientation sessions, one NO woman who had led a session had a few male professional staff approach her to tell her that "this gender thing has gone too far" and advised her to get out of it. (Meera/notes/1999) No such statements were made to the professional women, however, or to the Western women.

Another practice involved making statements in staff meetings claiming that foreign, Western women were not able to understand the issues of Asian women. (Staff meeting/notes/2000) This positioned us as 'Other' to make us seem insignificant in the local context. This was clearly a strategy in the great battle of politics for meaning, with local male actors invoking certain characteristics of their identities to demonstrate their 'superior' qualifications to understand the conditions of local women. This also exemplified the way in which particular identities of people's multiple selves were enacted under specific settings, to serve their self-interests at the time. The DG's insistence that the women's list of issues were not gender specific was used by this group of men to support their claim that gender was an irrelevant category of identity.

Others pursued the line that gender issues were an excuse for poor performance. This was elaborated by some professional men who expressed their agreement with the DG through email communication with him rather than stating it in a public forum. In one case, a male professional made specific complaints about the performance of his secretary who had attended the Women's Week meeting. This bit of information became public knowledge and made the woman fearful of losing her job. Other women who had confidently participated in the discussions during Women's Week resumed their silence in the face of such threats.

Much of the collective resistance was that of a more indirect manner. Promises and statements of support for gender equality initiatives were simply not enacted. One example of this was the directive of the DG in a meeting in 1997 to make a conscious effort to bring in more women professionals on the staff or as consultants, and to recognise and somehow reward INORG staff who were successful in obtaining the maximum participation of women. He also urged the divisions to make every possible effort to try to hire as many women as possible, while not compromising the organization's high quality of staff, even suggesting that female 'fellows' be brought in on a short term basis. These verbal commitments were not actualized even once. Likewise, the DDG stated his expectation that every professional would consciously integrate

gender concerns and issues in all programmes and projects. However, there was no follow up from him or from Management to make or encourage structural or behavioural changes to implement this rhetoric. This was confirmed in the next GC meeting, when Indra reported that his division, dealing with natural resource management, had yet to find a major opportunity to tackle gender issues. (GC minutes/1999)

The male gender focal persons from each division, who were selected or volunteered to serve on the Gender Committee and represent gender interests in their respective divisions, attended the meetings irregularly; attendance continued to decline over the years, steadily decreasing from a high of 76% in 1996 to a low of 50% in 1998 perhaps as members observed the irregular support from Management as well. No progress was made to operationalise the suggestion that all new project proposals be screened for their gender considerations. When the female staff inquired as to why the GWG was not presented with proposals as planned, the DDG replied that he had not seen any proposals in the last year, though in fact several had passed through his office. This, though, was also due to the reluctance of some of the male GWG staff who were of the opinion that they should not engage in such a review, as it implied a power and authority over the preparer of the proposal that they were not willing to take on. (GWG meeting/notes/1999)

Some men could accept the need for gender integration in programmes, but found it difficult to support the argument that the organization itself needed to reflect a change in gender norms to support the programmes at the field level. One Western man, in response to a point raised by a woman for the need to include gender sensitivity as criteria for the selection of project staff stated: "there is no need for gender sensitivity; it is not relevant to the Project. Gender sensitivity is a personality trait; we are looking only at professional qualities." (Tom/notes/2000) Some doubted the motives of men engaged in gender work: "men like Bishnu who are becoming gender persons are doing it for political reasons." (Kalim/notes/ 1998) Even Ahmed, one of our course participants stated that "gender is being taken up by people to assure their job security, it is only due to the push of donors. Gender training is necessary only for our partners and communities." (Ahmed/notes/2000)

The degree of threat perceived by some men was known to the women through statements from the meeting of professional men following the Women's Week such as: "this professional staff group would like to send a caution that gender programme initiatives should not lead to propping up a group. Gender sensitivity is to be considered within the region and implanting perceptions/perspectives from outside may prove counterproductive." (Men's meeting/report/1998) Responses of most men to the 1999 Gender Survey showed that they did not see a need to change the status quo. To the question on the need to improve the work environment, some men's responses indicated their evasive and unwilling attitudes. (Men/survey/1998)

Denial
Denial was another strategy commonly found. This same group of men also stated that: "staff cooperation is free of gender discrimination and inhibition. Though differences of opinion among staff exist between male and female colleagues, the group agrees it is due to cultural effects." (Men's meeting/report/1998) They did not elaborate on how they defined cultural difference; was it based only on nationality, as per the usual practice in INORG, thus ignoring

differences of ethnicity, caste, background, education? We do not know who attended this all men's meeting. Was it the case that Western men were in the audience and spoke differently from men of region? Or did they keep quiet on this issue? It is possible that Anil, the facilitator of this group, who had previously excluded men other than South Asians, did not invite Western or other Asian men to the discussion.

Another form of denial was the expression of the view that INORG male staff could not possibly hold beliefs that women are inferior to men since most were highly educated, many in Western universities, indicating an assumption that Western institutions were free of gender bias. These men generally placed themselves a notch above all government staff in the region in terms of their attitudes towards gender equality without questioning the validity of this assumption: "staff of INORG don't seem to have negative attitudes towards gender, like is found in government organizations." (Ahmed/interview/2001) "Keeping in view the institutional environment with whom INORG works, INORG is better placed in gender relationships and equity. There is better recognition of female staff here than elsewhere. (Anil/report/1998)

Blaming others
Also observed was a tendency of some men to blame others for not being able to include gender concerns into their work. In Ahmed's interview, he claimed to be gender sensitive, and then became defensive about not getting gender into his work plans, blaming it on a lack of guidelines, though he had been exposed to such guidelines in the gender training. He summarised that "gender attitudes are good in INORG", and claimed that "most of the DEI staff can relate to gender inequality from regional experiences and have no feeling against a gender equity agenda." The reasons for the incomplete integration, he said, were due to the lack of directives from top management. "We tried, I tried to inquire about gender in weekly staff meetings but there was no response from my colleagues in DEI." In this statement, Ahmed revealed some contradictions about his colleagues, implying that without a sense of support from the DG, they would not express their interest in gender initiatives. This raises questions about men's agency, and a tendency to place blame on the DG. (Ahmed/interview/2001)

Exclusion
The frequent use of exclusion of female staff has been discussed as a strategy practiced by many male professional staff. The involvement of gender staff in project and programme teams was low because project team leaders often did not invite us to their meetings.

Professionalism itself is a paradigm that is appropriated to legitimately employ tactical means in pursuit of the strategic aim of exclusion. Witz (1992) states that traditional approaches to professions continue to reproduce professional men's own construction of their gendered self-image. The very concept of profession is gendered in a way that values the behaviours of class-privileged, male actors and grants their activities at a particular point in history the status of a paradigm. 'Gender ' as a discipline itself is marginalised and excluded in this professional paradigm, leading Anil to admit in a retreat session that he had intentionally sidelined the Gender Unit from the main business of DFS so as to prove his point to Mulder that gender does not belong in his division.(Anil/retreat notes/2000)

And yet, he did find a way to give value to the discipline, and perhaps to legitimate his own role in the gender course by coining a term 'gender professionalism'. He added, though, that although it added to his credentials as a professional and extended his field of expertise, he was not an advocate for gender equality: "what I liked most was that Gender Professionalism is different than Gender Activism. We received much of the former and some of the latter. It was a great opportunity to gain insights into a new subject area. Wishing you all Gender Literacy as a gift." (Anil/report/1998)

His creation of the term 'gender literacy' speaks volumes about the way this knowledge was received, processed and legitimised within his own conceptual framework of what he perceived to be acceptable knowledge for him, a senior scientist. By calling it literacy, he granted it the meaning of a new professional knowledge that was to be understood as a language so that it could be used to decode other new forms of knowledge that had come into his professional realm.

For professionals who must act as if they are experts in their fields, the subject of gender presents a professional challenge. They are reluctant to admit their ignorance about it, but stay away from it so as not to expose their inadequate understanding. First and foremost, they must maintain the degree of status and respect that hinges upon others' perceptions of their attainment of knowledge.

> The culture here is of science, criticism, and profession - you have to be the best, smart, eloquent, make your point, and be logical. These men who come from hard science, economics, engineering, and energy fields - I think it is hard for them to understand these new approaches. They conceptually understand things like gender and social inclusion, but don't know what to do, so cover up with expert knowledge. The culture of expertise clashes against what the idea of gender is all about - women's empowerment and equal opportunities. (Sara/interview/2001)

Controlling the status and power of women
In some cases, actions were taken by groups of men to thwart women's agency. Although a few women staff had gone to great lengths to establish a day care centre to benefit all staff, male and female, with small children, a contribution from the Staff Club in the amount of 5000 rupees (USD $67) was later revoked by a male officer of the Club who took back the cheque after a senior male staff had complained about the use of their money for 'such a thing'. Another male suggested in a GC meeting that there should not be a separate budget for gender activities in programme or project budgets, but that, instead, we should "keep our eyes open for gender opportunities." (Gender Committee Meeting/notes/1998 and 1999)

Another practice was to deny women professionals credit for their work. Some women reported that their male supervisors reported their performances inaccurately to play down their achievements. Anne related how the Publications Committee discussed the draft of a book I had written in a regular meeting of the publication committee to discuss whether or not INORG should publish it:

> I have never seen a document so picked over by the Committee. Committee members were generally unsupportive about publishing it. Feroz saved the day by convincing them that since three external reviewers had okayed it, we should go ahead and publish it as it

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is. I think these problems arose due to some personal jealousies of Ganesh, Anil and Ahmed - they don't want you to have a book published. (Anne/notes/1999)

There were also some examples of men using intimidation and humiliation to keep women in a lower position by attacking their self-esteem. Sara, after returning from her field visit with male members Krishna, Roshan and Ravi related how, in front of professional colleagues from partner organizations, they told her that her presentation was weak. One of these men later told her that she scored only second best in the job interview for her position, behind a Pakistani man. Because the DG had sought my advice in his decision of whom to hire, I knew this was not the case, so the men must have intended to intimidate Sara or lower her self confidence through this tactic.

An example that demonstrated a less intentional tactic, preserved over the years as part of the local 'culture' was related in memos and discussions between two Indian senior male staff and Anne on the use of gender-specific terms of address. In her role as Gender Representative, Anne had brought up her concern in the Management meeting that gender and/or marital status was often explicitly mentioned in communication to the outside world as well as within the organization. She suggested uniformity in such communications as practiced elsewhere. Raj and Anil indicated that within the region, there were sensitivities on this matter and cautioned against a system with which neither the recipient nor the sender would feel very comfortable.

This matter touched Raj deeply, as expressed in his memo to the DG:
> A strong objection was raised today at the MM on the way that I have addressed women professional staff. While I apologise for my 'gender-illiteracy", I would like to state that I generally followed the pattern that has been followed in INORG documents and past communications. See, for example, the INORG phone directory, where married women are addressed as Mrs. and unmarried as Ms. I followed this pattern with the exception of Mrs. Singh, who I addressed as Dr. (Mrs.) as I thought it is common and only appropriate that someone's professional attainments- man or woman- be included in the address. I am pained to note that such strong objection has been officially raised on my addressing colleagues in the manner it is generally done in. I would suggest that INORG decides a policy on the matter, so that individual staff are not offended and the sender is not subjected to unnecessary intimidation as I was today. (Raj/memo/1999)

Raj was truly distressed by this incident, as he was doing things the old way, as he knew to be 'right', and could not understand why it was a big concern to women. He did not think that he could have called Rita 'Dr. Singh' rather than Dr. (Mrs.) Singh to recognise her professional attainments. His reaction was considered by many men and women to be extreme and emotional, and took many of the professional women by surprise.

Analysis
If identity is a motive for resistance, then it is not difficult to understand why men from traditional societies within South Asia felt the need to react to the INORG women's resistance to the DG's control and expression of their own control and agency. The masculine orientation of this organization created a comfortable environment for most men, which they had come to take for granted over the years. Legitimated by the gender norms of the external society of South

Asia, INORG developed a culture that fitted snugly into that context. It was the responsibility of outsiders – women, ethnic minorities, Westerners and other foreigners, and perhaps men bearing a different sort of masculinity – to adapt themselves and their identities to this reality. Organizations impose definitions of the organizational self and desirable conduct, which may threaten existing self-conceptions and trigger ambivalence and the desire to resist. This same inclination to defend one's identity and desired self conception in the face of pressures to do otherwise must certainly be experienced by men as well as women who sense that the winds are changing and fear that they will be expected to undergo fundamental shifts in their value systems and behaviours. For older men who had grown up in traditional, conservative villages of South Asia, it must have been especially daunting. One such member, Raj, at one time made an honest admission, stated in a Gender Committee meeting, that it was very hard for him to think of women as equals to men. For many women, even those of South Asian backgrounds, men's frequent high levels of resistance and denial of gender equality were difficult to understand and sympathise with.

Resistance is frequently a collective product, performed and legitimated by colleagues who have little difficulty in justifying their defiance. Through normative processes established over the 15 years of the organization's existence and their sanction by the four male DGs, staff members had been induced to internalise the organization's ideological and normative positions and practices, and to become emotionally bound to their linked organizational and personal identities. This fusion between self and organization is what makes normative control so powerful. For men, whose identities fused so much more easily with INORG's dominant culture, there would have been less internal conflicts or psychological impacts than for women who had to adjust their subjectivities significantly in order to align them with the organizational identities through socialisation processes. At least the men would not have experienced this kind of psychological discomfort…until they perceived a threat posed by women gaining control and power over them.

A useful frame of analysis for this 'backlash' of the men is found in Marshall's (1984) description of what she calls 'travellers in a male world'. This discourse assumes the existence of a territory demarcated as 'male' that is trespassed by females who are formally members of the community, but who must stake out their positions to gain legitimacy in the male world. Seen as a social structure similar to that encompassing 'host' and 'guest', the organization is understood according to a set of expectations and obligations. Various positions and identities can be invoked, based on members' prior experiences, socialisation to their roles and expectations. Positions are assumed, negotiated, imposed and changed in the process.

Gheraldi (1995) argues that the dual presence of women and men in the workplace is a breach of the symbolic order of gender, so remedial work is necessary: women apologise, lack assertiveness, and ask permission for things when they enter all male cultures. As an outsider, women enter these organizations as 'Other'. The reception may be friendly or hostile. In a friendly environment, a woman is treated as a guest, accepted, but as a subordinate. As a guest, she is assumed to be passing through, and therefore not given rights to ownership nor able to participate in defining the rules. Her position is defined by the host culture, and she is judged on her ability to conform and integrate.

Under hostile conditions, a woman is in a stigmatized position. She is marginalized, as is anyone who differs from the dominant group. She is perceived as the intruder, and may be seen as a threat by her unwillingness to conform to the existing order.

Perhaps the majority of the most powerful men at INORG at first received the few women in their ranks in a friendly way, hosting them and treating them as many South Asians perceive their treatment of women in general, as brotherly and protective, with the best intentions for a happy stay within their territory. As guests, women were expected to reciprocate this generosity with appreciation and gratitude for the chance to be allowed to enter this exclusive domain. But many of the women expected more, expected to be treated as equals and given membership rights based on their similar levels of professional qualifications. This would have baffled the hosts, as any guest making unreasonable and unexpected demands would have, and could have turned the reception from one of friendliness to one of hostility. Different practices and ways of behaving toward women would then be deemed necessary to assert their positions of power and make clear the symbolic boundaries of what would be tolerated by a guest in the home of a host. Excluding women from the game is a good tactic to keep them away from the processes of rule making and power sharing. This supports the argument that gender equity and mainstreaming occurred on their terms only.

After five years of 'putting up' with gender activities, a group of senior men reacted in an aggressive manner to protect and defend their male territory when their 'home' was invaded by a foreign intruder, a foreign donor agency that advocated practices not in harmony with INORG's organizational culture. This event is described in detail below.

Male Resistance to Gender Ideologies of IFAD
In September, 2000, several staff of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) hosted a workshop in Nepal with their partners from across South Asia. Of the eight INORG participants invited to attend, the group of Nepali and Indian males (Gautam, Roshan, Bishnu, Raj, and Krishna) and Doma acted in ways that IFAD staff and some others found strange. Their participation was minimal: they came to the first day's sessions very late, did not socialise with others, and walked out at 5:00, even though the sessions were not finished. Only Abdul did not join this group, and played a more active role in discussions.

The reasons for their resistance became clear later in the evening, during a reception and dinner. Most of the day's discussions and presentations, including one by me, had been devoted to the topic of gender mainstreaming. The IFAD Director of the Asia Division, a charismatic man belonging to a tribe from northeast India, stated his own strong convictions to back IFAD's policies:

> Our goal is transformation. It is political and very sensitive; commitment and the right attitude of staff is crucial. Participatory development requires participatory ethos, and institutional changes. This means taking sides, advocating, and be willing to take risks and innovate. No document in IFAD will be cleared without recognition of women. Supervision reports must have details on gender mainstreaming process. To what degree are women taking a role in decision making of management? (IFAD workshop/notes/2000)

Apparently the priority given to this subject, along with some animosity towards IFAD itself, evoked strong responses from the group of INORG men that I came to know of only the next morning when the facilitator briefed me on the night's events:

> Now I understand your frustration with gender in INORG. I could see from your colleagues' comments and ways of interacting that they don't support gender equity. After the reception and dinner last night, I was sitting with the INORG men. They seemed to open up to me, probably because I am an old friend of Raj. They spoke in Hindi, which surprised me as the only native Hindi speaker there was Raj, the others were all Nepali. They were chatting about the day's events. I saw four extremely intoxicated people, who could barely stand. The more drunk they got, the more loose their tongues became. They had two things they hammered on and on about: IFAD and gender. They said strong things against women, including dirty jokes but it went much beyond that. It was against anything to do with gender. Some of them then told me that they had been through a gender training course. (Journal/2000)

The facilitator went on to relate his observations of how common it was in South Asia for people to speak and write professionally about a topic like women's empowerment and yet display behaviour demonstrating the complete opposite. "It's like saying,' okay we will play along with your discussion about gender, but you will come to see that our way is the right way." (IFAD facilitator/notes/2000)

The reaction of the group of IFAD men and women and me to this narrative was one of shock. One female IFAD staff stated that she believed IFAD should not give funds to these men at INORG. I was upset. I walked away, went to my hotel room. I felt hurt as a woman, felt I had failed as a professional to change these attitudes. I could not see how I could continue to work in such an environment and thought of quitting. After all, two of them had been through our intensive gender training and were now members of the GWG. We had thought of them as our allies, though we had never trusted them completely.

I tried to understand their motives. My first thought was that the men were acting out of jealousy of my highlighted role in this workshop. I had high visibility and friends in the IFAD group as well. But I was told the next day by the facilitator that this did not appear to be the reason. Their anger was not at me, he said, but at the emphasis on gender equality. (Journal/ 2000)

What had occurred in the IFAD meeting that brought on such a dramatic response by this group of men? Why had it been expressed here and not within INORG?

Gender at INORG had shifted from its initial status as a marginalised discourse articulated by one or two people to a discourse that was part of the everyday vocabulary from the DG down to the guards and drivers. Yet the rejection of this ideology was known to exist: "the traditional thinking of the social roles and culture is highly present. Many tend to trivialize the issues and find it difficult to accept that gender concerns all and not only women. These staff are finding it hard to accept and take part in gender related activities for fear of the changes that may occur in the power relations between men and women, affecting their profession and position." (GWG Report/2000)

'Culture' is commonly used as a reason to resist or limit activities aimed at gender equity in the region. As Mukhopadhyay (1995:17) states in her assessment of resistance towards gender mainstreaming in India, "work for gender equity is considered to be against our culture, violates our traditions, and the worst criticism of all in Indian context, is it is Westernised". She goes on to state that most development workers believe that "gender relations are equated with the most intimate aspects of our culture, that culture and tradition are seen as immutable, and that religion is culture". They also do not acknowledge that there could be any resistance to this ideology by subordinated groups of people. Therefore, gender becomes a 'no-go' area and development workers are not interested in redistributive power, as it is believed that this would bring about a break up in the family. Males' ideas are built on the ideal of the South Asian family, based on ideal womanhood, predicated on the subsuming of women's interests and protection of their purity. The distinct social identity of the perfect South Asian family is also defined by the idea of the western family as 'other'. According to Mukhopadhyay, this ideal family becomes a symbol for the entire Indian culture, and is seen as timeless.

Some of the INORG senior male staff from the region, particularly those of high caste, expressed traditional notions of what a woman should be, and were believed by women to exhibit paternalistic attitudes towards women: "Asian women are expected to be different from you, Jeannette, especially not to be a feminist. They want me to agree with what they think is right and wrong; for the Indians and Nepalese, to be more like what they want a woman to be, more subordinate, more...not necessarily shy, but more in agreement to what their own ideas are." (Doma/interview/2001)

Within INORG, the men who expressed their resistance at the IFAD meeting were at the helm, and probably perceived themselves to be firmly in control of the ideological agenda. When Western women like myself were the only ones to vocally support alternative ideologies, there was no real threat due to our identities as outsiders and our relative lack of power. IFAD, however, is a large and well funded international donor agency. When its strongest advocacy for gender equality came from South Asian men within its ranks (the Asia Director plus two other IFAD staff, one of whom was Brahmin, and two regionally renowned NGO leaders), it may have taken them by surprise. They were annoyed with the imposition of an alternative ideology by a donor agency, and in defence, they attempted to turn the blame towards IFAD, making statements like "the intellectual level of the discussions here is not very high." (IFAD Workshop/notes/2000)
To protect the integrity of their valued identities, these men invoked their intellectual qualifications to assert their superiority over the men making such strong commitments to transformation for gender equality.

Surprisingly, Abdul, a Muslim whose wife wore the *bourkha*, stood apart from this resistant group of South Asian men. Within discussion groups attended by other men from his country, he made bold statements that as women are ready to accept land titles in northwest Pakistan, projects should support women's rights. Abdul defended his position that women were denied rights and made suggestions as to how to persuade men to give these rights. This seemed sincere and I doubt he would have done this unless he had strong personal convictions on this topic, as there was no one in the group that he would have been trying to 'perform for'.

Immediately following this workshop, a smaller workshop was held with just IFAD and INORG staff. This was by more or less the same group of INORG staff, with the inclusion of Paul. The IFAD Asia Director reiterated his commitments to gender equality and his desire to model good gender relations. This was followed by individual presentations by the same men who had privately enacted their defiance to the gender equality ideology espoused by IFAD in the previous meeting. In this public arena, they dutifully included gender, relating their relevant work with women and gender issues in project and programmes, including statements such as: "the need is for gender mainstreaming in agriculture, there are hundreds of women's groups to work with." "Our special focus on women evolved, as we tried to bring them out of unnamed economic activities. What we want to do with the IFAD project is to increase women's role in decision making," and "the first study on gender ever done at INORG was the one I did on tourism and gender." (IFAD/INORG meeting/notes/2000)

Krishna and the others tried hard to look gender sensitive; Krishna himself oriented his entire presentation to the empowerment of women and the poor, as IFAD did, though he was considered by most women to be one of the strongest resisters to gender equality. An outsider attending this meeting would not have concluded that this team of men was anything less than gender sensitive and supportive to the gender agenda.

The necessity of focusing on gender had been a directive in the memo of Gautam: "the decision making role of women should be incorporated in all presentations" (Gautam's memo/2000), but this alone would not have brought about this action on the part of these male professionals.

Analysis
This episode demonstrates two aspects of men's resistance. First was their significant hold over power. Even with the strongest possible support by a donor for a gender equality initiative that included a visit from their headquarters by six of their staff, including their gender expert and head of Asia Division, two seminars with influential South Asian men and women, and a budget of USD 1.2 million, this gender equality/women's empowerment project could not be supported by the organization entrusted with its implementation. A group of powerful men who controlled the ideology of INORG were able to thwart it, with the compliance of the DG who did nothing to stop it. Until this time, most staff believed that the ideological direction of the organization was more or less controlled by whomsoever was the DG, but this event made it clear that, when the dominant group of South Asian men felt threatened, they were able to exert sufficient power to effectively sideline the intentions of a donor agency that expressed values antithetical to their own.

These men were simply reproducing processes and practices familiar and comfortable, perhaps not intending to exclude or dominate the women who were so keen to take part in the Project. For them, the Project was most likely just another INORG activity that they did not personally identify with, unlike some of the female professionals who were so keen to be engaged with the project and activities related to women's empowerment.

The second aspect of resistance expressed by this event was about the nature of resistance, how it could be so concealed and subversive. I had been completely taken aback by the behaviour of the

men, despite 'knowing' them for at least five years, some much more. I had observed their behaviour with women formally and informally; two had participated in our three week gender course. I had been led to believe that there was some sincerity, although not one hundred percent, in their statements of support for equality in both public and private settings. My degree of surprise in their behaviours does also pose questions about my ability to understand other actions and motivation recorded in this thesis, demonstrating a possible methodological weakness in my insider status. And yet, this event would never have been revealed to me had I not been an insider (and a lucky one at that), demonstrating a very positive aspect of my position.

Goffman's (1959) framework of impression management, and its dramaturgical perspective of how performers present themselves to different audiences through their performances onstage and backstage suggests that this group of INORG men presented themselves onstage, where the performance was held, as men dedicated to the principles of women's empowerment and gender fairness. This was specifically oriented towards the audience of the IFAD team, who represented the 'global' values of equality and held the power to try to coerce others to support those values through the granting of funds. For this performance, members of the INORG male 'team' would have prepared their presentations, aligning them to one another so as to accentuate facts (and fallacies) to foster an impression of their sincerity and convince the audience of their integrity. This they did, under the guidance of Gautam, in an effort to live up to the standards by which they were being judged. According to Goffman, in order to assure the proper message is received by the audience, this group must have a sense of solidarity and trust, so that secrets that 'give the show away' were shared and kept. This group of men – all South Asian males from India and Nepal – had already demonstrated their group cohesion within the organization over a period of years. They had also prepared together for the INORG/IFAD Planning Workshop, according to a member of the group, Roshan.

Had an outsider not been invited into their 'backstage' region, their 'true' attitudes and motives –those that were incompatible with their idealized selves - would not have been revealed. The backstage is the area where performers behave out of character, and so is kept closed to members of the audience. The INORG men must have invited the IFAD facilitator into their midst on the basis of familiarity, and their assumptions of his values, based on his identity as an Indian male and friend of their colleague's. Even then, they spoke only in Hindi to assure that others passing by might not understand. Perhaps, as well, it felt more 'natural' to express these thoughts in a local language, giving cultural meaning to their expressions through contextualising them.

Their drunken state of mind may have allowed them to let down their guard as well. In doing so, they broke a rule of successful impression management: "segregate the audience so that individuals who witness performers in one role will not be the same individuals who witness the performers in another role" (Goffman, 1959: 137) When the facilitator witnessed the performance not meant for him, he became disillusioned and chose to share this 'secret' with those he felt allegiance to, the IFAD team who had hired and befriended him.

But was this display of support for gender equality merely a performance for all of them?
For a few of these men, those who had participated in the gender training course and served on the GWG, the contradictions in their speech may have been due to internal inconsistencies that form their multiple selves. On one hand, they were expressing their solidarity with their older

and more senior male colleagues, going along with strong opinions that they did not share, but that they did not choose to take issue with. In another context, they might have expressed the other side of their ambiguity about women. The event cannot be understood outside of its context.

In sum, the effect of the IFAD workshop was to produce in a senior group of dominant INORG men an anger and defensiveness that could only have been a result of internalising the threat of gender equality. As a fellow gender trainer surmised, "they are feeling the pinch, feeling the seriousness of this. I have never been able to get such a reaction at my organization, no matter how many talks, trainings, etc. that I do." (Journal/2000) This event pointed out the progress being made within INORG's agenda for cultural change, and a discrepancy between the older, senior men who reacted strongly and the younger ones who demonstrated their ambivalence about women's equality.

This event, like the one that preceded it, was not a story that I could produce without relating the emotions I experienced at the time. As argued by Grossman, Kruger and Moore (1999), to view emotions as an aspect of the data is to locate the researcher and subject on the same plane. Indeed, my feeling of hurt with the realization of the men's rejection of the gender equality ideology says something about the sense of alienation that I felt as women were 'attacked' on grounds that were my own home turf and therefore produces data that can be interpreted. This may be antithetical to the positivist view that privileges rationality, objectivity, and neutrality, but it is an expression of what it means to be marginal and female in this context, and therefore adds to the richness of the subjective narrative. The challenge facing feminists is to integrate emotion and reason in methodologies that are valued according to the standards of academic norms (Cancian, 1992; Reger, 2001).

Chapter 9: A Shift in Alliances: Women Resisting Change
Another form of resistance was being enacted at the same time the men were rebelling against the global values of gender equality, and that was one that, again, took many of us by surprise. It was from within our own group of women – a member of the GWG and my own assistant and sole other member of the Gender Programme, Doma.

In the three years that Doma had worked with me, she had always appeared to be sincerely interested in gender issues, gender mainstreaming, etc. She had been selected as one of the gender course participants to receive further training, to herself become a trainer of the course. As a friend and colleague, I had shared much with her about strategies, approaches and problems with our gender mainstreaming programme; I much appreciated her advice and views, even those that countered my own. She was a trusted source of advice on organizational matters, especially on matters related to hierarchical norms.

In December, 1999, rumours of her shift of alliance towards Mulder and the group of men in DEI began to circulate around the organization. The widely-held belief was that she had 'betrayed' the confidence with me to become close to Mulder in an attempt to secure a more permanent position at INORG. (Kanchan, Anjali, Roshan, Anne, Bina/notes/1999) When I questioned her, she denied any knowledge of it, but by February 2000, the rumour was confirmed. In his last month of office, Mulder announced Doma's new position as Gender Specialist of DEI. This was done with no consultation with me or any of the members of the GWG or Gender Committee, giving an appearance that he had not given due consideration to the impact that splitting up the team would have on the Gender Programme.

In a meeting with Anil and me, Mulder told us that his reasons for this action was based on her identity as an 'indigenous' woman who could improve INORG's relationship with the Bhutanese government, and the fact that DEI staff had requested she be transferred to their division, as she "gets along well with them". This deflected our argument that it was the process, not the outcome that was wrong. With this structural change he could address the challenges put to him by the GWG regarding the marginalisation of gender within one division while effectively whittling down the strength of the Gender Programme by reducing it to one member. By giving Doma the same title as me, he undermined my position of authority over her through the creation of a parallel position at the same level of the hierarchy. With no discussion of how we were to work together (if at all) formally, he believed that she would develop new and stronger loyalties to the DEI staff, who had been involved in the decision.

Mulder stated that Doma would assure that gender is well incorporated into DEI in ways that I had not been able to do in DFS. He made no mention of her qualifications for neither the job nor the INORG policy to advertise globally for all international professional positions.

I decided to write a memo with my thoughts knowing that it would be placed in my file. I wanted others reading my file to know of his actions and their damage to the Programme, as well as my efforts to resist:

> I was surprised and disappointed to hear of your decision to appoint Doma to the newly created post of Gender Specialist in DEI. The disappointment stems from a number of considerations. Firstly, it was taken without prior consultation with the Gender

Committee, the GWG or I as Gender Specialist. Secondly, although I realise you are under pressure to make rapid decisions in light of your pending retirement, I do think that a decision like this one, which has implications for the whole gender strategy, should not have been taken until all those concerned had been consulted. It appears to go against the strategy that has been developed so painstakingly by the GWG and discussed at length by the Gender Committee. After all the effort you have put into trying to develop an effective gender approach, it is a pity that you should now leave behind a situation that will complicate future activities in this area. (Jeannette/memo to DG/2000)

Mulder's action caused a strong reaction amongst some women and men of the organization. Doma's behaviour was considered by many a confirmation of the widely held impression that the way to get ahead was to be well-liked by the boss and key senior staff. Many thought of her as a 'soft' person who would not shake the boat, and who could be easily manipulated. Some of the women thought that this move was the desire of Bishnu and Raj, who would gain from her presence as a token woman and gender person to make the division look as if it was responding to gender interests without actually doing anything and without any conflicts due to the friendship with her. This would be preferable to having an out-spoken women with an empowerment agenda who might have been offered the position had it been advertised and an open competition held. (Kanchan and Anne/interviews/2001)

One NO woman in particular became very upset with Mulder's decision. Bina had worked with extreme diligence and long hours for the organization for many years, and had been promised by three DGs that she would be promoted, perhaps to an international professional position. She felt deeply disappointed and betrayed when nothing materialised: "no matter how hard I worked for all of them, how many weekend hours, how friendly I was to them, all have used and exploited me, without giving me the promotion or recognition that I deserve." (Bina/interview/2001) With the news of Doma's promotion, Bina concluded that the organization was not a meritocracy, based on her perception of Doma's ingratiating behaviour to the DG. She felt further insulted when Bishnu told her that she was not clever like Doma, as she had not sought the support of himself and Raj in getting a promotion. She believed that Bishnu of DEI was taking credit for Doma's new job in a way that expressed patriarchal and paternalistic control over women, though it was Doma who had the greatest to gain from the event. (Bina/notes/2000)

Even some men were unhappy with the change; at a party that month, Roshan told me that he and other men understood the difficult position I was in with Doma: "I told her that she must respect you because you brought her here, and mentored her professionally. Raj and Ravi show such solidarity with her to protect her." (Roshan/notes/2000)

Three main questions arise from this event. One, what was Doma's value to these men, why did they exert control over a situation not directly affecting them? Two, what were Doma's motives for this action, both for the act and the manner in which it was done? And three, what was the effect on the gender programme and future acts of women's agency and resistance in the organization?

Doma's value to the men

Many of the women were of the opinion that an obvious benefit to having Doma amongst their ranks was her value as a token in three ways: as an indigenous person from a mountain area, as a woman and as a gender person. Her presence in DEI, it was believed, would signal to others that the division was gender sensitive – it was critical to DEI that they have such a person, as they were the division with the social scientists. And the fact that she was the highest- ranking Asian woman in INORG made her even more of an asset in an environment where men continually clamoured for gender experts to be from the region.

Doma's promotion and appointment to the position as Gender and Development Specialist in DEI was heralded by Mulder as an important step in linking organizational staffing with programmatic impact. Yet this poses the question, does the gender of organizational members make a difference as to the organization's ability to address the needs of mountain women? Goetz (1992) describes the concept of representative bureaucracy as the belief that client needs will be best attended to when bureaucrats and clients share similar backgrounds and sociological characteristics. This is based on assumptions that the representatives in the organizations will act on the basis of interests of their particular group. However, only weak correlations are shown to exist in studies of experiments examining the background and attitude of organizational members (Denhardt, 1984). In fact, incentives to defend the interests of a particular social group pale in comparison to incentives to conform to organizational systems of motivation and reward (Downs, 1967). This is evidenced in the case of Doma's promotion, where her proactive role in obtaining the position as Gender Specialist appeared to have been motivated by a need for secure and well-paid employment as much as an interest to work with mountain women. And yet, the two are not mutually exclusive and there are many other factors that need examination, such as those of identity, power, and personal ideology in order to establish motives and interests. The game of gaining position and authority within an organization dominated by powerful men is not an easy one, and one that must be played step by step to build one's own power base before one is able to follow one's interests.

The manner in which Mulder handled her assignment to the new position demonstrated his complete and incontestable control over the staffing arrangements. The fact that he had not consulted formally with members of the gender structure was done only because he did not care to do so. Perhaps this was a final assertion of his power in the organization before retirement. Yet this was his decision to take, he did not want to be challenged by me or others and knew that he could not be thwarted in the area of staff hiring and assignment. It was interpreted by many that this was his 'payback' to Doma, this was what he owed her for her show of loyalty to him, and her disclosure of so-called 'secrets' of the women staff. This is what was believed by some professional women, like Sara, who accused me of being too trusting with Doma when sharing information about Mulder with her before this event. (Sara/notes/2000)

The possibility that this was an intentional strategy of Mulder's, with the complicity of the men of DEI, to break down the solidarity of the women cannot be discounted. Cockburn (1991) speaks of the fear of men, even men who support gender equality initiatives, when women engage in separate activities that they perceive as threatening to their hold on power. Collinson and Hearn (1996) observe that masculine identities have been shown to be threatened by social forces such as feminism and equal opportunity initiatives. They may fear the creation of 'cells' of disloyalty, wherein women share tales about men. Though dominant men do not want women

with them in the male sphere, they need to monitor and control them by staying close enough to ensure no loyalty develops between women. Cockburn talks of the common experience of women-only initiatives fizzling out, due to the opposition of men and the ambivalence of women. These men may allow a certain level of activity to go on uncontested, until they fear that the whole thing could become discriminatory towards men. In order to gain information about what goes on behind their backs, men often send 'their' women to report back to them on women's activities. Some women believed that Doma was this 'inside' woman, whose loyalty could be relied on and who could alert them to potential threats arising from the women's group. (Journal/2000) However, there is no evidence to support this.

Ambiguous Identities
The analysis of Doma's actions is not so simple, and is without data from Doma herself, as the topic was too sensitive to discuss. Of course, at the surface level, there was a material need for her to secure a position in the organization for the longer term. As she noted in a later memo, "I wanted to continue here, I need this job badly for many reasons including more growth professionally. I am the mother of three children; I need to take care of them." (Doma/interview/2001).

But there were most likely other reasons as well, or she would not have found it necessary to hide the information of her transfer from me. The strong influence of patriarchal ideas and relations explains in part why women rarely break free; the moral and philosophical leadership and right to govern is accorded to a dominant group by the active consent of the governed, according to Bocock (1986) and is accepted as common sense to most men and women. Those who counter this hegemony, such as feminists, are made to seem extremist, eccentric, and unrealistic. Men reward women for sexual difference when they are in their 'proper' place, as they did in Doma's case, and penalize them for it once they step into men's place. Cockburn states that the masculine cultural hegemony makes it unlikely that women will willingly forfeit men's approval to identify with each other or with feminism (Cockburn, 1991).

Were there other women who felt put off by the women's group and its discourse of equality? Rita was definitely one of these, but she was a quiet person who isolated herself from others, it was believed, due to her husband's position high position in the organization. She was rarely involved in the informal or formal meetings of women, but was suspected of reporting to her husband, Anil, on the details of meetings she did attend, such as that of Women's Week.

Through her actions and decisions to align herself with the DG and the men of DEI, Doma consciously or unconsciously 'positioned' herself with regard to her identity construction (Daviues and Harre, 1991). People position themselves toward various reference points and toward each other; this then becomes accepted or rejected by others with whom one is interacting. It is never fixed, every new discussion or event reopens the process, allowing the taken for granted construction to become visible. In a constructionist perspective, the actor's movements themselves are able to reconstruct the identity, pushing the boundaries of what was deemed 'fixed'. Not only the identity, but also the environment is constructed by actions and people's reactions to actions (Czarniawska-Joerges and Calas, 1995).

Another view is to see identities as enactments of crafted selves (Kondo, 1990). Workplace practices are characterised by paradox and ambiguity, wherein actors construct multiple selves that are gendered, ambiguous and fragmented that change within shifting power relations. Identity concerns can facilitate, but they can also constrain practices of resistance. The possibility of losing a job is a significant disincentive to resist or challenge managerial practices; the possibility of gaining a job at a higher pay is similarly a significant incentive to comply with whatever management desires. These insecurities and barriers to resistance are reinforced by structures designed to discipline workers. With a multitude of domestic responsibilities, women with families that rely on their income may not be as free to choose to enact oppositional practices as women without children or spouses.

Doma's expression of ambiguity was not surprising. Women in organizations commonly enact compliance, resistance and confrontation to gendered norms, sometimes in contradictory ways. The normative control of organizations can make it difficult for individuals to separate their personal from their organizational selves, leading to simultaneous attraction and repulsion (Ashforth and Mael, 1998).

The existence of multiple identities can bring conflict as well. Identities are activated by the interaction of external (situational) and internal (psychological) cues, so certain identities are most salient in certain settings. Because these identities are not separable, ambivalence occurs. One identity may be marginalised by acts that privilege another, leading to some sense of discomfort and confusion. Though these ambiguities were probably present in all INORG professional women, Doma's case may have been most obvious, as she was caught between the norms of two cultures. As the single international female staff from the region, she faced unique challenges to her role and identity within the organization and was at times torn between the two conflicting identities:

> Where do I place myself? Neither here nor there. There are many moments when I have felt like that. Ideologically and professionally, I would like to be more on other turf, with your group and the rest of the Western women. I am professionally linked, but expectations from others are for me to be different, because I am from this region. They want me to be an 'Asian woman', especially not to be a feminist. (Doma/interview/2001)

In the end, Doma aligned herself primarily with the dominant gender norms and expectations of her, espoused by the senior South Asian men. In this way, gendered identities are constructed through the subject's identification with normative and patriarchal notions of gender. In the beginning, as she related to me, Doma considered the new position as a source of personal financial security and status, and began positioning herself according to advice of others. This space could extend and benefit her or constrict around her, forcing upon her an undesired identity. Through this process, the space and her identity in it became defined, but it was not fixed. The impression of a fixed state is "an illusion imposed by an actor in order to be able to create a vision of strategic action" (Czarniawska-Joerges and Calas, 1995: 44). Doma could use this new identity to pursue her personal and professional goals for financial security and social status by focusing on aspects of the situation most consistent with her own interests, interpreting them in a manner consistent with those interests and using defence mechanisms to ward off threats to her self and social esteem.

The women's group did not have the power to maintain her loyalties, though she later spoke of how much she missed being part of the Gender Programme unit and indicated an awareness of how she was being manipulated by the men of DEI for their own agenda.

Affect on the Gender Programme
Due to the way in which Doma was transferred to another division, there was no discussion as to how her work would relate to the work of the Gender Unit after her departure. Her terms of reference for the position were not shared with me, even when I requested them from the DG and Doma herself. The fact that her position was titled 'Gender Specialist' created confusion, as it was the same as my title. With this single decision, Mulder effectively disabled the Gender Unit by splitting it in half - an action that flew in the face of a strategy designed by the GWG just one week before.

The decision had a strong emotional impact on me, for many reasons. Doma had been a friend, and a woman who I believed I had mentored. Her silence about this impending change, which I believed she had initiated, broke the bond of trust that had developed over four years. The feeling was one of betrayal; I was hurt as well as angry with her for not trying to discuss her difficulties with me before turning to the DG and requesting a shift.

Despite this upset, however, my friendship with Doma continued, though on a different level. After her shift was announced by the DG, she wrote a long and emotional letter to me, affirming her gratitude and obligations to me as her teacher and pleading for me not to reject her by denying any wrongdoing. When she paid a visit to my office a month after her transfer to DEI, she appeared with tears in her eyes, obviously feeling out of place in her old space. From my journal:

> I was very warm to her, talked gently, and asked about her family situation. She responded as a close friend, divulging confidential, personal information. In this way, we re-established trust and friendship - a woman's way? After a half hour discussion, we parted as friends. I felt that I cared too much about her to be anything but her friend, no matter what harm she may have done to me. (Journal/2000)

As part of the sense-making aspect of this narrative production, I began to rethink this episode and view it as another outcome of organizational gendering that affected identity construction and relationships. I realized that I had been lulled into thinking that Doma and I were more or less operating as a unit, with similar ideologies and plans for gender mainstreaming. I had not been aware of the depth of the ideological divisions between us, and had discounted my privileged position in respect to power and personal financial security.

I also began to view Doma as a victim of some cruel game of power that viewed her as a pawn.

Doma was a woman in transition, not yet a feminist but far from the other extreme of the trajectory, a traditional woman. Because of her alliance with the 'tough guys' on gender, she was not trusted by the other professional women, and so developed a sense of 'paranoia' about what she believed they were saying and thinking about her. But her pursuit of the normative ideal – for women to behave as determined by the dominant male group- dealt a blow to the women's collective political action for gender equality.

This situation continued until the time of this writing, two years later, and reportedly dampened gender initiatives within the organization. As the sole gender staff, she then represented all women on the Management Committee, though there were no longer meetings of the GWG or communication with the women's group to provide their inputs. (Anne and Anjali/emails/2003)

Conclusion
The reflexive points related to the choice of this particular event and the style in which it is narrated relate to ethics, bias and emotionality. This event was included as evidence of shifting subjectivities, to demonstrate the ambiguity of identities and positions by organizational actors, showing that even friendships are not unaffected by such actions. But it raises ethical dilemmas as well, as the event does not portray Doma in a neutral light. As interpreted here, her agency produced impacts on the gender programme and women's sense of solidarity that I and some others did not consider positive. Doma herself would likely tell a different version, but as this topic was too sensitive to discuss, we did not speak of it in the interview and so her own interpretation is not available to the reader. Her consent to provide me with data for this thesis would not likely have extended to permission for me to portray her in this light, particularly in a public document.

At the time of data collection, I did not know that this event would be included in the final thesis. I could not seek prior consent for the outcome. As Walton argues (1992), the focus of an ethnographical case study may continuously change over the period of its construction by the researcher, sometimes long after the data are gathered.

As noted by Stacey (1988), the use of ethnography rests upon human relationships, engagement and attachment, and hence involves the risk of betrayal and manipulation by the ethnographer. My friendship with her may have accentuated my own sense of hurt and 'betrayal' expressed in this text, though I have tried to avoid this evidence of 'bias' by demonstrating empathy to her perspective as well as both of our efforts to 'put it behind us'. I have no interest in damaging Doma's professional reputation, or that of INORG's through this study.

On a reflective note, based on the data from the event of Doma's promotion and interviews with some female administrative and NO staff, there was an impression at the time (in 2000) that the organisation's attempt to mainstream gender was hampered by a personality clash between Mulder and myself. I think that many did believe this to be the case- a factor that would have been considered by those who may have been attracted to the cause, but worried about the repercussions from management. I myself personalised this conflict, which led to my initial impression at the IFAD meeting that the men's reaction was against me personally, rather than against the larger agenda of a shifting power relationship. Once I gained distance from the organization and began to analyse this data, however, it was not difficult to understand the roles that each of us played in the struggle for power and control.

Chapter 10: Conclusion
This conclusion begins with a discussion of the contributions to knowledge that this thesis can claim to make. This is followed by a review of the research questions, with a particular emphasis on the findings of the analyses of the events articulated in Part III and the impact of insider positionality on the construction of knowledge. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for organizational transformation for gender equity.

Contributions
This research contributes to the understanding of processes of gendering within multi-cultural organizations by understanding how organizational change occurs through the resistance and subjectivity of actors. How this study makes a contribution to the literature on organizational change, gender and organizations, development studies, and feminist scholarship is detailed below.

Organizational Change
Much of the research on organizational change has been conducted by organizational outsiders permitted inside only with management's approval for short periods of time. This has produced a body of research that has, by and large emphasized the agency of managers over that of other organizational members, thus missing a source of cultural richness and varying perspectives that would allow a better understanding of the complexities that characterise organizational cultures and explain how they change.

Scholars who write from the position of 'Other' (called 'minority scholars' by Hayano, 1979: 99) have long had propensities to study their own group, often emphasizing the practical uses of the research to support their own people. The production of narratives of 'voices from within' - neglected groups such as women in organizations - provides us with specialized knowledge that can contribute multidimensional and alternative views of reality to enlarge the conceptual and epistemological basis of knowledge. This, in turn, throws up new possibilities and sources of guidance for change initiatives. When change is desired to improve an organization to meet goals of either efficiency or social justice and equality, as in the case of INORG, knowledge of perspectives and forms of resistance and agency from non-dominant groups is critical. The very act of obtaining knowledge creates the potential for change, because the paucity of research about certain groups accentuates and perpetuates their powerlessness. The views of groups whose needs and opinions are not widely known have less influence on the conditions perpetuating the status quo. The study of these groups is political because it 'demystifies' and raises consciousness. Studies that ask questions that challenge vested interests are especially valuable to the process of change.

By providing in-depth knowledge of the perspectives and activities of various female actors – including myself- who occupied the position of 'Other' by way of their gender and nationality in one international organization, this text serves to illuminate the often hidden ways in which such actors enact resistance to dominant views and forms of power. Those who can view organizations from this 'subaltern' perspective gain a new way to think of organizations that incorporates a more holistic and complex reality. By emphasizing the unequal status experienced by some organizational members, such an approach offers possibilities for change.

Gender and Organizations

As Reinharz (1992) and feminist organizational scholars have observed, there have been numerous examples of feminist case studies of organizations in settings of corporations and businesses in the industrialized world. Similarly, there is a growing body of studies conducted by women academics of their own departments and universities (e.g. Katila and Merilaninen, 2002). However, such insider accounts are found almost entirely in Western settings, where researchers are embedded within cultures very familiar to them, and where gender norms reflect the larger values of Western society. Field work in a non-Western society has long been a priority for anthropologists and development studies scholars, but not organizational scholars working on gender issues.

This study adds to this body of knowledge about gender and organizations through its analysis of how the values and norms of South Asian society affect the gendering of a multicultural organization situated in a non-Western context. It also adds to the scant database of knowledge about the masculinity of non-Western males.

Development Studies: Ethnographies of Development Organizations

Within the field of development studies, the use of ethnography to observe and analyse social relations and processes within organizations is a relatively new approach. As observed by Biggs *et al* (2003: 185), "the serious analysis of the culture of aid organisations, and of the relationships with other actors… is a neglected area of analysis."

Gellner and Hirsch (2001) have heralded the recent popularity in the use of ethnography as a method of studying organizations (though scholars like Van Maanen have long been advocating its use). Yet Gellner and Hirsch's book *Inside Organizations* contains only studies of Western organizations, with the notable exception of David Mosses' study of a Western development organization working in India. To date, there are very few ethnographies of development organizations; views of the development 'enterprise' from an internal perspective have been absent from the vast literature on aid and development (Biggs, Messerschmidt and Gurung, 2003).

However, there is now a growing body of literature about what goes on inside these cultures, evidenced by recent publications of Hilhorst (2003) and Crewe and Harrison (2003) that are part of a new genre of such studies of organizations situated in the developing world. My own work will add to this genre, contributing a study of gender in a regional organization of South Asia to the body of knowledge.

Feminist Studies

A further contribution is to the field of feminist studies. As Reinharz (1992) argues, when male social scientists undertake case studies of organizations, they do not usually examine women's positions, and so inadvertently cause at least three things to happen. First, social science itself contributes to the invisibility of women and the disappearance of women's accomplishments. Case studies of initiatives on behalf of women, such as this thesis, can illuminate why certain strategies succeed and others fail. The documentation of successful initiatives for gender equality in organizations is necessary as models for future generations and as raw data for future studies, comparative research and cross cultural studies. The paucity of case studies of women's

experiences hampers our ability to engage in cross cultural or comparative analyses of women's organizational lives.

Second, this gap in our knowledge reinforces a distorted sociological understanding of women because social forces responsible for women's status are overlooked. The images, stereotypes and generalizations about women in the workplace need reevaluation, and case studies provide a way to avoid the emphasis social science places on generalization that has obscured issues significant to particular groups, such as women.

Third, by grounding knowledge in a single sex perspective, social science makes additional errors. By studying only dominant groups within organizations rather than groups attempting to change society, social scientists provide a skewed image. Reinharz believes that feminist engagement in the production of women-centered case studies is thus a greatly needed corrective device and is one that points out the relation between power and gender in all social settings.

By documenting the gendered nature of everyday practices inside a development organization, I hope I have also made the reader familiar with perspectives previously unknown to him or her - those of women professional organizational members – to reduce the resistance to women's requests for equality in their organizational lives. As well, this account may serve to give name and shape to the disempowering aspects of women's professional lives, and by doing so, contribute to their abilities to resist male practices.

Revisiting the Research Questions
This section will revisit the research questions, reiterated here:
1. What methodological issues emerge from the insider positionality of a researcher?
2. How are gender differentiations produced and replicated within multi-cultural development organizations?
3. What are the causes of the persistent resistance to change for gender equity in such organizations, and of the causes for agency in relation to the same, and what are the implications for organizational transformation?

Structural features are significant determinants of gender differentiations within organizations. But without a close assessment of the power relations that determine these structures, one can conclude that they are gender neutral and easily 'fixed' with the establishment of policies, committees and procedures. From the analysis of this thesis, it can be concluded that these structures of inequality were in fact, actively maintained by senior men and a few women. Though individually these members may not have had the intention to control women consciously, through patterns of habit, communication, and the hierarchy itself, their actions collectively appeared as attempts to actively maintain structural barriers to women's equal participation in the organization. Structurally, therefore, INORG was ill-equipped to transform itself into a gender equitable organization, not just because it reflected the gender relations in the wider society, but because of the hierarchy and system of power that itself was a gendering process.

The discussion of informal processes, leadership and organizational norms within INORG demonstrated that cultural factors may provide a more insightful analysis of how gender

identities are produced and replicated within an organization. Behind the scenes, actions by senior male staff enacting hidden forms of power contributed to the neutral appearance of power and served to blind the gender advocates and other staff to the internal processes of discrimination. This blindness became apparent late in the process, when it became clear that as the prominence of gender issues increased, so did the resistance. INORG's formal leaders, far from being sources able to counter-act this gender unfairness, were perceived by many women and men to be sources of ambiguity themselves, by giving mixed messages about policies that were not confirmed through their own behaviours and practices.

The poststructural view of power presented in this text sees the organization as a set of discourses that contributes to the construction of gendered identities and behaviours affected by one's structural placement within the hierarchy and one's historical background. This brings us to the second research question, on the causes of agency and resistance in relation to gender equality. The analyses of structural and cultural aspects of gendered differentiations discussed in Part II lead up to the main arguments of this thesis, articulated in the chapters of Part III. These will be revisited in some detail here due to their significance.

The three events - Women's Week, Men's Resistance to Gender Ideologies and a Woman's Shift in Alliances – provided context-specific opportunities to observe acts of resistance and agency that both challenged and complied with existing gender norms in the organization. The chronological sequence of the events was significant, as it followed the changes in attitudes and behaviours of the DG, senior men and women, and showed the turning points in actor's strategies and behaviours as the gender agenda progressed from that of gender integration to women's empowerment.

Strategies used by actors resisting and supporting dominant organizational ideologies and norms are explained by understandings of subjectification, agency and resistance. An examination of the practices of subjectification, resistance and agency of women and men within the organizational environment supports the argument that the three are closely linked and changing as the subjectivity of the actors interacts with the local context to activate behaviours that position the actors in a struggle for meaning. Individuals have multiple identities that are played out or hidden, depending on the salience of the setting and power relations. These appear as ambivalent and sometimes conflicting.

Resistance is often aimed at the preservation of a balance between the valued selves, and can serve to reinstate a more or less stable state of mutual accommodation between opposing actors or groups of actors. The cycle of control –resistance-counter control observed in INORG was one that brought women to a higher level of gender awareness and political action, but one that in the end was not able to significantly transform gender relations, perhaps due to its challenge to the hegemony of male power and management. And yet, given the symbolic value of resistance, women's acts of agency and resistance were laden with meaning, as women asserted their own views and identities. In this way, the women may have changed the organization in individual, fragmented and subtle ways that affected others as well as themselves, but the effects were small in scale and cultural more than structural.

The gender identities of at least some of the women and men at INORG were affected by acts of agency and resistance that were played out as part of the struggle for meaning over gender ideologies, symbols and interactions. Many members, and particularly myself, gained a gender awareness through the sessions and courses that served to heighten the gender differences within the organization and society at large. The continual process of reflection within the organization encouraged members to question their values and identities. The focus on gender difference in some ways polarised the staff to take sides. Some men and women were in favour of changing gender norms and the organizational structures and cultures that supported them; as described, some women responded to Management's increased levels of control through active resistance that evolved into agency; others chose to remain silent and supportive of the status quo. The gender identities of men were asserted more strongly, in response to the political actions for gender equality in ways both direct and indirect.

The most significant change in gender identities occurred when women collectively resisted the DG's attempts to exert control over the meaning of their experiences as women in the organization. The anger and hurt they felt by his actions and remarks stirred many to question his knowledge and leadership, and brought about an assertion in their identities as women that was privileged over other identities as secretaries, Nepalese, Western, professionals, etc. This evolved into agency – a more proactive form of subjectification that apparently threatened the male power system enough to warrant a strong reaction from Management and several male professionals.

The most significant and effective strategy used by the dominant men in power was their attempt to control the meaning of events and behaviours of actors, through actions that either legitimised or delegitimised these based on their ideologies and strategies of power. Mulder's verbal and literary statements that disaffirmed women's experiences by declaring them mere perceptions served to privilege rational, objective knowledge over the women's subjective knowledge that would have challenged his notion of fairness that he believed existed within the organization under his control. His use of censorship served the same purpose – to control the organizational discourse on gender relations within INORG.

Another strategy employed by both Mulder and the senior men was to divide the group of women and break up the sense of solidarity that existed by denying them the recognition of their common identity as women. By questioning the Western women's abilities to understand women of South Asia, castigating Nepalese women for joining this 'foreign' movement, and enticing Doma to join their ranks, they influenced women to focus on those aspects of their identities that affirmed their differences based on nationalities, religion and class, rather than their common identities as women.

Exclusion was the simplest and most commonly used tactic by men at all levels to keep information, resources and power out of the hands of women. Stalling on compliance with requests from the Gender Unit, GWG and Gender Task Force was another means of avoiding action and slowing the progress on gender equality. When the Management Committee finally gave in to the women's demands for representation, they did so only under their own terms, not allowing women the same status as the men within the Committee by forcing them to rotate the representation and to themselves evaluate their impact after a test period. For this act of

'inclusion', they devised a new set of rules that applied only to the women – another strategy to maintain the existing power and gender relations.

Those women and men who resisted the dominant gender ideologies and norms initially used reflection and awareness to build support for their agenda, and to attract more staff to the group. This was done both formally through gender training courses and in-house sessions and informally through discussions with both women and men. As the group of women professionals was small in number, an approach to build the numbers of supporters, both women and men was employed.

In addition, the leaders tried to build a common identity of women as a group to build support for political action, by privileging gender above other categories of identity that seemed more salient to women in the organization. Groups such as the GWG, Gender and Workplace Committee, and the Gender Task Force were formed to cut across the hierarchical lines of divisions, levels and class to build trust and solidarity. At times the leaders would purposefully position themselves in the back to allow other women to speak and take leadership roles in ways that felt comfortable to them, in their own style.

The strategy included the elicitation of men's participation in key groups and committees, and transparency with the whole staff through open communication of the activities and reports of these groups and the Gender Programme. In this way, women attempted to form a subculture of gender sensitive members to encourage reflection and articulate alternative views. A major strategic push by this group was to attain a space for women in the Management Committee, to gain a voice and access to information and decision making processes.

The use of outside allies was a strategy attempted by the group of women, but one that was not effective. IFAD could have been a powerful force to back INORG's gender equality initiative, as it matched closely with its own values and articulated goals, but IFAD managers chose not to go against INORG's managers, though some IFAD staff understood that by doing so, they forfeited the agenda for transformation that had been articulated.

A strategy NOT commonly employed by women was to confront the humiliation and abuse by the DG and men of the organization. With the exception of my one-time confrontation with Mulder, and Anne's extensive use of memos, women did not voice their feelings of hurt and anger generated by men's jokes and putdowns. The point in my own journal about the need to read a book on negotiation skills showed that I was without the internal resources - mentors or trusted advisors – who could have assisted me in the 'art of resistance' or in leading others.

A comparison of the strategies used by the groups dominated by men and by women, respectively, showed that men's strategies were based on their position of power in the hierarchy, allowing them to determine the rules and set the public discourse. Women's strategies tended to focus on social relations, building power through inclusion and a sense of common identity rather than formal, authoritarian base of power. In retrospect, the strategies employed by the DG, and by men in a group were far more effective and long lasting than those used by the women and their supporters to gain a stronger position for women. This may be due to the relatively short term of the gender 'movement' or its limited success in making structural changes.

In sum, the powerful men of INORG allowed women's agency on terms they themselves dictated and controlled. When women's actions moved beyond what was considered acceptable, the result was a backlash against individual women and the gender mainstreaming agenda in general. In this way, the full extent and potential of women's agency was suppressed, and its significance therefore limited in impact. But the challenge to existing notions of gender identity that altered many women's sense of self and sense of gender fairness in the organization may never be erased, sowing the seeds for a future realisation of gender transformation in this organization or any other where these INORG women may join.

Impact of Insider Positionality
Throughout this narrative, there is a tension between my role as a researcher who is subject to the conventions of analytical objectivity and my role as an organizational member and informal leader with political goals. This poses an epistemological challenge as to how these can be combined that will be addressed in this conclusion.

The account of INORG's gendering and interventions to transform the organization is clearly a narrative ethnography based almost entirely on my own interpretations as an insider. This form of 'fiction' is indirectly produced by the conventions of ethnographic writing and my own class, nationality, gender identity and subjectivity that are used to analyse actions of members, and retains an awareness that it is only one interpretation amongst several others that exist. In doing so, it poses a challenge to positivist conventions that claim authenticity for conventional researcher roles of 'invisible outsiders' and underscores the constructed nature of 'truth'.

Throughout the text, there is a changing focus between my position as author and as 'native'. I have argued that as an insider, I have access to knowledge of daily enactments of power, agency and resistance, but due to my nationality and background, I was viewed as an outsider within the organization. This shatters the notion of a 'pure' native inhabiting a fixed culture and points to a more fluid subjectivity that vacillates between 'native' and 'expert ethnographer' and problematises the boundaries of power and domination implied by each category.

Another way of turning the lens inward is through gaining an understanding of how I am perceived by others, including my categorisation as a native or non-native. Throughout the research process, I kept notes of statements by colleagues indicating their perceptions of me. Nepali female NO and administrative staff spoke of the impression of confidence that I projected, perceived as arrogance by some, and how that made them uncomfortable and envious at first. They told me that men felt threatened by me, especially the 'old guard' of senior Brahmin men at DEI who were uncomfortable with my 'masculine' behaviour but did not see me as aggressive as two other senior women (also Westerners). Women confessed feeling suspicious of me due to my closeness and ease with male professionals (I could 'pat them on the back'), and so resented much of what I tried to do, not because I was a professional, but because my behaviour 'broke the rules' of female behaviour: "being a leader is a masculine action, most women are not comfortable with a women leader." (Chanda/interview/2001) Chanda also told me that: "gender would be more acceptable to our men if the gender specialist was from the region. It would feel less imposed." When asked if the struggles I faced were due to my Western-ness, one woman from the region mentioned that this had not occurred to her; she assumed

instead that it was due to gender opposition. But once the question was raised, she did agree that being an outsider had something to do with it. Men seemed to believe that I was upsetting their "happy women". (Kanchan/interview/2001)

Sara reiterated her opinion that I was perceived as: "a Westerner who doesn't understand cultural values, who is aggressive, negative and emotional." She believed that my enthusiasm, as hers, was mistakenly viewed as arrogance and aggression.

What of this was gossip with a mean intention and what was really perceived? It is not possible to know, but given that the data came to me at the end of my time at INORG, during interviews with women who seemed to trust and feel at ease with me, there is a good possibility that it revealed honest thoughts that could be validated through my long-term association with the setting and opportunities to cross-check it through other experiences. But as pointed out by Sara: "as your friend, people won't share things about you with me so I do not know what they really think."

She articulated a key epistemological weakness of the insider position: there are limits to self-awareness, limits to the kind of data that can be gathered. For example, no subjectivity could be given to Mulder due to my positionality and the conflicts that existed between us. Had I been a male, or an outsider not so deeply engaged in the process, the narrative would have shed a more sympathetic light on him. More males would have been interviewed if I had felt comfortable with them; instead, I chose to interview only those whose 'marginal' status made them sympathetic to our cause (even if they did sometimes enact power to resist women's empowerment). Readers would have seen the gendering of INORG from a different perspective had I been a different person, with different cultural affinities.

And yet, because of these affinities, I brought a degree of authenticity to the study that would not be possible by an outsider, or by a male from the organization. The feminist scholar Reinharz argues that "even an empathetic outsider cannot know women the way women know themselves" (1992:261). A goal of feminist scholarship is to reinterpret or redefine phenomena previously defined from a masculinist perspective (as I have argued was the case in the field of organizational studies); feminists claim that developing a new definition is possible only by really understanding women through rapport. In any study of people's perceptions of reality where the subject matter is highly elusive and highly context dependent, such as that of the corporate culture studied by Kunda as an insider, "some intimacy is required in order to access conscious constructions, and to closely observe behaviour to uncover tacit ones" (Kunda,1992:232).

A continual reflexivity is required on the part of researchers – and natives- engaged in social change- to retain an awareness of the effect of positionality and subjectivity on events and practices. Given the difficulties in doing this while embedded in the daily struggles for power and influence within an organization, it may be necessary to step away from an environment, to attain the kind of distance that Alvesson argues is critical for self-ethnography (1999b), to avoid blind spots and narcissism. From my position outside of the organization, I have attempted to retain a reflexivity throughout this narrative construction, explicitly expressed throughout the text and in the conclusion of each chapter of data analysis. Though the text is constructed as

much as possible using direct quotes, there are limits to how much the reader can grasp a full sense of their meaning to the informant.

But it is also problematic to adopt this reflexive approach while inside an organization if one is engaged in political change. Although a researcher can do this, a person leading an agenda for organizational change risks creating confusion and a perception of 'weakness' by this type of openness. Obtaining and maintaining credibility as a leader at times requires the articulation of single rather than multiple alternative explanations of organization reality so as to build solidarity around an issue. These actions frame meaning (as does the act of constructing this thesis), allowing others to learn from the experience and to create coherence out of what is otherwise perceived as disconnected events, giving them added significance. By framing small events in the context of larger ideals (such as equality) and hegemonies (such as patriarchy), the frustration and 'burnout' faced by change agents is minimised. Framing meaning is a way to call attention to 'hidden' issues, paving the way for planned change through strategic interventions.

How Change Occurs

But can such change occur through purposeful manipulations of organizational structures and cultures, or does it occur through unforeseen and unplanned events that may enter the organization from outside due to economic, social or political shifts in the society-at-large?

Drawing on practice theory, I argue that individuals do play a determining role in the reproduction and change of structural features of organizations. Individual perceptions of gender relations offer the possibility for change, as members gain a consciousness of the everyday practices that maintain gendered oppression and act in ways to resist and modify the cultural assumptions that underlie the asymmetries of power and resources. The exercise of power at the individual level can erode or transform embedded power relations at the organizational level.

The organizational culture assumes significance because of the type of people in power, the cultural norms that uphold their positions of power, and the structures and systems that reflect dominant ideologies about power. The masculine nature of these notions and systems, already elaborated, reinforces organizational members' resistance to challenge these deeply embedded features, and allows gender mainstreaming to exist as an 'add-on' programme. In this context, organizational leaders can be assured that such an initiative can never grow beyond its marginal status. The feminist ideals of empowerment cannot be realised in such an environment; a weakness of the movement within INORG was the absence of an outside constituency that could support us by putting pressure on Management to fulfil its rhetorical promises.

Individual subjectivities are key to the process. Identity is contingent upon a set of social relations; it is not fixed, but neither is it purely arbitrary in that some meta-narratives have deep historical resonance and durability. The entrenched nature of narratives of gender can be seen in the forms of backlash that have occurred in response to processes of gender restructuring. A psychological need for a positive identity motivated women at INORG to break a long period of silence under a punitive authoritarian manager to make a commitment to change and to take constructive action in a hostile environment. Without such motivation, a gender mainstreaming agenda is nothing more than a structural tool that cannot be relied on to meet gender equality objectives. Yet the 'serious games of life' that Ortner speaks of – the betrayals, shifting loyalties

and alliances that comprise women's relationships at the workplace – make such an agenda problematic and stressful for those engaged in the process.

Using this theory, organizations can be understood as just a backdrop, a historically–situated context wherein actors shape and reshape, create and recreate identity through formal and informal policies and practices. These new subjectivities are expressed under conditions perceived to be favourable to the actor, or 'hidden' when not favourable. Without a leader at INORG to continually keep the change agenda alive, women's agency there appears to be in a dormant stage. Resistance may still lie within, having simply become less observable. Even if they go unwitnessed, acts of resistance have tremendous symbolic value, and the power to challenge the normative order.

The hope is that these small acts of agency and resistance will create spaces – both structural and cultural – that will pave the way for more significant acts of transformation in the future.

The construction of this thesis is one such act of agency. Narratives are key elements of the change process, as part of sense making. Subversive stories resist and subvert hegemonic narratives by breaking the silence (Ewick and Silbey, 1995), recounting experiences rooted in an encompassing cultural, historical, material and political world that extends beyond the local. Because such narratives make connections between individual experience and the gendering processes within the organization, their transformational potential is high.

Moving Forward – A Political Process
"It is only with a knowledge of the complex political dimensions of discursive practices that we are able to cope with, understand, and facilitate our public and private lives." (Wendt, 1995:292)

Transformative change cannot occur simply through a tinkering with structures and practices but requires challenging the existing systems of power. Power cannot be reduced to individualised episodic, social-structural or discursive –agentic poststructural instances. Power is not only mobilised by actors, or social structures, or discourses but is all of these things. Strategies of interventions must take all of these sources of power into account in order to transform gender relations in organizations.

But how does cultural resistance foster such political engagement? Vital to the process of transformation is an understanding of its temporal aspects. It is a sequential process, unfolding over time. First, by freeing minds from the limits and constraints of the dominant culture, it provides a space ideologically to create new language, meanings and visions of the future, and materially as a place to build networks and a focal point for a 'community of resistance.' Within this space, a group of actors can develop the skills and resources for resistance.

Once new visions, skills, confidence and alliances are in place, the step to collective forms of political resistance is made easier. Since cultural resistance is more of a subjective and familiar form of resistance than political dissent, those who are unaccustomed to public displays of discontent, like the women at INORG, can more easily engage in it. This can take many forms, suited to individual actors and their self-perceived identities.

Political self-consciousness is the next step in transformation. This arises from a personal and emotional experience that links consciousness to a larger frame of meaning, thus uniting members behind a common cause. Given a conceptual frame of understanding, like that provided in a gender training, actors can break the sense of isolation they feel as outsiders to the dominant culture, and diminish the psychological strains of maintaining 'loyalty' to organizations that do not value their subjectivities as women, ethnic minorities, Westerners, etc. This is a critical step, as in many organizations, the requirements of conformity and loyalty stifle all voices of alternative views and dissent, and so diffuse the power of their adherents.

And yet the 'common cause' that is used to build support for the gender movement is based on a structural view of power that this thesis has shown offers only a partial explanation of how an organization is gendered and why resistance is so deeply embedded. This points to a problem in the use of poststructural views of power by those who lead an agenda for change, and thus poses a topic for further research.

My own understanding of the nature of power that has changed through the production of this thesis is a significant part of the 'sense-making' process that I engaged in. My understanding of the poststructural aspects of power evolved only in last two years, after leaving the organization to write up this thesis. Initially, in 1995, I was more likely to believe, along with Mulder, that a combination of right policies, training and guidelines would, in a functionalist way, 'balance' the gender relations and remediate gender unfairness within the organization. By 1999, after years of long delays by Management and increasingly hostile conditions for some women, my belief that decisions and behaviours were being influenced by rationality and authoritarian leadership broke down; if power could be described in such a functionalist manner, I thought, we should have had a unit to coordinate the crosscutting theme of gender by 1998.

For some time, the view of power as a structural impediment, expressed through patriarchy and male power seemed more accurate. Certainly this view is well-supported in this part of the world, and there are many narratives, opinions and incidents that guide one to think of power in this way.

It was not until I stepped out of the context and started writing that I was able to see the gendering of INORG as a poststructural drama, complete with the on-stage and off-stage enactments of its members. It was particularly those events described in Part III and the incidents of surprise that pointed me in this direction. Shifts in behaviours and friendships, inexplicable actions of men and women who I thought I knew well at the time created a great deal of pain and confusion for me and served as further motivation for this sense-making exercise that I engaged in at the PhD level. Stepping out was critical, and provided me with an opportunity to see the ambiguity, the fluidity of human action and therefore the possibilities for (and constraints to) change.

Resistance can be performed by various social units –from individuals who try to challenge the system alone, to subcultures that create a space for shared, inclusive set of cultural values and practices, to societies that completely overthrow the dominant system in a revolution, at which time the culture of resistance becomes the dominant culture.

Leaders play a key role in this process of moving from cultural resistance to political transformation. They cannot change cultures, but can appropriate cultural resources and create spaces for agency, allowing shifts in consciousness and subjectivities that WILL bring about cultural changes. This is what appeared to have happened within INORG to bring about the perceived change at the cultural level. There is no data to show that these results were due to my actions. If the changes in culture cannot be attributed to actions of the DG or senior men, as is postulated in this thesis, then neither can the 'successes' be credited to my acts of leadership. Much of it seems, on reflection, to be based on the combination of personalities, personal histories, and forms of power enacted by the key actors. For instance, had Mulder not been a man who used authoritative power in combination with male power so effectively, it is dubious that women of the region for whom patriarchy was a way of life would have reacted with such emotion and collective resistance. There is no recipe for gender awareness that can assure this level of mobilization.

Dominant male cultures affect the possibilities of social transformation but "challenging women" (Maddock, 1999) like myself and others at INORG can initiate and sustain a process of active negotiation of gender relationships by developing a consciousness of power and gender oppression through the inclusion of excluded voices and creation of supportive organizational environments for women and all staff considered as 'Other'.

Postscript (March 2006)

A gathering of INORG women staff in March 2006 called espressly for a meeting with me allowed, for the first time since my departure in 2000, an opportunity to learn from staff themselves of the status of gender mainstreaming in the organization. In an informal meeting held outside of the main building of INORG, about 25 professional and administrative staff joined in a discussion that I initiated with the question, "what went wrong in our gender mainstreaming strategy?"

The only female professional staff still employed by the organization, and who is well aware of the gender activities and strategies existent before 2000 began with her impressions, stating that the organization lost its critical mass of women staff trained in gender, due to a large turnover of staff. Almost all of those men and women who had received the gender training had left, which destabilized the organization at all levels in many ways.

Also noted as contributing factors to the near absence of gender activities was a noted lack of support from senior management, and the lack of leadership. Doma reportedly did not have the experience, the cultural 'security' or seniority to lead the initiative in the face of its unpopularity with the senior managers. The sense of oppression and fear to speak out and act was heightened by a renewed sense of job insecurity during a time of staff cutbacks.

Others mentioned that gender was now confined to a single project, yet 'Culture, Equity, Gender and Governance' was designed as crosscutting program, not a project. This program aims to ensure a 'greater voice and influence, dignity, social security, and equity for all mountain people' through the 1) empowerment and participation of mountain women in decision-making to enhance their rights to resources and assets; 2) participation, rights, and influence of marginalised mountain communities by mainstreaming their engagement in processes of mountain development and 3) strengthening the advocacy capacity of community institutions to promote an enabling environment for improved governanceby and for mountain societies. Though the program states that they complement and support the work of other divisions on natural resource management , rural income diversification, and management of water hazards in the area of gender mainstreaming, gender disaggregated data had not been collected for even those project activities. Apparently, some managers have tried to include gender in their projects, but are without the tools of how to do so.

When asked if there had been any struggle to hold onto the structures and processes for gender mainstreaming, one woman stated that she had requested the establishment of a Gender Commission during a staff meeting, but that this idea was quickly shot down, with no verbal signs of support from her colleagues, either male or female. The only structure that exists is a list serve for all women staff, used to share various news items.

Many in the group agreed that the male professional staff who have come in the last few years don't 'get it'; she has personally been the victim of nasty personal comments about her appearance from her male colleagues, though she holds a senior position. Other women reported similar types of harassment, that have again left them in tears and despondent.

One woman who has been asked to sit on the panel for recruitment described how she feels that her presence there is without meaning, as men who are obviously not gender sensitive are still hired, despite her protestations to the other panel members.

Kumari, a member of the admin staff who has worked at INORG for 20 years, claimed that although the GWG was still in existence on paper, they were without a public space to talk about gender issues and keep the spirit alive. She stated that under the threat of losing the daycare center, they had put up a fight, but otherwise, had not spoken up about the loss of the gender focus at INORG. She did mention the need to support one another, and expressed her view of the power that could produce for all women at the organisation.

After a one hour discussion, wherein many staff expressed their sense of disgust at the current low level of organizational support for gender equality, as well as incidences of sexual harassment, one or two women stated their opinions that they should now bring about a change in the situation and offered concrete ways to do so. First, they agreed, is the need to influence the choice of the next DG, who is to be selected within the next few months. One woman offered to compose a letter to the board members to request female staff representation on the selection panel. The group has met to draft this letter and to discuss other ways to move forward.

It remains to be seen how far this group of women will take this agenda, but there is now new leadership, in the form of a woman hired to lead gender mainstreaming within INORG. Without a knowledge of the history, this new group of women staff has been without an awareness of the previous work and reputation that we had worked so hard to achieve in gender and organizational change, and one has the impression that the organization must once again start from scratch, rather than building on what had already been accomplished. Many blame the DG himself for allowing this to occur, though he did try (unsuccessfully) to recruit a gender specialist for many months during 2002.

And yet I feel that indeed what I had stated in my conclusion, that "the challenge to existing notions of gender identity that altered many women's sense of self and sense of gender fairness in the organization may never be erased, sowing the seeds for a future realisation of gender transformation in this organization or any other where these INORG women may join" may yet prove stronger than the organisation's intentional neglect or normative lapse into 'business as usual'; It may only take a spark to reignite the passion that drove these women to action years ago…..

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APPENDICES
A.   Research Design and Methodology
Methods of Data Collection
          Demographic information
Demographic information was collected on the numbers, gender, age, level within the organization, nationality, and ethnicity of staff members between 1990 and 2001, the years that I was employed at INORG. The profiles of individual organizational members give a strong sense of the context of the organization, and a hint of the socio-cultural issues that influence the organization from outside its walls.

          Secondary data
As an international organization with a mandate to publish and disseminate information, INORG produced a large quantity of reports, discussion papers, annual reports, plans, evaluations, newsletters, meeting minutes, and intra-office memos. These texts offer rich material that reveals the underlying dominant ideologies and assumptions held within the organization, as well as communication styles. An analysis of these texts uncovered the professional biases that existed within the organization, and linked micro knowledge and experience to macro level ideologies, theories, and cultural biases.

From the large collection of textual materials, I selected those that pertained specifically to gender, as well as those plans and evaluations that lay bare the priorities and biases of the organization. Particularly germane were the minutes of Gender Committee and GWG meetings, as well as reports of retreats where organization members discussed the values and history of the organization.

          Meetings
Meetings are communication events that are embedded within a socio-cultural setting, serving as a forum in which specific actors try to influence others and to make sense of what is happening. Meetings contribute to the production and reproduction of the structures of everyday life, and are thus responsible for the construction of order and disorder in social systems; they therefore hold possibilities for both conservative and transformative actions. Individuals use meetings to negotiate and/or determine their status and social ranking. Through "reading" meetings, (who attends, who says what, who arrives late, etc), organizational members learn about their particular place in the status system of the organization, as well as others' (Schwartzman, 1993).

Over the 11 years of my tenure at INORG, I attended hundreds of meetings. As the Gender Specialist, I often represented the female staff during the weekly exclusive Management Meetings, attended only by the Management staff and Heads of Divisions. In addition, I attended monthly meetings of the professional staff and many meetings of the GWG and Gender Committee. Minutes of all of these meetings plus my own personal notes provided the content; personal notes on behaviours, attitudes, seating arrangements, norms of speaking, power plays, patterns of speech, etc. were analysed to understand the constitution of social practices.

          Narratives
Stories and storytelling are common ways that organizational members use to make sense of their life at work. These make their appearances in conversations, interviews, informal

discussions, meetings and in other ways. Stories in organizations are told as if they depict real events, and they are heard and repeated as representations of real events. The research on narratives suggests that stories serve to: 1) communicate historical experiences and provide members a way to weave this into current activities; 2) distinguish one's own organization as best or worst and stereotype other organizations in comparison; 3) socialise new members into the organization; 4) document successes and failures and draw conclusions from these examples; 5) indirectly communicate information that is too sensitive to discuss directly; and 6) shape and sustain individuals' images of the organization in which they work (Schwartzman, 1993). Stories play an important role in constituting the organizational reality and the way individuals experience their organization. What is important to note is that there may be several realities, and several versions of the stories, underscoring the significance of perspective and standpoint.

I began recording stories once I realised their value as research material (in 1998, two years before leaving the organization), and then dutifully reported them in as much detail as possible immediately after hearing them. Many women came to my office to tell their stories; others were told in the gender training sessions. Stories of the dominant men were sometimes revealed over a beer during an informal gathering.

The collection of organizational narratives itself is not sufficient, so in all cases, the person telling the story was identified, as well as the setting and information on whether the story was their own or a rendition of another's story.

Interviews and their Limitations
Although interviews are a standard tool of ethnographies that aim to obtain "rich accounts" of the interviewee's experiences, knowledge, and impressions, there are many problems with the notion that such conversations bring forward authentic, truthful and open statements, even if the researcher's interviewing skills are well developed. This is partly the case because the statements are liable to be determined more by the interview context than to any experiential reality, and partly because they are affected by cultural scripts about how one should express oneself on specific topics.

In many cases, people have a sense of what is expected from them in an interview and will draw upon their cultural knowledge to structure the situation in order to make impressions, minimize embarrassment and their sense of asymmetrical power relations, etc. Complex social interactions aiming to establish micro order usually takes precedence over the researcher triggering appropriate responses through interviewing techniques. The interplay between two people of different genders, nationalities, professional backgrounds, races, etc. and the expectations placed on those categories place heavy imprints on the accounts being produced. Identities of both the interviewers and interviewees frame and guide responses. And they are relational – the positioning of the interviewer is a matter of perceived relation between the interviewer and interviewee based on status and power. Different identities invoked in specific contexts may lead to different accounts. If the interviewee perceives herself as identified as a female staff, rather than an administrative staff, her interpretation of the interview process and her responses will differ. An understanding of multiple identities may not be sufficient to keep identity under control during the interview. The interviewee may use the interview session as a way to express

and defend a favoured self-identity, if she perceives a friendly and sympathetic attitude on the part of the interviewer.

Cultural scripts are often relied upon by interviewees to, in a short-hand manner, express accounts that the interviewer can understand (particularly if s/he is a stranger) and don't require the interviewee to exert much thought about the issues. These scripts say more about a world that is recognizably familiar, orderly and moral to interviewees rather than reflecting how they experience the world in everyday life.

One significant intent of the interviewee may be to give a good impression of themselves or one's organization. Being a member of an organization means there is an internal identification and internalisation of its values and ideals constraining one's consciousness, as well as a moral imperative to express oneself in 'loyal' terms. In some cases, interviewees may practice "impression management" with the belief that the interview process presents opportunities for their own self-promotion or political purposes, while appearing to offer 'honest' accounts to the interviewer. Political awareness may lead to the construction of the reality under focus in ways favourable to the interviewee, or defensive moves motivated by a fear that certain 'truths' may harm oneself or a group that one identifies with.

Another basic problem concerns the nature of language and its use. For post-structuralists, language use constructs the world. The use and combination of words reflect the types of discourses which are available to the subjects and their power over them within a particular context. Even if there are 'objective' things in the minds of people, any account of these are done through the construction of particular versions of how these things are and how they can be represented by individuals. The difficulty for the interviewer is to interpret what discourses are making themselves present in the interview and how they are affecting the interviewee.

Words used by the interviewer or interviewee may trigger certain associations and versions of accounts, giving an element of randomness and arbitrariness as to what is included and excluded. This is evidenced by interviewees' recall of additional information after the interview, or by their attempts to revise accounts.

In the end, rather than seeing the interview process as the 'pipeline to knowledge' or rejecting it totally, I viewed it in a compromised manner, seeing it as a way to "give some space for knowledgeable subjects to say something that is well-informed and insightful about their experiences and social practices and see these statements as potentially informative about these phenomena" (Alvesson, 1999a). The material generated in interviews can be viewed as material for organizational discourse analysis, for example, on identity or motives. Such material was strengthened and validated through observations.

An understanding of the research interview means conceptualising what happens in the situation and how the outcomes can be interpreted. It provides a 'thicker' understanding than what is provided by the interview-as –technique-for-data-collection by considering both the interview accounts themselves and the contingencies that affect these. In sum, three major elements are found: i) the social scene (the physical setting and framing of the situation); ii) the individual (interviewee) constituted in terms of identity, impression regulation, sense making and politics);

and iii) the nature of language: speaking 'behind' the subject, constituting her/him and forward-oriented, affecting the listener (Alvesson, 1999a).

With these limitations in mind, I invited 15 women and men to participate in individual and group interviews, to tell their "stories" demonstrating their knowledge and experience of being an organizational member of INORG. After a short explanation of the goal of the research, I encouraged them to talk about the organizational culture of INORG, in an open and ambiguous way to give the participant opportunities to answer in ways and with content familiar to her/him. This focused on 'what' instead of 'why' questions, in order to collect information on the speech patterns and to elicit key terms.   Some participants found this difficult to do, if they were not familiar with the term 'organizational culture' and requested an explanation of what was meant. At this time, I turned to my set of pre-formulated questions and offered a sample, to give an idea. Most participants hesitated after giving a response, waiting for the next subtopic to be offered to them, but some talked on without hesitation, about their own impressions of cultural symbols, ideologies and values, and gender-based experiences. With all participants I engaged in a back-and-forth kind of discussion, to encourage them to open up more and to elicit more honest responses. I did so, as well, to make them at feel at ease, so that the interview process did not seem a burden to them. A few women later mentioned that the interview itself had opened up their eyes to looking at the topic in a new light. Many mentioned that they would get back to me with more thoughts and later insights if they had any, showing genuine interest to do so, but in actuality, none of them did.

All interviews were recorded on a tape recorder; only two participants initially expressed their discomfort with the machine, but then seemed to forget about its use.

At the end of each interview, I asked questions about how the participant's perceived me, and/or how they believed others perceived me. This lead to some significant insights and surprises that were perhaps opened up to me because of my imminent departure from the organization (these were conducted between January and May of 2001, when I had already officially 'left' INORG, though stayed on as a part time consultant.

After completion of the interview, which took between 1 ½ and 2 ½ hours, I recorded my impressions of the interview, the participant's behaviours and expressions, which points that seemed most significant to them and which points surprised me. I also noted my own behaviour during the interview, with comments as to how that may have affected the results.

Reflective journal
I kept a personal journal to record those significant events, feelings, and insights experienced over my time as the Gender Specialist, from 1995-2001. At first, these were recorded to provide a written record of actions taken by Management and other staff that were in violation of the organization's stated policy on gender equity, and/or that were detrimental to me personally. As the most senior female staff member and the advocate for gender equality, I was a natural 'target' for those members who resisted this process, and so experienced many attacks on my character. As these emotions were recorded in the journal, I began to see patterns, and than began to seek answers as to why the resistance was so widespread and formidable. In 1997, I

began to de-personalise the experience and decided to study the process as thoroughly as possible through a PhD research project.

Observant Participation
The most obvious way to observe the social drama of actors, their views of their roles, and their assumptions about their social realities is observation. In the case of organizational research, this means that the researcher assumes the role of an organizational member or an employee becomes a researcher. This is the method adopted by several respected organizational researchers, including Dalton (1959), who worked as a manager), Van Maanen (1982, police trainee) and other more recent anthropologists (e.g. Hilhorst, 2003) who worked within the organizations they studied. In these cases, the term 'participant observation' is not appropriate, as that refers to a situation in which the researcher is present as an observer, not a participant. Therefore, Czarniawska's term 'observant participant' (1998) applies, wherein the researcher is part of a social system her/himself over a long period of time, allowing for the collection of data that goes beyond representational.

In all data collection methods, I noted my observations of behaviours, settings, etc. This material is not necessarily different from information provided in interviews, meetings and other communication events, but rather serves to complement and/or cross-check the data.

Questionnaire
To meet the requirements of the Gender and Organizational Development Training course, five staff of INORG who attended the course designed a questionnaire that was provided to all INORG staff in December 1998. The designers introduced the initiative with a statement that the questionnaire had been "devised to identify gender issues and analyse the effectiveness of INORG in responding to the gender issues identified and formulating strategies to incorporate gender considerations into the structure, policies, and operational programmes." Entitled 'Assessing Gender Equity in the Workplace at INORG', the written questionnaire included questions related to organizational culture, career development, recruitment, maternity/paternity/child care, and field-based work. Space was provided for respondents to give detailed answers, and an empty last page was to encourage them to address other issues related to gender equity that had not been included.

A total of 40 persons, 14 women and 26 men, submitted their completed questionnaires. Information on respondents' sex, age, marital status, number of years employed at INORG, grade (level), educational level, and type of staff (project or core) was collected and matched with answers. In addition, many respondents provided narrative data to further describe their answers.

Summaries of the results for Organizational Culture are given in Table 2; the other sections have most of the data in the form of numerous comments and so cannot be reproduced here.

B.   Analytical Frameworks
Three analytical frameworks are drawn upon for the analysis of this research data- those of Acker, Ely and Meyerson and Goetz.

Through her "Five Sets of Processes of Gendering Organizations" (Acker, 1990), Joan Acker outlines the processes that constitute the gender structure of organizations and the ways that gender is used as an organizational resource. She notes that these may be overt or deeply hidden processes that may appear to have nothing to do with gender. Organizations are inherently gendered and its structures constructed and institutionalised through race, class, and other aspects of identity. Social processes include micro and macro influences that produce knowledge, social relations and identities in organizations, and can be generalised as: 1) production of gender divisions – practices that lead to gender patterning of jobs, hierarchies, power relations; 2) creation of symbols, images, forms of consciousness that justify (or oppose) gender divisions; 3) interactions between individual men and women that reproduce gendered organizations (maintenance of hierarchies favouring men); 4) internal mental work of individuals as they consciously construct their individual identity and understandings of organization's gendered structure of work and demands for gender-appropriate behaviour; and 5) fundamental ongoing processes of creating and conceptualising social structures. Acker sees these processes as sources of the problem, but they can also be seen as sites for resistance and change

Robin Ely and Debra Meyerson's "Frame Four" (Ely and Meyerson, 2000), based on Acker's framework, focuses on social practices as the means through which a gendered order is maintained, predominated by men and particular forms of masculinity. In organizations, these social practices include at least four categories of social phenomena that uphold or contest the value of (some) men above women, masculine above feminine. These practices build the mechanisms that produce and justify the allocation of resources, power, information and opportunities into the culture of organizations. The four categories are:1) formal policies and procedures; 2) informal work practices, norms and patterns of work; 3) narratives, rhetoric, language and other symbolic expressions; and 4) informal patterns of everyday social interaction.

Anne Marie Goetz's "Gendered Archaeology of Organizations" (Goetz, 1997) describes the gendering of organizations using the following categories: 1) institutional and organizational history; 2) the gendered cognitive context; 3) gendered organizational culture; 4) gendered participants; 5) gendered space and time; 6) sexuality of organizations; 7) gendered authority structures; and 8) gendered incentive and accountability systems. For the sake of this research, this framework is less useful than the previous two, which focus specifically on culture and social practices. However, Goetz's framework provides a useful checklist for the researcher to assure that all relevant categories are included within the analysis.

TABLES

Table 1: INORG Personnel

I.   Table 1: International Programme Staff Composition, 1995 - 2001[1]

Classification	1990	1995	Dec. 2000	June 2001	Average length of employment
Nepal	50%	53%	29%	27%	10
Region	46%	34%	45%	42%	4
Out of Region	4%	13%	26%	31%	3
Ph.D.	44%	27%	42%	38%	4
M.Sc.	32%	53%	52%	54%	7
B.Sc.	12%	13%	6%	8%	6
Misc.	12%	7%	-	-	-
Total Number	24	15	31	26	

As of 2001, 92 % of staff held M.Sc. or Ph.D. qualifications.

In addition to these international professionals and national officers, there were about 100 additional staff in the Administration who were entirely Nepalese and 12 other NOs involved in projects and supervising administrative functions. Several other Nepali, South Asian and Westerners were in temporary positions as project staff, interns, and assistants.

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[1] Quinquennial Review of 2001

Table 2: Survey Questionnaire: Organizational Culture

Questions:
1. In your opinion, how is the working environment for a) men and b) women in INORG?
2. Do you work in a team where most members are male or female or both?
3. Do you generally feel your contributions are appreciated by your colleagues?
4. How do your colleagues usually respond to your comments or suggestions?
5. Have you received any kind of gender sensitization training while at INORG?
6. Have you faced any form of sexual harassment in the workplace?

# of staff, grade and sex	age	married	Years At INORG	Education	Work environ	Team members' sex	Contributions appreciated?	Response of colleagues	Gender training
7 GS Female	25-ab. 35	All yes	2-more than 5	BS/BA and MA	For men, VS; for women S or unfair	Mostly female; equal for 1, male for 1	Most of the time for 2; once in awhile for 3, Rarely for 2	Positively for 4	no
10 prof male	25-ab 35	1 single	2-more than 5	PhD; M Sc	Men: VS (3), S (7); women: VS (2), S (8)	All male	Most of the time (8), once in awhile (1); rarely (1)	Positively for 9, 'evasive' for 1	Yes for 3
5 NO/GS male	Above 35	Yes	2-more than 5	MS; BA	S (2) or VS (3) for both	Male (1); female (1) equal men and women (3)	Most of time for all	Positively (4), not well (1)	Yes for 1
11 GS male	25-ab 35	All yes	More than 5	MBA, IA	VS (5); S (6) for both	Male (8); both (3)	Most of the time for 10/11	Positively for all	no
4 NO female	25-ab. 35	1 single	3- more than 5	BA, MA, MSc	S (2) or VS (2) for men; S (3) and unfair (1) for women	Male (2), both (2)	Most of the time (3); once in awhile (1)	Okay (2), very positively (1)	1 yes

S = satisfactory

VS = very satisfactory

Table 3: Data Records

Minutes of Gender Committee and GWG Meetings
GWG minutes/1999
Raj/GC minutes/1998
GC minutes/1998
GC minutes/1999
Retreat Workshop for GWG/report/2000

My Notes from Meetings
Women in Mountain Development seminar/notes/1990
Women's meeting/notes/1998
Integration Working Group/meeting notes/1998
Gender training/notes/1998-1999
Gender orientation notes/1998
Gender and Workplace meeting/notes/1998
Gender Committee Meeting/notes/1998 and 1999
Board Meeting/notes/1999
GWG meeting/notes/1999
Ravi/retreat notes/2000
Gender in the Workplace meeting/notes/2000
Women's meeting/notes/2000
GWG retreat/notes/2000
Paul/retreat notes/2000
Gender Task Force meeting/notes/2000
IFAD Workshop/notes/2000
IFAD/INORG meeting/notes/2000
Staff meeting/notes/2000
Anil/retreat notes/2000

My Notes from Informal Discussions
Mulder/notes/1995
Mulder/notes/1996
Kalim/notes/ 1998
Anne/notes/1998
Ganesh/notes/1998
Anjali/notes/1998
Bina/notes/1998
Kumari/notes/1998
Hussain/notes/1998
Mulder/notes/1998
Sita/notes/1999
Meera/notes/1999
Doma/notes/1999
Kanchan/notes/1999
Bishnu/notes/1999

Kumari/notes/1999
Anne/notes/1999
Kanchan, Anjali/Roshan, Anne, Bina/notes/1999
Board member/notes/2000
Han/notes/2000
Raj/notes/2000
Feroz/notes/2000
Ram/notes/2000
Paul/notes/2000
Bina/notes/2000
Tom/notes/2000
Sarah/notes/2000
Ahmed/notes/2000
Bishnu/notes/2000
Staff discussions/ notes/2000
Catherine/notes/2000
Roshan/notes/2000
Facilitator of IFAD/notes/2000
Krishna/notes/2000
Professor/email/2000
Gautam/notes/2001
Mizuho/notes/2001
Applicant/notes/2001
Anne and Anjali/emails/2003

My Journal Notes
Journal/1995
Journal/1998
Journal/1999
Journal/2000
Journal/2001

Memos
Mulder/memo/1995
Jeannette/memo/1997
Jeannette and Domo/memo to Anil and Ganesh/1998
Mulder/memo/1998
Jeannette and Doma/memo/1998
Mulder/memo/1998
GWG/memo/1999
Jeannette/memo/1999
Mulder/memo/1999
Anil and Jeannette/memo/1999
Women of the GWG memo to MM/1999
Women of the GWG/2nd memo to DG/1999
DG's memo to women of the GWG/1999

Raj/memo/1999
Chanda/memo/2000
DG's memo/2000
Gautam's memo/2000
Jeannette/memo to DG/2000

Meeting reports and speeches
Mulder/speech/1996
Women's Week Report/1998
DG's Version of the WW Report/1998
Men's meeting/report/1998
Anil/report/1998
Mulder/meeting notes/1998
Training participants/report/2000
GWG/report/2000

Survey Questionnaire
Male GS staff/survey/1998
Male professional/survey/1998
Men/survey/1998
Woman/survey/1998
Woman professional/survey/1998

Interviews
Cheng/interview/2001
Anne/interview/2001
Sara/interview/2001
Li/interview/2001
Leela/interview/2001
Doma/interview/2001
Ahmed/interview/2001
Roshan/interview/2001
Bina/interview/2001
DOP/interview/2001
Chanda/interview/2001
Kanchan/interview/2001
Kumari/interview/2001
Anjali/interview/2001
Catherine/interview/2001

Published documents
Consultant's report/2000
Organizational Development Consultant's report/2001
INORG Recruitment and Appointment Policy Document
Second Regional Collaborative Programme /1998
Consultant/gender monitoring report/1999

Integration Committee/report/2000

The Organization, Organizational Leaders and their Visions, Jan –Mar 2000: 33-36.

Quinquennial Review/2001: Report of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations of Third QQR Panel