# GENDER AND PRACTICE

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ADVANCES IN GENDER RESEARCH VOLUME 27

# GENDER AND PRACTICE: INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD

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# GENDER AND PRACTICE: INTRODUCTION TO INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD

Marcia Texler Segal, Kristy Kelly
and Vasilikie Demos

## ABSTRACT

*This introduction provides the history and rationale for this volume on gender and practice. The editors' broad conception of practice, especially gender practice, and the relationships among education, training, and practice, three sections into which the volume's chapters are grouped, are outlined. Connections between gender practice and the United Nations 17 Sustainable Development Goals are drawn. Each chapter is then summarized and relationships among them are highlighted.*

**Keywords:** Gender; feminist; women; practice; development; Sustainable Development Goals

**Gender and Practice: Insights from the Field** is the first of two volumes in *Advances in Gender Research* series that aims to forge a link between the study of gender and the praxis of gender. As series editors, Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal recognized that while the majority of the chapters in previous volumes had implications for practice or policy, none focused explicitly on the ways in which attempting to implement social change is gendered, nor on the relationships between gender scholarship and the work of those in the field, as also gendered. A workshop led by the Society of Gender Professionals (SGP) at a meeting of Sociologists for Women in Society provided the impetus to explore a

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collaboration with Kristy Kelly, one of its founders. Demos, Segal, and Kelly led a virtual Gender Café for SGP members during which practitioners responded that they were eager to share their experiences beyond the technical reports of their projects and to incorporate more theoretical perspectives. When we issued a call for proposals for a volume on gender and practice, we received many promising responses from the field, but also several from the academy describing attempts to implement change from a gender perspective. It was immediately apparent that if the majority of the proposals led to publishable chapters, the three of us had the material for not one, but two related, but independent, volumes.

Our definition of gender practice is broad and so we have included chapters that are about testing theory in practice as well as those developing theory from practice. We have included chapters that illuminate attempts to implement gender-specific goals, such as the empowering of women and girls; the ways in which feminist perspectives are critical to accomplishing goals that are not explicitly gender-specific, such as implementing agricultural improvements; and the complexity of feminist practitioner work in the organizations and institutions in which they are engaged. Our definition of the field is equally broad including any site, rural, urban, or institutional in any region or nation where gender practice occurs.

The first section of this volume examines practices aimed at engendering higher education settings or knowledge transfer processes taking place within them. Chapters focus on the Academy exploring both the need and the means to teach about gender and practice, and the ways in which gender-sensitive scholars and scholarship can bring about change. Education does not stop when students receive their diplomas. Some go on to teach other students or to lead educational institutions. The second section examines the role of training for feminist knowledge transfer in the spaces, places, and process of community action. Chapters in this section consider what makes for effective training in gender-related social change as well as what kinds of problems can develop in the course of such training.

The third section of this volume examines the specific context of knowledge transfer in the field. These chapters illustrate gender-conscious field work and the problems encountered in places as distant from each other as rural Tanzania is to the headquarters of the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in the United States. These chapters highlight the work that practitioners do in applying theory to practice, testing and evaluating programs and interventions, measuring impact, identifying gaps in understanding, and translating their gender knowledge into new fields. Together these three sections illustrate what is meant by feminist praxis as they put theory into action.

Feminist knowledge transfer is a key theme throughout the chapters in this volume, particularly in the context of global commitments to mainstream gender into organization and development policy-making, budgeting, program implementation, and assessment. Gender mainstreaming has been conceptualized as a strategy to ensure that gender and the goal of gender equality are central to all activities pertaining to development in order to bring about a transformative social change. However, implementation of this concept has proven to be problematic. It has sometimes led to a focus on women and the insertion of women into development while discounting, with at times disastrous results, men and

men's critical role in social action (Adusei-Asante, Hancock, & Oliveira, 2015). A better way to realize gender mainstreaming is by conceptualizing it as slow revolution with embodied individuals resisting gender inequality and reproducing gender equality on a day-by-day basis in intersectional settings, moving forward on gender equality, but also at times stepping back (Davids, van Driel, & Parren, 2014). The chapters included here illustrate this revolution as widespread and taking place both inside and outside mainstreaming institutions around the world. They also illustrate the complexity of knowledge transfer process to effective mainstreaming through education, training, and practice.

Among the insights we gleaned from the chapters in this volume is that even with the best of intentions, gender practice does not produce revolutions. Feminist administrators work within institutional constraints, professors teaching gender and development must begin where the students are, and change occurs incrementally. In the field, trainers must see their teams intersectionally, respecting each member while also needing to convince them of the value of collecting gender data. Some kinds of change, such as those involving cultural shifts, are more difficult to measure and take more time than others, for example, those involving increases in economic resources. Change on the ground requires support from governments, donors, and community leaders who may have conflicting goals and different understandings of gender than those held by the project team and the gender specialists.

Another key insight from the chapters in this volume is the central role that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) play in shaping and benchmarking progress in the work of many of our authors. In 2015, the United Nations General Assembly reached a consensus on working to achieve 17 interrelated SDGs by 2030. The goals are a product of three years of work and various previous agreements including the Beijing Platform for Action and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). They cover three areas of sustainable development: economic, social, and environmental. In addition to nation-states, other stakeholders including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), businesses and industry, and farmers are called on to help implement the goals. While the 2030 agenda does not have legal authority, it has the status of a high-level ministerial review with governments providing Voluntary National Reviews and nine major groups providing statements and reports to the UN (NGO Committee on the Status of Women/New York, 2019).

SDG 5 "to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" is the goal most relevant to this volume. Chapters explicitly or implicitly address this goal in various ways as they deal with measurements of gender equality/inequality, issues in establishing and maintaining organizations that promote gender equality, problems in training individuals about gender, and ways of helping victims of gender inequality. SDG 5 is a critical "stand alone" goal, but it is also one that intersects with each of the other 16 goals. The intersection of SDG 5 with other SDGs is clearly apparent in several of the chapters including in Allibay's chapter in which he shows how the first four of the SDGS pertaining to poverty, hunger, the lack of good health and wellbeing, and the lack of education, are all associated with gender victimization as manifested by women having the condition of fistula.

In 2015, the SDGs replaced the eight UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which had been heavily criticized for their absence of an environmental focus. The sustainable aspect of the SDGs has at its core a concern for the environment and the creation of a healthy future for all living beings. These concerns are directly articulated in a number of the SDGs and include clean water and sanitation (SDG 6), affordable and clean energy (7), and climate action (SDG 13). Writing about the use of biogas stoves by women in Nepal, Christoff and Sommer noted that in many instances women are viewed as victims rather than as actors in projects that address environmental issues. SDG 5 is about supporting and maintaining gender equality over time. The chapter by Chaudhuri and Morash addresses the variety of factors that impact the sustainability aspect of gender equality in locations like Gujarat, India. Other chapters such as the one by Kagoda speak to the potential presented by teaching about gender equality, but point to factors that make the products of such teaching unsustainable in locations such as the School of Education, Makerere University, Uganda.

In addition to the criticism directed toward the absence of attention to environmental concerns, the criticisms of the MDGs have been directed to the way in which development is defined. All too often, development has been defined in a binary way to speak about the developed world and the developing world with the latter considered inferior to the former. It has been pointed out that problems facing the developing world have been caused by the developed nations – ones thought to be superior. Environmental problems such as climate change have been perpetrated by the developed nations on the world, resulting in such effects as climate change and migration from an over-heated global south in which land can no longer provide sustenance to northern countries that reject the migrants. Further, it has been noted that the developed world has pockets of "underdevelopment" in which people suffer in ways similar to those suffering in developing nations. With the delineation of the SDGs, development has been re-defined to include concerns directed to all nations. In this volume SDG 5 is revealed to be a concern in the United States. Cossyleon's chapter about training low income mothers and grandmothers in Chicago to organize for community action is one such example, as is the chapter by Grosholz, Stone, Fleck, and Ngo which addresses human trafficking in the United States.

"Leave no one behind" is an important slogan associated with the SDGs, and it speaks directly to the consideration of SDG 5 and gender as a fluid concept, one applied to individuals who identify as non-binary as well as those who identify as binary and to others within the LGBTQI community. It also means a consideration of gender inequality as intersectional, that is, as it intersects with race, religious status, ethnicity, age, and other dimensions of inequality. It means a respect for all human beings including those who are ostracized or cast out. In this volume, Grosholz et al. show how the foundation Selah Freedom helps victims of sex trafficking leave "the life." Kelly's chapter on gender training in Vietnam shows the role local NGOs play, and particularly gender practitioners, in bringing rural communities into national mainstreaming policy.

The remainder of this introduction provides an overview of each of the chapters included in the volume and their connection to the themes of education, training, and practice.

## EDUCATION

In their chapter "Feminist Leadership in the Academy: Exploring Everyday Praxis," Kris de Welde, Marjukka Ollilainen, and Catherine Richards Solomon focus on the practice of feminist leadership in institutions of higher education in the United States. The three authors who employ the feminist principle of listing their names alphabetically, conducted 27 semi-structured interviews with self-identified feminist academic administrators. The interviewees represent different types of institutions and a range of academic positions from campus presidents to department heads though they are mostly white women (21) in social sciences (18) or humanities (9). From the interviews the authors identify five feminist values in leadership: inclusivity, empowerment, mindfulness of power and biases, transparency, and collaboration. Each of the values is illustrated by excerpts from the interviews offering examples of what each meant to the speaker and how she tried to implement it. Examples of specific initiatives and policies that impacted faculty members, students, or the whole campus are given. The authors conclude that these feminist administrators recognize the policies and practices that need to change and understand power, the constraints on their positions, and the university structures within which they must operate. Working from within these parameters, administrators cannot be revolutionaries. Rather, as these authors note, they "subvert, challenge or reject the kinds of practices that are essentially undermining higher education …." (p. 27).

Alice Merab Kagoda uses materials developed by the Forum of African Women Educationalists to define gender responsive pedagogy (GRP) and discusses the need for and barriers to its implementation in teacher training programs in "Gender and Education at Makerere University, Uganda." The author presents results of a small survey to demonstrate that teacher trainees and trainers do understand basic gender concepts, but may not have knowledge of, nor access to GRP. Kagoda points that out as do CohenMiller and Lewis in their chapter on a university in Kazakhstan. Uganda does have policies designed to promote gender awareness and empowerment and affirmative action and has increased women's enrollment in higher education. However, many barriers exist in a poor, mostly rural and ethnically diverse nation with strong patriarchal traditions. There are still few women lecturers and administrators and the outdated structure of the university, a remnant of colonialism, lacks funds making it difficult to institute the kinds of changes that would be needed to train teachers in GRP.

Kagoda is one of two faculty members who teach gender-related courses in the School of Education and supervise all graduate theses with gender components. Her chapter reads like an interview with one of the academic feminists conducted by de Welde et al.. Based on feminist principles and materials she has identified a change needed within her institution. She has an understanding of the barriers created by

the structures within which she is working, the power relations and financial limitations. Because the subject content courses taken by Makerere education students are taught in other schools, a gender audit of syllabi such as the one conducted by CohenMiller and Lewis might be a useful next step in creating a plan for an on-going evolutionary process to introduce GRP to Uganda's teacher trainers and trainees.

In "Gender Audit as Research Method for Organizational Learning and Change in Higher Education," A. S. CohenMiller and Jenifer L. Lewis focus on Nazarbayev University in the nation-state of Kazakhstan at a time when gender equality with the encouragement of the United Nations has become a priority issue. For their gender audit, the first step in gender mainstreaming, they analyzed syllabi from across the curriculum including from a first-year program and the graduate school of business. Among the analytic devices they used to determine the extent to which gender was a consideration in the university's academic program were keyword searches to locate the part of the syllabus in which gender is dominant, counting of readings according to the gender of authors, line by line analysis by constant comparison to identify new gender-related terms, and the counting of statements expressing a non-discriminatory class policy. One finding that surprised the authors was that out of 131 course syllabi analyzed, no course was taught with an overall gender-related topic.

While CohenMiller and Lewis's report was generally received positively by curriculum developers, faculty, and students, when they presented their findings and their recommendations for developing a more gender-relevant curriculum, they were met with some pushback. Some, for example, questioned the possibility of finding quality sources by women. To respond to such questions, the authors had established the Consortium of Gender Scholars to advise faculty and students. Thus, through their gender audit, the authors have modeled a method for undertaking a gender audit as the first step in gender mainstreaming; they have identified gender issues on their campus; and they have initiated action to deal with gender issues in their curriculum. Their work is similar to that of Kirsh in this volume in that it deals with feminist change within a complex organization.

Edwin S. Segal's chapter, "Why be Different? Teaching Development and Gendered Diversity," considers the challenges of trying to bring gender and international perspectives into undergraduate-level teaching when gender is already a priority. As a professor of anthropology with diverse international experiences as researcher and teacher, he discusses the particular trials and tribulations of attempting to introduce gender to his students in the United States. His chapter examines the inherent contradictions in teaching from anthropology and development textbooks that show development workers as "saving" local women, but at the same time asserting that anthropologists become sensitive to both etic and emic perspectives of their worldviews. By tracing the evolution of anthropology as a field, and its relationship to gender and development, Segal illuminates the tensions between theory and practice, textbooks and pedagogies, and teaching and learning in the Academy.

Segal's chapter differs from the others in this section. He is a professor who understands and uses GRP in a classroom where the gendered material is already present in the syllabus. His problem is finding a way to frame it for his students who share neither the practical experience of working in development, nor the

gender relations theory to understand how development itself can produce gender inequality. Through self-reflection of his own fieldwork experiences, and changes taking place in the neoliberal university, he offers strategies for bridging the divides between theory and practice through the use of pedagogies that illuminate both cultural variation on multiple levels, and the consequences of failing to consider how culture *and* gender inform education and teaching practices about development.

## TRAINING

In "'Don't Do Your Gender on Me!' Gender Mainstreaming and the Politics of Training in Vietnam," Kristy Kelly, who is a co-editor of this volume, provides a thick description of a gender training exercise. She takes the reader along for the ride to the site, sharing the conversations among the participants that reflect intersectional status issues, describing the complications that having an outsider along bring, and showing how gender was used to knock down bureaucratic roadblocks. Rather than focus on the materials and protocols available for gender training, Kelly illustrates the thinking behind gender training offering a critical analysis of the process itself. She shows the importance of using knowledge of local circumstances, such as very limited contact with outsiders, and local gendered expectations, such as the "heavenly mandate" that Vietnamese women have to give birth to and raise children, in the training process. She shows the work trainers do to adapt the manner in which they mobilize gender to the immediate situation where, for example, being perceived as a parent may be more important than being perceived as a feminist, or vice versa.

The team that Kelly shadowed was led by a seasoned gender expert, but included more junior members who were broadening their own understanding of gender both through team interaction and through the activities undertaken with the villagers. Their goal was to help the villagers see how daily life and access to development aid were impacted by gender and other forms of inequality. Quotations from both team and community members illustrate these processes and demonstrate how villagers and trainers actually learn from each other. Ridolfi, Stormer, and Mundy, whose work is summarized in the next paragraphs, also look critically at the training process, namely how a gender research team and project team can jointly develop materials and processes so that extensive gender data can be used to help shape the project.

Ramona Ridolfi, Ame Stormer and Gary Mundy use their work with Family Farms for the Future, a food production project in Cambodia, as an example. The authors from Helen Keller International (HKI) show, step by step, how they gathered and coded gender-relevant data, conducted a workshop that brought research staff and program staff together to share data and develop strategies to use it to transform the project. In their chapter, "Transforming Data into Action: Implementing Gender Analyses in Nutrition-Sensitive Agricultural Interventions: An experience from Cambodia," they relate how information from multiple points of view regarding food, food distribution, child-feeding and household

management, and decision-making were gathered in interviews and group activity sessions that included eligible women farmers, their husbands and family elders. After coding the responses, the authors held a workshop where research and project staff actively worked though the data and made recommendations for addressing gender inequality and integrating gender more fully into the project.

Suggested interventions included addressing technical issues such as increasing women's knowledge and skills and behavioral issues such as increasing community acceptance of the role of women as producers. Working with and modifying some project materials previously developed by HKI in a different location, they considered what sorts of activities might be incorporated in the project to address the issues. The chapter discusses limitations and challenges and provides all the materials discussed in an Appendix. Like the chapter by Kelly, the focus is on the training process rather the project itself. Kelly's discussion focuses on the interactions within the training team in Vietnam, while Ridolfi et al. in neighboring Cambodia detail the relationships between those gathering relevant gender data and those preparing to apply it.

Jennifer E. Cossyleon's chapter, " 'Power in Numbers': Marginalized Mothers Contesting Individualization through Grassroots Community Organizing," is an examination of the effects of the Community Organizing and Family Issues program based in local communities and primarily attended by lower income Black and Latina mothers and grandmothers for organizing community action. Cossyleon argues that the benefits of the program cannot be assessed in terms of quantified impacts and outcomes, but rather are demonstrated in the fieldwork and interviews she conducts. She notes that the refreshments provided, the child care given, and the travel facilitated, made it possible for women to come and participate in the trainings. Cossyleon demonstrates the success of the program through statements made by the participants about their empowerment and their belief in the power of numbers to introduce changes in the education system such as that in the "zero" tolerance discipline policy.

Cossyleon's focus on effective mothering is intersectional as she demonstrates the strength developed in the trainings by mothers and grandmothers on the margins. Similar to CohenMiller and Lewis, she focuses on education as an institution in need of change.

## PRACTICE

In "Treating Beyond Ailment: Fistula and Gender Vulnerabilities in Remote Tanzania," Bankole Allibay begins his chapter with a discussion of obstetric fistula as a medical condition that is virtually absent from the developed world, but common in Africa. Allibay, who is an environmental, social, and governance (ESG) consultant, came across "Summa," a woman living by herself without social ties on the edge of a Tanzanian forest in the course of his work assessing

vulnerabilities associated with a development project. Summa had vesicovaginal fistula, a condition characterized by an abnormal connection between the bladder and the vagina. This condition is associated with a foul odor due to the inability to control the flow of urine. With knowledge of a government program that paid for the surgical repair of fistula, Allibay was able to bring Summa to the local hospital and from there to the hospital in Dar es Saleem where her fistula was medically repaired. There, Allibay met several other fistula patients, four of whom he interviewed. He found that while the condition could be repaired, the causes of fistula and its consequences for girls and women are sociological with roots in gender inequality.

Allibay and his practice are clearly present in his chapter. As an ESG consultant, he demonstrates his expert knowledge of gender inequality on the macro-level identifying beliefs and practices detrimental to girls and women such as the idea that girls do not need education, that marrying off the girl child is a reasonable way to obtain a bride price to pay off a debt, that girls should become pregnant as soon as they marry, and that girls and women who have or have had fistula are witches. He shows his knowledge of government policies and services, the latter of which could be brought to the aid of Summa, and he shows his skills in moving Summa into and through the medical system. Implicit in his discussion of treating the immediate medical aspect of fistula is the need for general societal awareness of the Tanzanian government's program subsidizing treatment for the condition. Allibay's point, however, is that while it is possible to treat individual girls and women with fistula, to eradicate the problem, macro-level ideas and practices must be challenged. Allibay's background is in development, and like Grosholz et al.'s chapter on the treatment of sex-trafficked victims, he discusses the macro-level causes of the problem and the local-level practice addressing it.

In their chapter, "The Benefits of Long-term Treatment for Adult Victims of Sex Trafficking," Jessica M. Grosholz, Sandra S. Stone, Alexandra M. Fleck, and Fawn T. Ngo, discuss their evaluation of Selah Freedom, an anti-sex trafficking organization headquartered in southwest Florida. The authors provide a macro-level picture of sex trafficking, indicating that Florida, a popular tourist destination in the United States, is a prime location for the crime. They note, that having become aware that children were being sex trafficked in their southwest Florida community, Elizabeth Melendez-Fisher, Misty Stinson, and Laurie Swink were prompted to found Selah Freedom. As of this writing, in addition to its headquarters, the organization has offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York City.

For their chapter, Grosholz et al. focus on the Florida office of Selah Freedom and use interviews with clients, staff, and residents to identify the benefits of its outreach and residence programs. Given that there are relatively few programs for sex-trafficked adults, each program is geared to address survivors 18 years of age and older, with the residence program having an upper limit of 29 years. To provide outreach to those who are sex trafficked and to help them leave "the life," staff work on the streets and in the jails, and they

partner with police. Once a sex-trafficked survivor is committed to changing her life around, she is eligible for the residence program, which consists of several phases and takes approximately two years. Sex-trafficked girls and women face multiple challenges leaving the trauma of their sex-trafficked lives, and both the outreach and residence programs provide multiple wrap-around services including counseling and advice on education and jobs. In addition to pointing out the benefits of these programs, Grosholz et al. identify some of the current limitations such as a need for more diversity in both staff and clients. Similar to Allibay's chapter on helping fistula victims, they point to ways in which a macro-level gender problem is handled locally on the micro level, dealing with one individual at a time. Their focus on a sex trafficking treatment center in the United States nicely illustrates the relevance of the SDGs to all parts of the world.

In "Analyzing the Importance of Funding for Gender Focused Empowerment Programs," Soma Chaudhuri and Merry Morash look at the fate of two programs in Gujarat, India in the light of the fact that Gujarat has been declared "developed" and a "model state," which has led external funding for women's empowerment and violence against women projects to drop off. The principle external funding source remaining is corporate social responsibility. The analysis is based on interviews over a seven-year period with 251 women participants in two organizations and also includes participant observation. One organization is socio-cultural aiming to serve poor women who have been exposed to domestic violence. Local leaders are trained as links between the women in need and the relevant resources and agencies. Until 2012, the organization had major NGO funding. The other organization, a trade union for self-employed women, has an economic focus. It has government grants and corporate as well as some NGO funding and also trains local leaders. The second organization has been able to continue to recruit and train new leaders and maintain its programs. Because of its contacts, the leaders of this organization are occasionally, but not routinely, also able to assist with domestic violence cases. Owing to lack of funds, the first organization has not been able to continue recruiting despite the fact that it does have the structure to link those affected by domestic violence with assistance. Chaudhuri and Morash conclude that it is faster and easier to measure the impact of and maintain support for organizations with economic goals. Those with socio-cultural goals require the accomplishment of widespread social change and need more time to demonstrate measurable impact.

Chaudhuri and Morash found that the participating leaders lost interest when there was no economic support for their organization and no economic incentives for them personally. The novel approach evaluated by Peg Christoff and Jamie M. Sommer in "Restructuring Women's Leadership in Climate Solutions: Analyzing the W+™ Standard" addresses those issues by attempting to develop a mechanism that would stimulate widespread external funding and offer financial support to project participants based on the value in time and effort of their participation.

Their chapter begins with a critical review of the ways that development projects have been planned, funded, and evaluated in the past – top-down with

assessments based on the goals of the funders and no attempt to take note of unanticipated results as recommended by Ridolfi et al. Christoff and Sommer also point out that in the past, women have been seen as relevant to climate change efforts, but only as victims, not actors. With both these ideas in mind they introduce the W+™ Standard developed and tested by Jeannette Gurung who they interviewed and whose theory of change is graphically illustrated. The W+™ Standard is analogous to the carbon credit model. In their test project, women in Nepal used biomass converter cook stoves and biogas digesters. A formula calculated the economic value of their activities, for example, time and resources saved by not gathering wood for cooking. The idea is that people could be asked to support projects that meet the W+™ Standard through Gurung's organization, Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture and Natural Resource Management (WOCAN), and some of the funds would go directly to the women participating in the projects. The authors evaluate this approach as a promising one and encourage the development of others that address the issues raised. They supply detailed questions that can be used in gender-related project development and evaluation.

In "Being a Feminist Applied Sociologist in a Non-profit Testing and Research Organization: Encouraging Fairness in Measurement and Management Practices," Barbara Kirsh provides an account of her personal development as a feminist practitioner and how this has informed her work practices. She begins with high school, when in her senior year, having earned the right to the position of school newspaper editor, she was overlooked in favor of a boy with less experience and in his junior year, and though an excellent student, she was discouraged by her guidance counselor from applying to college. She notes the satisfaction of her years of study at an all-women's college, followed by the sexism she experienced in graduate school that led to her terminating her studies early and beginning her career as a feminist applied sociologist working at the Educational Testing Service (ETS).

Kirsh discusses her 47-year-old tenure at ETS, revealing how she benefitted in her early years as a researcher from an environment that fostered the feminist value of work-life balance, and that allowed her to return to graduate school and complete her doctorate in sociology. She explains this was a setting in which she could pursue various interests including one on the concept of gender and status among preschoolers. She notes how in her later years as an administrator in the organization, she was able to further the feminist value of fairness serving on critical committees and managing an annual audit of test programs with the goal of developing a standard of testing that was fair with respect to gender, race, and disability status. She describes working to make ETS more inclusive, noting that in 1996 the company medical benefit included gay and lesbian partners. Thus, Kirsh's development as a feminist applied sociologist is intertwined with changes in ETS. Kirsh's chapter illustrates the power of individuals as agents of change whether focused on development practice as described by Allibay, or within complex global organizations as described in chapters by de Welde et al. and CohenMiller and Lewis.

In summary, what each of the chapters in this volume have in common is recognition that change is incremental; that it often requires concerted coordinated effort among a variety of actors working inside, outside, and alongside

mainstream institutions; that theory is linked to practice and that practice generates theory; and that feminist knowledge transfer is essential to the work of changing the relations of power. Together the chapters in this volume show how those working inside the academy and in practitioner settings are raising awareness and understanding of the dynamics and consequences of gender inequality. While their positions are identifiably different, they share similar struggles in shaping a more gender-just world.

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