
UNIT: 9 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

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9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the thirty years since Ester Boserup published her classic study, 'Woman's Role in Economic Development' (1970), two major approaches have dominated the field. The women in development (WID) model challenged the male bias in foreign assistance in the 1970s, and the gender and development (GAD) approach, which emerged in the late 1980s, put women and development in the context of gender power relations.

9.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the shift happened in the internal system to mainstream gender;
- Examine the supply side approach to development process and gender; and
- Analyze the impact created by various measures to mainstream gender.

9.3 SHIFTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: 1975-1990s

Since 1975, when women met in Mexico City for the first conference of what became the UN Decade for Women, the international system has undergone three significant shifts associated with, although not entirely caused by, changes in U. S. foreign policy.

In the 1970s, the United Nations General Assembly, following the logic of dependency theory, was calling for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) that would substantially redistribute resources from the wealthy North to the underdeveloped South. Under President Jimmy Carter (1976-80), the United States, defeated in Vietnam, tried to become a better global citizen. Carter negotiated the Panama Canal treaties, broke red the Camp David agreements, and argued that the United States should accept environmental limits to growth.

The election of Ronald Reagan (1980-88) reversed those trends. The Reagan administration rejected the Keynesian consensus that had guided U.S. policy since the Depression. With strong support from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Reagan promoted open markets and opposed statism at home and abroad. Helped by the debt crisis, the neoliberal reformers cut a wide swath. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) began to condition its loans on the adoption of structural adjustment programmes (SAPS), which reduced the role of the state, privatized assets, and opened up many of the world's economies to expanded foreign trade and investment.

In the early 1990s, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the adoption of market reforms in the former Eastern bloc and their consolidation in China further buttressed the neoliberal model against those who had begun to document its human costs. Democratization created tensions between economic and political reforms. Those who lost jobs, social services, and economic opportunities as a result of government cutbacks and lowered tariff barriers expressed their discontent through the ballot box, but to little avail as presidents elected on platforms to resist IMF reforms often succumbed to international pressures once elected. The end of the Eastern bloc produced a single international finance and trade system, further reinforcing the market model.

The 1990s were also marked by new forms of resistance, including the Zapatista revolt in Chiapas, the rise of such populist leaders as Hugo Chavez in Latin America, the

resistance of indigenous movements, and protests in Seattle, Cancun, and elsewhere against the World Trade Organization and other symbols of globalization. Criticism of the way the IMF handled the Asian currency crises indicated that the Consensus might be breaking down.

The United States had preponderant power in the 1990S but used it ambivalently. After the first Gulf war, US. interventions in the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Somalia, and Kosovo were carried out under multilateral mandates but were not popular at home, The events of September 11, 2001, moved the United States from debating the costs and benefits of humanitarian interventions to preventive war. The invasion of Iraq undermined the Western alliance, weakened the United Nations, and likely increased the likelihood of terrorist attacks around the globe.

US. policy alone does not determine what happens in the international system. But changes in the U.S. leadership have set the tone for international politics since World War II. Recent administrations have remained wedded to an economic model that is not only globalizing but hostile to the state, and there is no alternative in sight, whether the international opposition to US. Unilateralism will create space for challenges to US. leadership-and to economic orthodoxy – is possible, but not a likely outcome.

9.4 INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND THE UN CONFERENCES ON WOMEN

The foregoing brief history of international politics over the last thirty years ignores an important phenomenon: the dramatic rise of women's movements over these same three decades, which has given women greater voice and has increased their access to political power. In this period, women's movements have brought about unprecedented changes in women's roles and status. But the wave of women's empowerment may have reached its peak. It is clear that, without continued efforts to increase women's control over resources, current gains could be lost.

After the establishment of the United Nations at the close of World War II (sex was included among the forms of discrimination banned by its charter), a few women on the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), led by Finnish feminist Helvi Sipilä, worked within the UN to raise women's issues. In 1970, the CSW succeeded in getting

the General Assembly to pass a resolution encouraging "full integration of women in the total development effort" (Tinker 1990b, 29). In 1972 the General Assembly declared 1975 International Women's Year (IWY), and in 1974 it approved a conference on women, to take place in Mexico City 1975.

Most CSW efforts had focused on improving women's legal status, But in the 1960s and 70S, the UN General Assembly was gripped by the issue of development. Its deliberations were strongly influenced by dependency theory, the view that the South was not merely undeveloped but had been exploited by the North through decades, even centuries, of unequal trade, Declaring the 1970S the Second Development Decade, the General Assembly called for transfers of capital and technology from North to South and the stabilization of the prices of prime products, which comprised the bulk of Third World exports.

In June 1975, just prior to the Mexico City conference, the American Association for the Advancement of Science brought together 95 women and men from 55 countries to discuss women and development. The seminar focused on the lack of reliable data on women's economic participation). It "naively assumed," as organizer Irene Tinker later wrote, "that correcting the biases of data concerning women's work and exposing the constraints on women's education and credit would automatically solve many [gender] inequalities as planners incorporated the new data 'and insights into their programming" (Tinker 1990a, 5).

Efforts to put women on the development agenda in the 1970S coincided with the recognition on the part of many donors that their programmes had not "trickled down" to the poor. Under the leadership of Robert McNamara (1968-81), the World Bank adopted Basic Human Needs as a priority. Although the Bank remained firmly in the hands of economists, anthropologists and other social scientists joined its and other donor staffs, providing a more sympathetic audience to those concerned about sex discrimination, Private philanthropic institutions like the Ford Foundation (Flora, 1982) joined the Rockefeller Foundation (long known for its health and Population programmes) as significant players in the emerging "development community.

The Mexico "Plan of Action" called upon governments, the private sector, and UN agencies to take specific actions to remedy "sex" disparities. It focused on women's legal

rights and economic disadvantages, but skirted the issue of political representation, which was not surprising given that the majority of the delegations represented countries under authoritarian rule. The process of preparing for the conference had the unintended effect of raising political awareness of women's issues in many countries and provided an excuse for women to meet, sowing the seeds for a subsequent wave of women's organizing. Those from the North who attended the official meeting and the parallel NGO Tribune in Mexico City expected to focus on feminist issues. However, the official debates soon revealed deep divisions between North and South. U. S. feminists who attended the Tribune looked forward to a spirit of global sisterhood, but soon learned that most Third World women rejected "feminism" as hostile to men and believed that economic exploitation by the North, not patriarchy, was the major cause of women's oppression.

After IWY the General Assembly declared 1975-85 the Decade for Women, men's movements grew exponentially, organizing to address issues from human rights and the environment to day care, health, and reproductive rights. Some groups were organized by donor agencies as a means to extend credit and training more effectively, while local self-help organizations proliferated to provide safety nets for those pushed further into poverty by the economic crises of the 1980s. Over the Decade (1975-85), as assumptions about international feminist solidarity were questioned, the issue of violence against women emerged as a shared concern that could bring women together across national, class, and cultural divides.

The Mid-Decade Conference in 1980, hastily switched to Copenhagen from Teheran after the Iranian revolution in 1979, was highly politicized. By contrast, the End of the Decade meeting in Nairobi in 1985 was relatively harmonious and, at U.S. insistence, the language of the final document was decided by consensus. The Decade was a spur to women's organizing and helped to create transnational networks of women's groups. Women's organizations used the commitments their governments made in Mexico City, Copenhagen, and Nairobi to lobby for more egalitarian legislation at home. By the 1990s, most of the world's governments (but not the United States) had ratified the 1979 Convention the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Check Your Progress Exercise 1:

- Note:** a) Use the space given below to answer the questions.
b) Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit.

1) What is Mexico Plan of Action?

9.5 THE PERCY AMENDMENT AND THE WID OFFICE IN USAID

After Mexico City, "women in development" was quickly adopted as a goal by many national governments and foreign assistance agencies. On the United States, Congress had passed an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act in 1973 calling for the establishment of an Office of Women in Development in the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and encouraged other donors to "give specific attention" to women (Kardam 1997; Stuardt 1985). The Percy Amendment (named after the senator who carried the bill in Congress) passed at the height of a wave of feminist legislative reform in the United States, the year the Supreme Court legalized abortion. Antifeminist backlash soon followed, which succeeded in preventing the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and, some have argued, created a constituency of "angry white men" that is still having an impact on U. S. politics

But the mood in 1976 was progressive. Jimmy Carter was elected in the wake of the Watergate scandal that had forced President Nixon out of office. Carter's campaign took the moral high road, suggesting that the United States was now willing to accept some responsibility for the mistakes of the Vietnam War and to stop giving unquestioned support to anticommunist dictators. President Carter became actively engaged in the North/South dialogue and issued a report recognizing environmental limits to growth. He gave Pat Derian, the female head of the State Department's new human rights office, substantial leeway to criticize human rights violations in countries such as Argentina and Chile, which had been staunch Cold war allies of the United States.

Carter appointed Arvonne Fraser to head the WID Office at USAID (AID/ WID). Fraser, who had chaired Carter's Midwestern campaign, hired an activist academic as her deputy, incorporated academic researchers into her policy team, and commissioned research that could be translated into WID initiatives. Her connections with grassroots women's groups and her political network in Washington helped her move WID higher up on USAID'S agenda. The Percy Amendment lacked specific guidance on how its mandate should be carried out. Many in USAID were sympathetic to doing "something" about women, but others resisted, ridiculing advocates as "women's libbers" and labeling WID a "culturally inappropriate" policy that would damage USAID'S credibility (Staudt, 1985).

In this environment, a simplified version of Ester Boserup's thesis in woman's Role in Economic Development became a useful tool for WID advocates. In the 1970S, fearing the "population bomb" and the possibility of famine, USAID was oriented toward agricultural development.

Boserup's analysis of the gendered impact of colonialism in Africa-that cash or cropping and technology transfer to men had disturbed earlier patterns of male/ female complementarity in food production and household management-made it, possible to argue that colonialism, not African tradition or inexorable market forces, had disadvantaged women. In the West, and in the minds of most men working at USAID, progress meant increasing the "family wage" of the male household head, who was supposed to take care of his dependent wife (or wives) and children. In many parts of Africa, however, women remained obliged to meet specific household expenses, including children's schooling, out those responsibilities were not taken into account in programmes designed to increase agricultural production. Armed with Boserup's thesis, WID advocates could argue that programmes that directed resources to women, including training and agricultural inputs, would improve food production, family welfare, and women's equity-without violating cultural norms. The WID Office also looked at urban women and the problem of women-headed households (Buvinic and Youssef, 1978), estimated to be as many as one-third of households worldwide. Income generation projects were developed to increase women's economic independence and ameliorate poverty.

By 1980, the WID office could show some successes (Staudt 1985), but the WID approach was beginning to draw serious criticism. Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen (1981) criticized WID as a Band-aid treating the symptom (women's poverty) but not the illness (capitalist development). Dependency theorists focused on the lack of attention to women's unpaid labor, which was often increased by development projects that seemed to assume women had free time. Canadian scholar Adele Mueller argued that WID turned women into "clients," removing them "from active and authentic participation in public life." In her view, WID supported a development discourse that amounted to a "strategy for producing and maintaining First World dominance in the capitalist world order," although Mueller conceded that feminist reform within aid bureaucracies was the only way for women to gain access to "even a small portion of the millions of dollars which circulate from the First to the Third World".

WID did open up a new debate over how resources should be allocated at a time when foreign assistance played a greater role in international capital flows than is the case today.

9.6 THE 1980S: REAGAN, THATCHER, AND THE "SUPPLY SIDE" APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

The U. S. elections in 1980 were a stunning defeat for Jimmy Carter who, in the view of the victorious Reagan administration, had "lost" Afghanistan, Iran, and Nicaragua to a Soviet bloc bent on expansion. President Reagan was convinced the United States should reassert its strategic power. He found a ready ally in Britain's Margaret Thatcher.

The Reagan administration's foreign policy was also influenced by those in the United States who were hostile to the United Nations, skeptical of the NIEO, and critical of arguments for "concessions" to the South. The rapid expansion of UN membership to include the "newly emerging nations" had produced vocal Third World caucuses in the General Assembly, including the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement. With the cooperation of the Eastern bloc, and with the countries of Western Europe often abstaining, the United States was increasingly isolated (Jaquette 1995).

In response, the United States withdrew from UNESCO and stopped fully paying its UN dues. Reagan was elected by a large margin in 1980 and felt he had a mandate to change

foreign policy. His administration got tough with the Soviets, denied that the North was responsible in any way for the economic weakness of the economies of the South, and dismissed Carter's concern for environmental limits to growth as too pessimistic. Responding to the religious right, which had mobilized against the legalization of abortion and to defeat the ERA, Reagan stopped U.S. funding for international population programmes. The United States, which had earlier pushed population control without attending to women's choices, now attacked China for its "coercive" one child policy.

In this changed environment, the WID Office in USAID took a much lower profile and concentrated on internal training and supported micro enterprise projects, in keeping with the new emphasis on market-based development. Leadership on WID issues began to shift to other institutions, including the Canadian and Northern European bilateral aid agencies, UN agencies, private foundations, and NGOs.

The debt crisis and the emerging Washington Consensus provided the opening for international financial institutions to impose structural adjustment reforms. In conventional economic terms, SAPS were justifiable. Government regulations, inefficient state ownership of enterprises, high external deficits, and runaway inflation had distorted investment decisions and, along with high tariffs and opportunities for rent-seeking provided by the state's over involvement in the economy, could plausibly be cited as causes of low growth and high prices to consumers. The structural adjustment "cure" called for cutting tariffs and lowering barriers to foreign capital, controlling inflation by reducing government spending, and privatizing state-owned enterprises. High growth rates in the export promoting Asian "tigers" (Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore) and Chile's adoption of an open, market-based economy under Augusto Pinochet were cited to prove that the model worked.

In many countries, however, the implementation of structural adjustment policies had devastating social consequences, hitting the middle class and the poor (e.g., Bakker, 1994) as well as small and medium local enterprises, which were unable to compete. Unemployment rose, government services were severely cut back, and price controls, which many governments had used to keep down the cost of basic goods and services, were phased out. In Latin America, where SAPs were widely adopted, incomes fell for

most of the "Lost Decade" of the 1980s. But these reforms did not produce sustained growth, and the gap between rich and poor world wide grew larger.

Women were the first to feel the effects of these policies and women's organizations were the first to make the connections between global development and everyday life. In Latin America, women were increasingly pushed into the labor force, often taking part-time and marginal jobs and in some cases driving even lower class, less skilled men further down the employment ladder or into joblessness. Women (and men) moved into the informal sector and into homework, that is, industrial piecework done at home. In some countries, women organized neighborhood self-help organizations, including communal kitchens and consumer boycott groups (Lind 1997; Jaquette 1989). Although donors began to provide safety nets to counteract the social costs of structural adjustment (Elson 1995; Aslanbeigui et al. 1994; Cagatay et al. 1995; Datta and Kornberg 20(2), the earlier notion of assisting women in development was replaced by fears of the feminization of poverty. The fact that structural adjustment took place in a strongly pro-market, antistate environment was critical, postponing needed reforms in state capacity and preempting all arguments for redistributive policies (Jaquette 2003).

Check Your Progress Exercise 2:

Note: a) Use the space given below to answer the questions.

b) Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the drawback of Percy amendment?

9.7 THE 1990S: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The 1990S created an unanticipated unipolar world. The first President Bush (1988-92) organized a broad coalition, under the auspices of the United Nations, to force Saddam Hussein to relinquish Kuwait. Victory in Iraq did not guarantee his reelection, however.

Bill Clinton tried to position himself as part of a "Third Way," joining Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroeder as a group of young leaders seeking a more socially responsible capitalism (J.Richardson 2001, 1992-2000). Despite his doubts, Clinton eventually supported the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and worked with the UN and NATO, engaging in "humanitarian" interventions in the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Somalia, and Kosovo, although not Rwanda (Halberstam 2001). He restored funding to international family planning programmes.

The global context of foreign assistance was also shifting once again. As GAD advocates worked to "get the institutions right," as Anne Marie Goetz (1997) put it, the international system was moving further away from state-led development. Public capital flows were strongly outpaced by private capital, except for the poorest countries. Short-term private investment flows into emerging markets in Eastern Europe, Russia, Latin America, and Southeast Asia produced a new round of crises due to capital volatility. Democratization gave some donors, including USAID, new direction, shifting resources from economic growth to political institution-building and support for civil society (Carothers 1999; Lewis and Wallace 2000).

In the 1990s, women's international networks showed they could effectively influence the outcomes of UN conferences. The environment became the organizational focus of NGOS like WEDO (Women's Environment and Development Organization) which helped coordinate NGO strategies at the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992 and the UN International Conference on Population and Development ICPD in Cairo in 1994 (Higer 1999, 134). In Cairo, the international women's health movement-which had been in the making since the 1960s when heavy-handed U.S. population control policies had provoked feminist as well as nationalist resistance-came into its own, the result of an effective women's caucus, greater feminist representation on national delegations, and more lenient accreditation rules for NGOS attending UN meetings. Cairo dealt with controversial issues such as abortion, female circumcision, and violence against women (Higer 1999,136-38; Stienstra 2000) and put women's fertility choices in a larger context, including women's access to education and credit.

Women also made important gains at the 1993 UN Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. The conflict in Bosnia made it easier for the international community to accept

that rape was a "weapon of war" and toward accepting the view that "women's rights are human rights." In 1993, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration against Violence Against Women by a unanimous vote. UNIFEM, which had resisted adding women's rights to its programmes throughout the 1980s began to treat violence against women as a development issue (Joachim 1999, 152-57).

The conferences on environment, human rights, and population were major advances in progressive international norm-setting and proved that women's movements could work cross-nationally within the UN context (Meyer and Prugl 1999). But there were signs that the progressive phase of women's international organizing might have peaked; successes in Vienna and Cairo came under attack from the left and the right.

Among human rights activists there was a similar split between those who saw human rights in individual and political terms and those who believed that human rights should include economic and social rights.

More ominously, in Cairo there were early signs of a growing conservative backlash that gained greater strength at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The Vatican, backed by some Middle Eastern and Latin American countries, contested the word "gender" everywhere it appeared in the Beijing Platform of Action. Conservatives challenged the idea that sex roles are "constructed," calling the concept of "gender" an attack on traditional, heterosexual definitions of the family. Feeling they had lost the battle in Cairo, conservative groups came better prepared to Beijing, claiming that feminist NGOs had distorted the draft platform, that heterosexuality was determined by nature and supported by religious belief, and that feminism was an "ideology" that most women did not share, even in the West. After Beijing, many feared that future global conferences might reverse the feminist advances already made. Concerns about backlash affected planning for Beijing+ 5 and Beijing to activities.

In this more conservative environment, many felt GAD offered a way to extend the life of the dependency and socialist critiques of capitalism that had become difficult to sustain in the neoliberal policy climate. But GAD advocates did not push an anticapitalist agenda for the same reasons that WID advocates had not done so. Like WID, GAD was funded by donor agencies in states committed to liberal capitalism. During the 1990s, as persistently low growth rates and increasing inequalities made the promises of

neoliberalism appear to ring hollow, GAD was no better equipped than WID to counter the neoliberal agenda. Increasingly anti-capitalist critics, male and female, found a platform in antiglobalization movements. Grassroots women are taking significant roles on the local level in these movements but women's issues have been marginalized and women movements are not seen as important social actors in the push for radical change. Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum put women at the center of their "capabilities" approach to development, drawing attention to the devastating impact of inequalities on the life chances of individuals (Nussbaum 2000; A. Sen 1992, 1999). DAWN continued to contest top-down development while feminist economists critiqued the masculinist assumptions of neoclassical economics (e.g., Folbre 2001) and structural adjustment (Cagatay et al, 2000). Others documented the continuing exploitation of, and resistance by, women workers in export production and in the international trafficking of prostitutes and domestic workers.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3:

Note: a) Use the space given below to answer the questions.

b) Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the significance of International Conference on Population and Development ICPD in Cairo?

9.8 SUMMING UP

During the course of the last thirty years, shifts in the international system opened new opportunities and created new challenges to addressing the strategic and practical interests of women. Liberal egalitarian feminism and a generally Keynesian developmental model opened the door to WID in the 1970s; the debt crisis and the conservative revolution of the 1980s produced SAPS, but also antifeminist backlash.

Multiculturalism and the rise of women's organizations shaped a more culturally sensitive, participatory approach to foreign assistance but have made it difficult to make claims for women as a whole. Democratization expanded the development agenda and increased support for women's organizations, but civil society groups feared co-optation and were unable to mount a significant challenge to neoliberalism.

As the new century began, there were signs that GAD was losing momentum. Mainstreaming had not redirected a significantly greater proportion of development assistance to women, and GAD criteria were not fully internalized by donor agency management and staff. Empowerment did not have the radicalizing effects its advocates had hoped for.

The location and scale of GAD empowerment initiatives diffused their impact while allowing advocates to avoid potentially divisive debates within donor bureaucracies. Donors (and scholars) often simply substituted the word "gender" for "women".

Sometimes gendered approaches actually redistributed resources from women to men, despite the paltry spending on women. Finally, the shift from what Nancy Fraser (1998) called the "politics of redistribution" to the "politics of recognition" depoliticized economic disparities.

UNIFEM'S Beijing and Beyond (1996), an institutional public relations report, painted a picture of progress on gender equity till the 1990s. It identified successful projects from women's banking and microcredit to women's rights, women refugees, women's health, and women's growing roles in political leadership; gave space to Third World voices, from DAWN to the Asian Indigenous Women's Network; and featured the views of women in leadership positions in UN agencies. But another UNIFEM report (Heyzer 1995), directed toward a narrower audience knowledgeable about the field, and offered a more critical assessment of progress, emphasizing the negative effects on women of the globalization of trade and increases in intrastate conflict. An acerbic essay on mainstreaming in this collection (Longwe, 1995) suggests that male bureaucratic resistance to integrating gender into development planning has not changed much from the early days of WID.

September 11 marks another shift in the international system. It seems clear that military power is again at the center of international politics, and this "war" is likely to have

profound effects on domestic and international issues from civil liberties to migration. The U. S. unilateralism has brought the future of multilateral institutions into question and is testing the limits of international law. The second Bush administration treats women's rights instrumentally, using accounts of women's oppression to demonize its enemies and portraying its desire to "liberate" women as evidence of its good intentions. Both WID and GAD succeeded in turning complex intellectual critiques into effective arguments for changing bureaucratic priorities and practices within donor agencies; both contributed to bringing women into development discourse and to shaping new international norms. This suggests that theory can affect practice.

9.9 GLOSSARY

Anti-capitalism: Anti-capitalism describes a wide variety of movements, ideas, and attitudes that oppose capitalism. Anti-capitalists, in the strict sense of the word, are those who wish to completely replace capitalism with another system.

Eastern Bloc: Eastern Bloc or Communist Bloc refers to the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe, generally the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

Neoliberalism: Neoliberalism is most commonly used to refer to economic liberalizations, free trade and open markets, privatization, deregulation, and enhancing the role of the private sector in modern society.

Statism: Statism is a term used by political scientists to describe the belief that a government should control either economic or social policy or both to some degree

Unilateralism: A tendency of nations to conduct their foreign affairs individualistically, characterized by minimal consultation and involvement with other nations, even their allies.

9.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1:

1. The Mexico "Plan of Action" called upon governments, the private sector, and UN agencies to take specific actions to remedy "sex" disparities. It focused on women's legal rights and economic disadvantages, but skirted the issue of

political representation, which was not surprising given that the majority of the delegations represented countries under authoritarian rule.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2:

1. The Percy Amendment lacked specific guidance on how its mandate should be carried out. Many in USAID were sympathetic to doing "something" about women, but others resisted, ridiculing advocates as "women's libbers" and labeling WID a "culturally inappropriate" policy that would damage USAID'S credibility.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3:

1. It dealt with controversial issues such as abortion, female circumcision, and violence against women and put women's fertility choices in a larger context, including women's access to education and credit.

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9.12 QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND PRACTICE

1. Explain the shift in international system which happened to promote gender equality and equity.
2. Analyze Thatcher's approach to development.
3. Examine the impact created by structural adjustment programme on gender issues.

