

larger economic burden. Yet, there is no quality of government that exceeds its desire to involve itself down to the most local level of its population, in part certainly to be able to claim some equality of care of its citizens but, almost as surely, to regulate and control them as well. It is at this point that exists the juncture between state and local aspirations for development.

There is no doubt that some local development projects have to fit into a wider development scheme. For example, and short of particular political claims to the local, it would be rather pointless developing a local educational facility if the language being taught was not consistent with a wider literacy programme: so too a road project, in which roads to a proposed bridge faced each other at points that did not correspond. Equally, however, the one-size-fits-all model of development can also fail to address specific local needs, impose inappropriate development and silence the voice of the local community. Even with the best of intentions, external authorities can only rarely presume to know how people think without actually asking them. Added to this, of course, are all the usual inefficiencies of a larger hierarchical or bureaucratic structure, the continuation of patron-client relations, modified forms of economic status and deference, and the consequent potential for corruption and reduction of service at the final point of the process.

It is not accurate to say that all the problems of development decision-making can be resolved by devolving responsibility for such decisions to the local level. Even amongst local communities, there are specific interests, conflicts and tensions that can and do derail local decision-making processes, or which default to traditional, often non-representative and usually exclusive power structures. There are also problems with awareness and education, and technical competence. These are real issues that need to be addressed. Yet, in acknowledging such issues, the legitimacy of direct representation in local decision-making remains valid, the sensitivity and awareness to local needs, concerns, and values is most acute at the local level, and the capacity for inclusiveness in and, hence, ownership of the development process is greatest at the local level. Development is not just about the accumulation of material resources but about the allocation of such resources. The decision-making process that determines such allocation is a key development issue.

Chapter 10

Gender and Development

Janet Hunt

Whatever the prevailing trend in development, one thing remains constant. Gender implications of development processes are neglected. In the early post-war years, when the concept of 'development' evolved, issues of gender equity were not even considered relevant to the economic development of third-world countries. Today, after much debate about approaches to development, significant advances made during the United Nations Decade for Women 1975-85, and following a period of crisis, debt and adjustment in the eighties and nineties, the challenge of making development gender-equitable remains a significant one. The issue which emerged from feminist analysis of, and activism about, development has become 'diluted, denatured and depoliticised, included everywhere as an afterthought' (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead 2004: 1). Indeed, as Cornwall et al. recognize, "gender" has become something everyone knows they are supposed to do something about' but 'everyone sighs' (Cornwall, Harrison, and Whitehead 2004: 1).

Yet gender inequality remains a feature of every region in the world, though it is most pronounced in South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. Women are said to be 70 per cent of the world's poor; have only about 10 per cent of all parliamentary seats in most countries; and in developing countries, on average, they earn only 73 per cent of male earnings. There is not a single developing country in which women and men enjoy equal rights under the law. In particular women are discriminated against in areas such as their right to land and property and their right to conduct business independently (World Bank 2001b; UNDP 1995; UNIFEM 2000). The result is that women are more vulnerable to poverty than men, especially as a result of widowhood, separation or divorce, and the consequent loss of access to productive assets, although equating women-headed households with poverty is oversimplistic, as Chant (2004) emphasizes.

The future will remain unequal in many parts of the world. Girls represent 54-7 per cent of all children not enrolled in school worldwide (UN Millennium Project 2005: 42). In sub-Saharan Africa, the gender

gap in school enrolment remained much the same for the twenty-year period 1970–90, although there have been improvements in absolute enrolments in the last decade. The female enrolment rate in sub-Saharan Africa has increased from 19.4 per cent in 1990 to 29.7 per cent in 2000 while the male rate increased from 24.9 per cent to 35.6 per cent over the same period (UN Millennium Project 2005: 44–5). Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia stand out as regions where the gender gap is slow to close. Denied education, poor girls will grow up to become poor women and the cycle will continue.

Sex and gender: what are we talking about?

In raising the issues of gender inequality, early writers focused on *women* in development. A shift in emphasis to *gender* in the last decade of the twentieth century signalled a change in perspective and approach. While women and men differ biologically – that is their *sex* is different – the behaviour and socially learned characteristics associated with their maleness or femaleness, is their *gender*. The learned behaviours and roles associated with being male and female may vary from culture to culture. For example, in one culture males take care of money. In another, it is the women who control the purse strings. Thus roles associated with each gender may vary from place to place, as well as over time. In the economic sphere, men and women often undertake different activities. Women may plant certain crops; men may plant others. Harvest work may be gender-specific. Men may take care of large animals, women the small ones. Men may hunt; women may gather berries, fruits and wild foods. But in each setting, we have to be clear what the roles are and how they interrelate.

A study of rural households in Vietnam, for example (Kabeer and Anh 2000) noted that Vietnamese women have always been active traders, making up half the trading labour force in the 1960s unlike their counterparts in South Asia and the Middle East, who comprised only about 10 per cent of traders at that time. By the late 1990s in Vietnam, some 90 per cent of men and women were involved in income-earning economic activities, but women were more likely than men to be found in 'catering, food and beverage manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and garment and leather industries. Men predominated (80 per cent) in storage and transport services, mining and fishing.' (Kabeer and Anh 2000: 11). In terms of agricultural labour, Kabeer and Anh cite research from the Red River Delta which indicates that women alone were 'largely responsible for sowing, transplanting and weeding; both men and women were active in soil preparation and in harvesting. Animal

husbandry was women's responsibility in about 50 per cent of households and a joint activity in 33 per cent. Homestead gardening was done solely by women in 30 per cent of households and jointly in 43 per cent.' (Kabeer and Anh 2000: 12). Such detailed and localized analysis is required to identify gender roles and responsibilities, and thus to identify appropriate development strategies.

Early development workers, however, made false assumptions, largely based on their own experience of male and female roles in Europe and North America in the early 1900s. It was assumed that women's roles were largely as mothers and 'housewives' in the European sense. Their extremely significant *economic* roles in the household or as farmers were entirely overlooked. As early as 1929, Nigerian women were resisting their loss of land and their reduced status as farmers, as a result of colonists' efforts to 'modernize' agriculture (Boserup 1970; Mies 1986).

Thus early development projects ignored women and neglected to understand the diverse roles they were playing in social and economic life. As a result, some projects made life worse for women, depriving them of land which was taken over for the development project's crops, denying them access to technical assistance, providing resources, training and education to men, and often, unknowingly adding to women's work burden (Rogers 1980). Any income from the 'development' activities went straight to the men, creating wider inequalities than already existed.

One early example of a failed project resulting from such assumptions is documented by Dey (1982). The project attempted to promote irrigated rice-growing in the Gambia by offering incentives such as credit and cheap inputs as well as marketing assistance to men. Worse, the land proposed for irrigated rice farming was actually common land over which women had use-rights. Women's traditional subsistence rice-growing was forced onto marginal lands and women showed little enthusiasm for their new role as labourers in the irrigated ricelands. The result was a very disappointing one for the project and disruption to women's previous rice production for home consumption and exchange.

Where there were development activities for women, they were generally either mother-child health projects (generally with more focus on the child than the mother) or family planning projects to encourage women to adopt family planning methods to reduce population growth (Rogers 1980). Women were seen only as mothers, often of too many children! Such projects did nothing to enhance women's status or promote their equality, although they may have been of some practical support.

Integrating women into development

Ester Boserup's seminal work, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), challenged all this. The book documented different household and farming systems in Asia and Africa, pointing out that there were vast differences between the social and economic arrangements in the various household types, and in what she termed male and female farming systems. She observed that women played a very active role in agriculture in Africa, particularly in areas of extensive farming and shifting cultivation. In Asia, on the other hand, in intensive, settled agriculture where the plough was used, women took a far lesser role and their labour was replaced by male landless labourers. She drew attention to the significance of land tenure arrangements and stimulated a plethora of empirical research to explore these issues in many different contexts. Boserup also drew attention to the economic significance of polygamous households where extra wives provided a source of free agricultural labour to the household. The European nuclear family model was shown to be a context-specific arrangement, not a universal model. Furthermore, she argued that women could play a much more active role in industrial development and the modern sector and that economic growth would be enhanced if this were encouraged. Her view was that, contrary to popular belief, women would not take jobs from men but would expand the available labour force and hence the opportunities for economic growth (Boserup 1970).

Boserup's work stimulated the emergence of the Women In Development movement (Moser 1993), a movement which was gaining strength at the same time as the movement for the New International Economic Order, in the mid-1970s. While the latter movement argued for a redistribution of the world's resources in favour of developing countries, women argued for a redistribution to balance gender inequalities.

The Women in Development (WID) movement embraced modernization and argued that women should be 'integrated' into development. If there was to be economic growth, women were to contribute to it and get their fair share of its benefits: women's subsistence farming should be given access to credit and extension services equally with men; women should have equal access to educational opportunities to give them the opportunity to participate in the modern sector. The language of 'efficiency' was adopted by the WID advocates, to convince development planners to involve women in development. It was a language the latter understood, although it was clear they had little idea how to implement the approach (Rogers 1980; Moser 1993).

Early efforts to respond to WID advocates resulted in the establishment of Women's Projects and Women's Desks in development agencies.

They tended to be peripheral to the main development effort going on which simply remained unchanged. Thus projects for women were supported in areas such as 'home economics' and traditional crafts, as well as credit for income-generation. The theory was that women's poverty resulted from their underdevelopment, and all that was required for development to occur was to increase their productivity through provision of credit (Moser 1991). Many of the credit programmes were poorly conceived and managed and they often turned into welfare-type projects which avoided any resource competition with men (Buvinic 1986).

The mainstream of development was barely touched. Even as late as 1995, a study by Jahan of four major donors and two Southern aid-recipient countries found that the donor agencies had taken the easy path and avoided hard choices, 'creating underfunded mandates, adding a few projects to their existing portfolios, and supporting research, training and the development of operational tools and techniques' (Jahan 1995: 126). WID had become a technical fix, not an agency for empowering women and genuinely transforming development. WID training, WID guidelines and WID checklists were all embraced with differing degrees of comprehension and commitment (Jahan 1995). But the fundamental development theories on which the whole development 'project' rested were not up for question.

Women and development: a new critique

While modernization was being critiqued by the school of dependency theorists, feminists were developing their own Marxist-based critique of modernization. Marxist feminists saw that the accumulation of capital resulted not simply from the exploitation of 'peripheral' countries, but from the free subsidy of women's unpaid reproductive and subsistence labour. Maria Mies argued that capitalism could not spread without the subjugation and exploitation of women (Mies 1986). Her research found that, contrary to former belief that men were the preferred labour force, women were being employed in some key areas at lower wages and in poor conditions. She found that poorly paid 'compliant' women were the labour force of choice in many multinational companies, particularly in the electronics, textile and garment industries in free trade zones, and in large commercial agricultural companies. Their work was seen as 'supplementary' to the male 'breadwinner' so they were paid less, and their employment was often on a casual basis, making them vulnerable. Women had indeed been integrated into development, but in such a way as to perpetuate inequality and their own subordination (Mies 1986: 114).

Anything between 60 per cent and 90 per cent of Asia's one million workers in free trade zones in 1986 were women, typically earning only 50–75 per cent of male wages, working long hours – 12–14 hour days are common – and in poor health conditions. The garment factories are often damp, crowded, noisy and poorly lit, and women are at risk of allergic reactions from chemical dyes. In the electronics industry women are vulnerable to a range of hazards, such as acids, solvents, and carcinogenic chemicals (Mies 1986; Pyle and Dawson 1990; Pearson 2001). Mies' case that low-paid women are being exploited for capitalist development seems borne out by the evidence of the free trade zone experience – a significant part of such countries' export-oriented national development policies (Pyle and Dawson 1990).

Mies' work was published a year after the Nairobi Women's Conference to mark the end of the UN Decade for Women. At Nairobi, a new 'southern' women's network, 'DAWN' (Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era), also made a strong critique of current development approaches, with the publication of Gita Sen and Caren Grown's Book, *Development Crisis and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives* (Sen and Grown 1987).

In the introduction to their book, Sen and Grown explain that implicit in many of the activities and discussions about women and development it is assumed that,

women's main problem in the Third World has been insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process of growth and development. Increasing women's participation and improving their shares in resources, land, employment and income relative to men were seen as necessary and sufficient to effect dramatic changes in their economic and social position. Our experiences now lead us to challenge this belief ... A development process that shrinks and poisons the pie available to poor people and then leaves women scrambling for a relatively larger share is not in women's interest ... Equality for women is impossible within the existing economic, political and cultural processes that reserve resources, power and control for small sections of people. But neither is development possible without greater equity for and participation by women. (Sen and Grown 1987: 11, 15)

Thus the DAWN women were also challenging the Women in Development (WID) approach and its assumption that modernization just needed to incorporate women.

DAWN, and many women working in non-government development organizations around the world, recognized that to challenge this development orthodoxy, women needed to be mobilized and empowered to realize a different development vision.

Gender and development

The focus on women's empowerment became one thread in the next phase of work to promote gender equity in development. But the main thrust was to shift attention from women themselves to the *relations between men and women* and particularly to analyse the unequal power relations between them at every level, from the household to the national economy. Gender workers recognized that all social, political and economic structures needed to be examined in this light, with the intention of transforming development to become a more gender-equitable process (United Nations 1999).

Development organizations replaced their Women in Development policies with Gender and Development Policies, guidelines and procedures. These were supported by Gender Analysis Training, Gender Planning approaches, and an attempt to achieve 'Gender Mainstreaming' across the institutions (Rathgeber 1990; Ostergaard 1992; Moser 1993).

An important contribution to the analytical work was made by Caroline Moser (Moser 1993). She distinguished between women's 'practical' and 'strategic' needs, and highlighted the interrelationships between women's different roles – reproductive, productive and community managing. Women's 'practical needs' were those which resulted from their current subordinated position and might include assistance in areas such as education, improved health care, agricultural advice, etc. But their strategic needs are those which might help to transform their situation. These might include legal reform to remove gender discrimination; an end to violence against women; and more politically aware, active and better organized women. Such changes would contribute to an end to women's subordination. Moser challenged development programmes to address women's strategic gender needs, not just their practical ones. Her call for better understanding of women's triple roles would also help shape development programmes to avoid increasing women's workload, and focus on improving their lives.

At the same time feminist economists were trying to deal with economic models of the household which were still far from accurate. In general, development economists have treated the household as a single unit and much data collected at the household level is not gender-disaggregated. Bina Agarwal (1997a) has developed a gendered 'bargaining model' of the household which explores how men and women interact within households to meet their subsistence needs, have access to resources necessary for subsistence and frame the 'social norms' within which such bargaining takes place. In addition she outlines the external factors in the market, at the community level and at the level of the state, which shape the bargaining power available to different

household members. Thus a woman's ability to bargain favourably to have equal access to resources for subsistence, such as land, may be affected by laws relating to inheritance, her access to government officials who deal with land registration matters, her educational level and legal literacy, the community's view about the legitimacy of her claim (whatever its legal merits) and her ability to support herself independent of counter-claimants (such as brothers or uncles) (Agarwal 1997a: 14).

Such detailed analysis of gender at the household level and its interaction with wider societal factors presents a further challenge to development planners to check their assumptions, carry out their prior research and pay greater attention to the gendered effects of different policies and programmes.

Gender and adjustment

While efforts were under way to make development policies and programmes more gender-sensitive, many countries were facing enormous problems of indebtedness. From the early 1980s, the Philippines, Mexico and many African countries were soon undergoing the rigours of structural adjustment. Governments had to reduce spending, currencies were devalued and there was a strong push to trade more and open the economies to foreign investment (Beneria 1999).

As the DAWN women explained in Nairobi, women became the 'shock absorbers' in this process. In the name of 'economic efficiency', the policies shifted a considerable burden onto women to make up for the austerity measures which were imposed. At the household level, women's workloads increased as they struggled to make ends meet and provide for their families.

The effects on women of structural adjustment programmes have been well documented (see, for example, Commonwealth Expert Group 1989; Elson 1991; Sparr 1994; Beneria 1999; De Pauli 2000; Floro and Schaeffer 2001). As formal sector employment shrank for both men and women, women increased their activity in the informal sector, working long hours in petty trading, selling sweets and drinks, cooked food, handcrafts and the like, as well as making clothes and other small items such as purses, bags and baskets. The informal sector workforce in Zambia almost doubled in the period 1986-96 during Zambia's adjustment process, with women comprising over two thirds of the 3.4 million informal sector workers in 1996 (Floro and Schaeffer 2001).

The cutbacks in public expenditure on food subsidies, health care and education hit women too. As income fell, food prices rose for many

staples, such as maize in Africa, rice in Asia, and oil and cooking fuel. Women were faced with trying to provide for their families on less. They extended their food growing to try to overcome the impact of reduced household income. But even those who grew food were not immune from the crisis. Zambia, for example, deregulated the price of maize which tripled in cost. However, the increase in income for women maize farmers was insufficient to offset a sevenfold increase in the price of fertilizers. Many small maize farmers (mostly women) went out of business and maize output fell by 46 per cent (Floro and Schaeffer 2001).

The reduced health services meant that mothers with sick children might have to walk much further than before for any medical help, the cost of drugs increased, and generally health suffered, particularly as women often ate less and anaemia increased. The introduction of user-pays fees in education often meant that the girl children of the family dropped out of school, leaving boys to continue (Sparr 1994).

Not all women were affected negatively. The employment effects of export promotion varied from place to place, with some women gaining employment and increased status. In the Philippines there was a growth in urban industrial employment, especially for young women, but this was mainly focused in the garment and electronics industries in the free trade zones. However, in the rural areas the shift from maize for home consumption to sugar for export displaced women agricultural workers as men were hired to cut the sugar cane (Floro and Schaeffer 2001).

Overall, though, it became widely recognized that the gender impacts of structural adjustment policies had been overlooked and women were bearing the brunt of them. This only served to reinforce feminists' views that current development approaches were negative for women. It also highlighted the need for women to focus on macroeconomic policies rather than just development programmes, since the gender impacts of these policies could be significant and widespread.

Gender and the environment

By the early 1990s, global attention shifted to the environment. Women became actively involved in lobbying around the 1992 Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro, as it offered another opportunity, seven years after the end of the Decade for Women, for women to mobilize globally to have an impact on policies and programmes in an area of deep concern.

Women have been intimately concerned with environmental problems in many parts of the world, often being the ones who felt the effects of environmental destruction most keenly. In Kenya, the Green Belt Movement, a national women's movement, has had a massive impact

through its collection of indigenous seeds, development of tree nurseries and tree-planting programmes across the country (Rodda 1991). In North India, the 'Chipko' movement of women made world news by hugging trees to stop them being felled (Shiva 1989). In Papua New Guinea, women have actively opposed logging operations which have affected their environment and their livelihoods.

Women mobilized extremely effectively around the Rio Earth Summit to gain valuable commitments to the recognition of women's role as environmental managers and to enable women to participate more in environmental decision-making. However, the central assumption of the final statement, that more economic growth is needed to provide the resources to solve the world's environment problems, is seen as an inherent contradiction by many feminists (Braidotti et al. 1997). Indeed, writers and activists such as Vandana Shiva see this approach as nothing less than destructive maldevelopment.

Shiva's ecofeminist views derive from her experience working with Indian peasant women farmers coupled with her intellectual critique of western science. Shiva says that western patriarchal science is reductionist – that is, it reduces everything to its parts. It achieved dominance as a mode of thinking by: 'excluding other knowers and ways of knowing ... in contrast to the organic metaphors, in which concepts of order and power were based on interconnectedness and reciprocity, the metaphor of nature as a machine was based on the assumption of separability and manipulability' (Shiva 1989: 22). Shiva contrasts this mode of thinking with the Indian cosmology which is holistic, creative, dynamic and integrated. The relational aspects of all parts of life and nature are understood. She contrasts the way women have traditionally managed food, water and forest resources in a sustainable manner, and how new approaches (e.g., the 'Green Revolution') have damaged the ecology and undermined women's traditional methods of nurturing their environment. One example she cites is the introduction of high yielding, short-stalked strains of irrigated sorghum in South Asia. These were grown alongside local drought-resistant sorghum varieties traditionally interspersed with other crops such as pulses and green leafy vegetables, including the highly nutritious *bathua* and a drought-resistant crop called *save*. The new high yield varieties of sorghum needed large quantities of water and pesticides. The latter then destroyed the predators to a pest, the *midge*, which attacked the local sorghum, eventually wiping it out. This led to a severe reduction in sorghum straw, an important fodder crop for the livestock, leading to a reduction in the number of animals a family could keep. This in turn reduced the natural fertilizer available. Thus, in Shiva's view, the scientists and agricultural 'experts' who focused on increasing the output of one crop,

sorghum, neglected to recognize that the traditional farming system was a complex and ecologically balanced one, with multiple produce that withstood drought conditions and provided good nutrition for growers' families. There was no miracle of high yields in the new system when the total production of the old one was taken into account. In fact, the new varieties left people far more vulnerable to crop failure in drought conditions (Shiva 1989: 122–31).

Wee and Heyzer (1995) recognize that some women have benefited from prevailing patterns of growth but their concern, like Shiva's, is the depletion of the natural resource base on which rural women in particular, but in the end all of us, depend. Thus their main concern is extreme global inequality and the fact that a small percentage of people and corporations can control so much of the natural resource base – they can deplete it to enrich themselves but in the process they impoverish others. It is the relationship between the creation and appropriation of wealth and the creation of poverty which is the significant concern that they address.

The issue of shrimp-farming in the Philippines, Thailand, Bangladesh, India and Malaysia illustrates their point very clearly. These countries have provided favoured sites for aquaculture farms which produce tiger prawns and other marine produce for export, particularly to the USA, Europe and Japan. These are huge commercial ventures, quite different from traditional aquaculture which has been practised sustainably for generations. The new systems destroy wetlands and mangroves and displace traditional fisherfolk; they create huge amounts of waste and draw not only on sea water but on large quantities of ground water as well, depleting the water sources for local people. In India, scientists found that the new systems caused many 'serious social and ecological effects, including the spread of salt water over farms (causing a loss of agricultural lands and drinking water); loss of mangrove ecosystems; loss of landing grounds for traditional fishermen; increased health ailments of people living nearby due to pollution; increased unemployment due to displacement of livelihood in surrounding communities.' The benefits, of course, go to the companies but the considerable costs are borne by local people and local authorities (Wee and Heyzer 1995: 114–15).

Wee and Heyzer argue that what is required is that the many realities experienced by different people need to be reflected in development decision-making. The current development paradigm, based as it is on a single world view which makes others' views invisible, has to be challenged by alternative realities. The empowerment of poor women so that their reality can count as much as anyone else's, is critical to this transformation of development. They suggest that the efforts to make visible (and to place a value on) women's unpaid work, and the hidden

free subsidies which the natural environment provides to development, is an important part of the process of making alternative realities visible.

In line with this, Marilyn Waring (1988) has developed a pithy critique of the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA), the system used by all countries to establish their economic results. As she so clearly demonstrates, women's unpaid work and the 'free' contribution of nature is never valued, and hence not recognized in the national accounts of nations. This results from a series of gender-blind bureaucratic decisions about definitions of what is measured. A huge amount of women's reproductive work is excluded. If such services were provided commercially – water and fuel purchased from utility companies, food bought in the market, meals purchased in a restaurant and childcare provided in a childcare centre, all this would be included in the national accounts. But when a woman provides it herself, she is a housewife, economically inactive! Lewenhak (1992) has provided detailed proposals about how women's work could be valued and counted for national statistics, but as yet, no country has adopted such an approach, although some are developing 'satellite accounts' to value women's unpaid work, as recommended in the Beijing Platform for Action (United Nations 1995).

Post-modernism and difference

The post-modernist school of thought, which questions the 'grand theories' of the past and the idea that rational thinking and technological solutions will bring 'progress' to the world, reinforces Wee and Heyzer's view that what is needed to transform development is to open it up to different voices, different meaning systems and different realities.

Post-modernists draw attention to how the category 'woman' or 'man' is constructed, and how particular categories of women (poor women, third-world women, Asian women, Muslim women) are created, and by whom. Mohanty has been particularly critical of western feminists who have presented the 'third-world woman' as implicitly, if not explicitly, 'ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimised, etc.' ... in contrast to western women 'as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions' (Mohanty 1997: 80). Such categorization has colonialist overtones and is firmly (and correctly) rejected by feminist writers from the developing world. The 'women in development' literature has unfortunately been the most prevalent source of such representation of women in the developing world.

Parpart's 'feminist post-modern critique' of much development discourse highlights the significance of 'difference' in gender debates.

As she explains, the practical implications of this critique are to get planners to take seriously the realities of women's lives, especially to explore different women's views about what changes they want from development: 'this approach to development recognizes the connection between knowledge, language and power, and seeks to understand local knowledge(s), both as sites of resistance and power' (Parpart 1995: 264).

It is this perspective that demonstrates the importance of women being organized, documenting their own lives from their own perspectives as subjects, not objects, of research (validating their own knowledge), and having a key role in development decision-making. This is particularly important for minority women, indigenous women, women who are old, or who have disabilities, or who may be particularly marginalized in development planning. Yet such women may not readily want to form groups, except perhaps in crises (Khan 2000).

However, the global political climate of recent years, with its emphasis on 'identity politics', is at the same time a troubling development for women's rights and women's voices. As Molyneux and Razavi recognize, attacks on women's rights have 'resulted from the resurgence of religious identities that include the assertion of "traditional" gender roles and systems of authority' (Molyneux and Razavi 2005: 1000). They appreciate that some women align themselves with such movements in the face of powerful actors – national or foreign – as part of a backlash against globalization and 'modernity', consumerism and excessive libertarianism. Feminists, particularly those in the Muslim world, have promoted alternative interpretations of religious texts which support gender equity to counter this trend but the political environment is not always safe for debate and dialogue of this nature. Development actors concerned to promote gender equity confront significant challenges in such contexts where power is held by fundamentalists of any religion, or where women and their identities become pawns in complex tribal, political and religious conflicts.

On a more positive note, the focus on gender, combined with the whole focus on how categories and meanings are constructed, has finally also led to some focus on men and 'masculinity' in development. An important issue to explore is how men contribute to reproducing inequalities in gender relations, and how they can help transform the situation (Greig et al. 2000). There are complex issues involved, as men all benefit from their gender privilege in relation to women, but recent work is suggesting that, as some men's traditional roles disappear or change following economic restructuring, they are left with very low self-esteem which manifests itself through their descent into alcoholism and increased violence and abuse towards women (Snyder and Tadesse 1997;

Narayan et al. 2000; Silberschmidt 2001). Their definitions of 'masculinity' appear to be challenged by their new circumstances.

Other writers recognize that men themselves are caught within the dominant definitions of masculinity and argue that it is in many men's interests to promote different masculinities and challenge the dominant gender norms which constrain them (Ruxton 2004; Karkara et al. 2005; Esplen 2006). From a development perspective, it seems critical to engage with men, particularly young men, if gender inequalities are to be reduced. Issues such as HIV AIDS, reproductive health and violence against women cannot be resolved unless men are engaged and change their behaviours. Various strategies and programmes are now under way which encourage men to play positive roles in sexual relationships, fathering and family care, and preventing violence and conflict, with some clear lessons emerging. These generally indicate that successful approaches draw on men's sense of responsibility, their power to contribute to change for the better, and are built on positive behaviours rather than attributing blame (Ruxton 2004; Esplen 2006).

Community development approaches

The latest approaches to development are inclined to be more participative and inclusive than in the past but we have to ask what happens in gender terms when participative methodologies are used. It is not at all clear that gender equity will result from more community participation, particularly unless special measures are put in place to give voice to the views and wishes of women, especially women who may be more marginal in the community (Gujit and Shah 1998).

Community participation approaches, such as Participatory Rural Appraisal, can easily lead to a false consensus being derived from the views of those with power and influence in a community. Thus the views of the most significant problems and appropriate strategies to address them can overlook issues which it is difficult for women to raise, particularly while men are present. An obvious example would be domestic violence, which is unlikely to be raised using the methodologies of mapping, village transects and other visual tools, nor while the perpetrators are present (Gujit and Shah 1998; Cornwall 2001). Separate opportunities for women to participate are necessary but in some parts of the world not always easy to arrange where women are secluded or accompanied by male relatives wherever they go.

The complexities of communities have often been overlooked and, as Cornwall explains, one cannot assume that women's interests will always compete with men's, or that all women will have an investment in

changing the status quo. Women in positions of privilege may well resist change designed to benefit poorer women. Facilitators of community participation approaches need to be sensitive to gender and power dynamics within a community and have strategies to address them.

Too often, culture and tradition has been used to prevent women overcoming discrimination and enjoying basic human rights. It is easy for men to suggest that feminist ideas from the West are being brought into a developing country in a colonial manner. However, things are rarely that simple. In all countries there are local women who are struggling for women's rights – whether this be to prevent violence against women, female genital mutilation and so-called 'honour killings', or to achieve equality under the law, access to education or adequate sexual and reproductive health care, protection of their environments and adequate income. In a globalized world they are likely to have information from women elsewhere that may help or inspire them but their efforts are grounded in their own experience and reality. Women are struggling for their own empowerment in many different ways.

The concept of women's empowerment is itself an interesting one. Jo Rowlands (Rowlands 1998) has identified different approaches to power: power *over* (a relationship of domination and subordination); power *to* (having decision-making or problem-solving power); power *with* (people organizing together to achieve their goals) and power *within* (self-confidence to act). As she points out, the women's movement has stressed the last two forms of empowerment, noting that empowerment is not simply about offering opportunities for participation in decision-making but encouraging people to have confidence and a sense of entitlement to participate. Naila Kabeer (1999, 2005) sees empowerment as about the 'ability to make choices' in the face of genuine alternatives which women themselves can recognize. Often power may be unquestioned, for example by women who accept violence against them or less access to food than men as 'normal', and hence not subject to change. Alternatively, as Sharp et al. (2003) illustrate in relation to Bedouin women, women may enter a 'patriarchal bargain' with men, operating within certain constraints in order to receive protections, and perhaps not distinguishing their interests as separate from those of their families. Unless women can choose to challenge such power relations, Kabeer argues, they cannot be said to be empowered. This usually begins with a change in the power *within*. Resources are needed to exercise choice, thus agency must be combined with the necessary resources to act. Finally, Kabeer differentiates between agency which helps women carry out their existing roles more effectively (passive agency) and that which helps them address the patriarchal constraints they experience

(transformative agency). It is the latter, she says, which is truly empowering (Kabeer 2005: 15).

However, in the development world, the concept of empowerment has been interpreted largely to mean economic empowerment of individual women through credit programmes (Oxaal and Baden 1997). While these may have been valuable, the social aspects of empowerment may have been more important to women than the economic benefits alone. Kilby (2001) explores what Indian women in self-help groups define as their own empowerment. Their responses were all about their own personal 'agency' (Kilby 2001). Indeed, the changes which seemed most significant to them related to power *within* themselves and power *with* the other group members.

The approach to empowerment articulated by groups such as DAWN (Sen and Grown 1987) gives strong emphasis to women organizing themselves to achieve significant structural changes, such as legal reform to end gender discrimination, campaigns for reproductive rights and to prevent violence against women, and mobilization of women for political participation. The need for such an approach is very evident. To achieve gender equitable development, one needs many factors in place:

- a legal and institutional environment which promotes gender equity rather than reinforcing gender discrimination;
- women organized and vigilant at national, regional and local levels to ensure that laws, policies and programmes are consistent with gender equity, and to promote proactive approaches to improving the situation of women;
- individual women with self-esteem and confidence to actively participate and negotiate on their own behalf at the level of the household, community and nation;
- men willing to recognize that gender oppression affects them, too, and able to subject 'masculinity' to critical scrutiny in terms of how it affects them, as well as openness to change the way they benefit from their gendered privilege from the household to the international level.

Clearly, if the community development and women's empowerment approach is the development approach for the future, development planners and workers need a better understanding of gender dynamics within community development processes, and they need a more sophisticated understanding of women's empowerment, at different levels and in different spheres, whether political, economic, social, or personal. For example, having a gender equality clause in a constitution will have little if any practical effect on the ground if it is not developed into specific laws in areas such as discrimination in employment, land

inheritance, access to services and prevention of violence against women. Furthermore, such laws will be of little practical use if women are unaware of them or if it is difficult, or impossible, to get them enforced. Thus top-down strategies must be complemented (if not preceded) by community-level strategies which might have practical benefits for women. For example, the use of community-shaming strategies may be of more practical use to prevent men being violent to women than distant laws in a country where the legal system is weak and obtaining justice is expensive.

Cambodia is one country with a relatively recent constitution, which has a gender equity clause. However, the situation in Cambodia remains extremely tough for women. Narayan et al. (2000) report that many young women have gone into sex work for survival. Poor women they interviewed offered three reasons for the dramatic increase in young women taking up this work:

First, most families face acute shortages of money and everyone will have to work hard. Second, farm work is less and less available and so girls seek non-farm employment. Third, as instances of domestic violence increase, divorce rates have surged in Cambodia. After separation she has no means of subsistence, and she has no right to the family land. (Narayan et al. 2000: 193)

Gender inequities in relation to land, the prevalence of domestic violence and the scarcity of alternative employment opportunities are forcing young women into a trade that endangers their health (through transmission of HIV AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases) and leaves them socially vulnerable. The reality falls far short of the aspirations in the constitution.

Similarly in Afghanistan, the January 2004 constitutional guarantee of women's equality means little in a dangerous security environment, where livelihoods are precarious and much of the economy is criminalized. Furthermore, as Kandiyoti illustrates, 'the issue of women's rights continues to occupy a highly politicised and sensitive place in the struggles between contending political factions in Afghanistan' (Kandiyoti 2005: vii). Women's vulnerability is affected by complex intersecting historical and current factors, despite the very courageous leadership some women have displayed.

Gender and globalization: the way ahead

Whilst a shift to a more participatory and community-oriented approach to development is welcome, it is clear that it may not automatically

improve gender equity. Furthermore the major trends of globalization may have far wider gender effects that must not be ignored. Globalization of economies cannot be separated from globalization of political ideas and movements; as Heinonen says, 'globalization creates uniformity, but it has also created resistance to uniformity,' as culture, religion and gendered identities of women and men are mobilized to express local identities of resistance (Heinonen 2006).

Globalization of economies is driven to a large degree by trade policies. Most trade agreements make no reference to gender equality and are implemented with no consideration of the gender implications (Espino 2000). Research on the gender effects of trade liberalization indicates complex findings, mainly because the gender impacts vary according to a range of factors, particularly women's role in the export sectors of specific national economies. Women may gain employment in new industries but compete with each other internationally to provide cheap labour for manufactured exports, thereby undercutting each other's wages or conditions (Williams 2005). For example, women who make traditional Kenyan sisal bags are losing market share to cheap Asian copies. Promotion of export-oriented agriculture may also be at the cost of women's subsistence agriculture, with a range of flow-on nutritional and health effects.

The interaction of gender inequality and trade can also have diverse effects on different women within a nation. Cardero (2000) studied the gender effects of structural adjustment and trade liberalization in Mexico over the period 1980-97. NAFTA entered into force in 1994 but the whole period was one of economic restructuring and change. Women's employment in Mexico increased more rapidly than men's but over 70 per cent of the jobs are in services, the retail sector and informal sector. NAFTA appeared to stimulate a huge rise in jobs for women but most were in food processing (tortilla making). However, pay has dropped significantly (22 per cent in 1995 alone). Women have also been increasing their employment in agriculture, but their piece-work hours in the agricultural export sector have lengthened and they still undertake all the household work. Two thirds of women working in agriculture earn no wages (Fontana et al. 1998).

In the textile and apparel industries, the picture is complex but it seems that the absolute number of jobs has increased significantly; relative to men, however, women's proportion of those jobs has reduced. Women are also overwhelmingly represented in the low-skilled, low-paid positions, with men three times more likely to be in technical or managerial positions. Many of the new jobs for women are in small enterprises where conditions are poor and wage rates have fallen significantly (in the garment industry, wages almost halved between

1980 and 1996). Substantial growth has taken place in the 'in-bond' maquiladoras but a geographical differentiation has also occurred, with more women employed in maquiladoras in some of the central provinces away from the US border and men's employment growing in the more high-tech plants close to the border. The wages are lower in the fast-growing in-bond areas than other manufacturing sectors and women's wages are lower than men's (Cardero 2000).

Another major study (Fontana et al. 1998) examined the gendered employment effects of trade liberalization on six countries: Ghana, Uganda, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Jamaica. Fontana et al. found that trade liberalization had different impacts for men and women in different contexts and these were related to factors such as 'gendered patterns of rights in resources, female labour force participation rates, education levels and gaps by gender and patterns of labour market discrimination and segregation, as well as socio-cultural environments' (Fontana et al. 1998: 2).

They note the growth of female employment in the export-oriented manufacturing industries, especially in Asia, as well as in Latin America and the Caribbean, and suggest that this has had beneficial effects for younger women. They recognize, however, that there are issues to do with employment conditions and longer-term benefits.

Their findings indicate that women benefit most:

- where wages for women relative to men are highest;
- where new trade-related employment represents the greatest increase in income-earning opportunities compared to alternatives;
- where new opportunities entail the greatest change in social practices of seclusion and subordination of women. (Fontana et al. 1998: 48)

But the picture in sub-Saharan Africa is rather different. There, women have not generally benefited from increased agricultural export production, as they have limited land rights and their unpaid labour is used without them gaining control of the income. Worse, their labour may be diverted from subsistence crop production and the nutritional status of the household may suffer, or girls may be kept out of school to take up that work. Fontana et al. comment: 'there is a danger that the intensification of female labour in export production, often unpaid, may undermine other developmental gains, particularly in the education and health status of women and girls' (Fontana et al. 1998: 48).

These general findings lead them to suggest two major areas of policy action:

- in countries where female participation in wage labour in export industries is high, emphasis on reducing labour market discrimination;

- in countries where agriculture is the main focus of export activity, emphasis on strengthening and enforcing women's property rights in land. (Fontana et al. 1998: 48)

They highlight the need for action to reduce gender discrimination against women in employment conditions, and promote women workers' rights, and the particular need to address the situation of women outworkers and those working in the informal sector. Again, the need to support the organization and advocacy efforts of women workers is emphasized.

Another macroeconomic area with little understood gender effects is financial liberalization, including exchange rate depreciations. Zammit (2000) has undertaken a study of the gender implications of rapid movements of capital, and to the extent that such movements plunge economies (such as Indonesia's in 1997) into crisis, the effects are likely to be differentiated by gender, with women suffering more, particularly if the downturn is long and deep. Stotsky (2006) also draws attention to the gendered effects of exchange rate depreciations which may differ according to whether women are largely engaged in subsistence agriculture (in which case it may push costs up and have negative effects) or in export industries which may benefit from new jobs.

Gender and governance

Thus at the global level what is emerging is a dual-track system of rule-making within which gender equity advocates are operating. On the one hand, there is the system of human rights instruments, and 'soft law' agreements negotiated through the series of United Nations Conferences throughout the 1980s and 1990s aiming to achieve gender equity. The Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action are the key documents within this system. In contrast, the global rules system, which has far more impact due to its tough penalty regime, is the system of rules for trade and financial services which is increasingly brought under the oversight of the World Trade Organization. This system operates without any serious consideration of gender equity concerns. Sadly, there is no connection between these two rules systems. This suggests a need for reform of global governance structures to bring these systems into alignment and ensure that trade and financial liberalization takes place within a framework whose goals are the achievement of human rights and gender equity, as well as environmental sustainability.

Yet to date, the interest in 'governance' has been largely focused at a national level and has been largely gender blind. Governance in

development jargon generally refers to economic management, public sector reform, legal reform and civil society programmes. The examples above suggest that gender considerations rate very low in economic governance priorities at a global level. At the national level, the picture is equally biased. The economic governance agenda is clearly about the promotion at national level of the global economic orthodoxy already discussed (Taylor 2000).

One valuable economic governance initiative is the concept of gender budgeting. As Budlender remarks, the budget 'is in many respects the single most important policy or law passed by any government, determining the resources to be allocated to its policies and programmes' (Budlender 2001: 323). In South Africa, for example, a Women's Budget Initiative has had a remarkable impact. Unlike the original Australian exercise, in which the analysis was undertaken within the bureaucracy, this initiative was a collaboration of women's NGOs, women researchers and women parliamentarians. Its success in generating a debate about budget impact on women, boosting funding allocations in some key areas for women and inspiring other African countries to undertake a similar exercise has been important. Budlender feels, however, that the greatest effect is opening up budget discussion, formerly the preserve of white, male businessmen, to women of all races across South Africa. She recognizes that the technical economic language is an obstacle to wider understanding of economic decision-making but nevertheless argues that the Women's Budget Initiative has been very significant in bringing gender issues, including the unpaid work of women, into economic debates in South Africa.

The second area of governance is the public sector reform agenda which has been associated with the economic restructuring taking place in many countries. Public sectors have been 'downsized' and privatized with little consideration for the gender effects, both in terms of women's employment and the provision of essential social and other services. Legal reform, the third area, may include incorporation of the CEDAW provisions into national law and reform of laws to eliminate gender discrimination through the statutes but Das Pradhan (2000) points out that there are many difficulties associated with attaining gender inclusion in legal development programmes and projects. However, this aspect of the 'governance' agenda is potentially a very useful one.

Fourthly, civil society programmes may include support for women's organizations, an essential factor if gender equity is to be achieved; however, studies of civil society programmes to date have rarely focused on their gender aspects, so it is unclear how much these may have contributed to gender equity. Support to strengthen women's groups, especially those involved in promoting women's human rights and empowerment, could undoubtedly be enhanced.

However, the general principles of governance agenda – especially transparency, accountability, efficiency, equity and participation – *in theory* should provide a useful set of principles on which gender advocates can base their case. But to do so, they will clearly need to challenge orthodox assumptions about these concepts. At what level and for whom is efficiency to be judged, for example? What might real accountability to women mean and how might it be strengthened? How can governments which signed on to the Beijing Platform for Action be held to account to implement the many policies embedded within that document, particularly in the face of the alternative rules emanating from the WTO?

There are particular challenges in places where governance has collapsed, or is being built anew after conflict, as women play numerous roles in conflict settings (Bouta and Frerks 2003). Most frequently, development agencies view and treat women as victims but at least greater attention is now being paid to gender issues, particularly violence and human rights abuses against women, in post-conflict development and emergency humanitarian work. Less opportunity is given for them to play active roles in peace-making and peace-building (Karam 2001) where there is considerable scope for improvement.

Gender mainstreaming and the Millennium Development Goals

One possible avenue for bringing these apparently disparate development strands together is through concerted action towards the Millennium Development Goals. The third goal specifically relates to gender equality and the empowerment of women, while other goals, such as the elimination of extreme poverty, clearly require attention to gender matters. On the positive side, these goals represent an international effort committing governments, donors and international organizations to work for their achievement in a coherent way.

However, there is concern that developing nations will be judged on their abilities to achieve these goals under extremely unfavourable conditions. Continuing neo-liberal policy conditionalities (Cagatay 2003) do not provide a positive context for the necessary expenditure to achieve the MDGs in general, nor the gender equity goal in particular, especially in Africa (Randriamaro n.d.: 18–19) For example, Wangusa (n.d.: 22–24) highlights the contradiction whereby IMF demands on certain African countries involved in the HIPC debt reduction initiative and developing the associated Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers are constrained to such limited government expenditure that countries

cannot possibly meet the MDG targets – targets which the IMF and related international organizations espouse. One estimate of the gap in available finance for MDG3 and gender mainstreaming relating to the other goals in low-income countries ‘is in the range of \$8.6 billion (2006)–\$23.8 billion (2015)’ (Grown et al. 2006). They recommend that donors spend \$13 billion annually for the next five years towards reducing this gap, since attaining gender equity will require such investments.

Other critiques suggest that the goals are limited, the indicators are very narrow and this will distract attention and resources away from areas needing attention if gender equity is to be seriously tackled. If what’s measured is what matters, then some writers argue that there is a risk that hard-won gains on women’s human rights, such as the right to sexual and reproductive freedom or the need to combat violence against women, will be sidelined. No indicators reflect these important areas of concern (Antrobus n.d.: 14–15; Rao and Kelleher 2005). Global indicators are also of limited use at local levels; a lack of adequate gender-disaggregated data in many parts of the world is a further problem and, in any case, indicators may hide as much as they reveal about progress, particularly in terms of the local context. For example, Kabeer (2005) illustrates well how measures of education, employment and women’s political participation may obscure important information about the benefits to women of achieving these goals: measures of women’s employment in the formal sector overlook what is occurring in the informal sector, how exploitative the conditions of women’s work may be and the personal costs of the double burden of paid and unpaid labour women may endure. The UN Millennium Project’s Gender Task Force on Education and Gender Equality (2005), reporting on how to achieve Goal 3, recommend seven strategic priorities to ensure that goal is met. These go well beyond eliminating gender disparity in education, which is the key indicator for this goal, and indicate the kinds of action experts agree are really needed to achieve the desired outcome (see Table 10.1).

The focus on MDGs coincides with, and reinforces attention to, the strategy of mainstreaming gender. It becomes essential to ensure genuine institutional commitment, resources and strategies for gender mainstreaming in all development institutions, whether these are national development planning bodies, donor agencies, or non-government agencies. Few development institutions to date have made gender equity a goal or objective of their work yet, as organizations adopt the MDGs as desired goals, this should become explicit and clear strategies and plans should flow from it, with regular monitoring and evaluation of progress towards it.

Table 10.1 *Seven strategic priorities for MDG Goal 3 on Gender Equity and Empowerment, Millennium Project Gender Task Force Report*

- 1 Strengthen opportunities for post-primary education for girls while simultaneously meeting commitments to universal primary education.
- 2 Guarantee sexual and reproductive health and rights.
- 3 Invest in infrastructure to reduce women's and girls' time burden.
- 4 Guarantee women's and girls' property and inheritance rights.
- 5 Eliminate gender inequality in employment by decreasing women's reliance on informal employment, closing gender gaps in earnings and reducing occupational segregation.
- 6 Increase women's share of seats in national parliaments and local government bodies.
- 7 Combat violence against girls and women.

Source: UN Millennium Project (2005: 3).

But to date institutions have found gender mainstreaming difficult to achieve. In the late 1990s, the Commonwealth Secretariat suggested that gender 'is mainstreamed when the development process and frameworks are transformed in ways which ensure the participation and empowerment of women as well as men in all aspects of life and especially in decision-making structures' (Taylor 1999: 7).

As yet, few nations or development agencies have implemented this approach. High staff turnover, poor resourcing, inadequate staffing levels and lack of corporate commitment have dogged efforts to gain better gender policies and programmes in many development agencies (CIDA 1995; Randel and German 1998). Mainstreaming brings with it the risk of complacency, 'policy evaporation' and oblivion. To avoid this, there has to be a deepening of commitment, knowledge, skills and approaches. One useful strategy is for institutions to undertake serious gender audits of their work and act upon them. However, few have done this to date (Hunt 2000). The MDG focus may generate more action, as indicated by the renewed emphasis on gender signalled by the Australian White Paper on Overseas Aid (AusAID 2006b).

New aid instruments such as Sector Wide Approaches (SWAs) have also required innovative thinking by gender advocates, with mixed results. For example, Theobald et al. (2005) suggest that mainstreaming in the health sector presents major challenges as it remains poorly understood and is bedevilled by human capacity and resource

constraints. Standing (2004) bemoans the weakness of a strategy which relies on bureaucratic transformation to achieve social transformation. Yet Rao and Kelleher (2005) argue that genuine institutional transformation is what is required. The 'deep structures' of organizations, the 'taken-for-granted values, and ways of thinking and working that underlie decision-making and action' have to change (Rao and Kelleher 2005: 64). These include the cultural and accountability systems in which gender bias is embedded. However, international experience indicates that reinvigorating gender advocacy as a political force is a necessary factor to generate institutional changes (True 2003).

The changing nature of aid, following the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, may also make mainstreaming more difficult to achieve. The principles underlying the new aid arrangements flowing from this include greater developing country ownership of development and alignment of aid with national development strategies, greater harmonization of donor support and greater mutual accountability through managing for results. As UNIFEM (2006) comments, women will not benefit unless gender equality is seen as 'a key component of poverty reduction and national development' (UNIFEM 2006: 3). At present, there is usually limited priority given to gender equality in development plans and budgets, donors may struggle to harmonize around gender as a priority and the proposed results to be measured usually neglect gender equity. Ironically, measures to enhance aid effectiveness may fail to do so where gender is concerned, unless very robust efforts are made to ensure they do.

These recent developments also highlight the urgent need to bring gender considerations into macroeconomic institutions, policies and programmes. Feminist economists are making an important contribution at an academic level. Their impact at policy level has so far led to greater visibility of women's work in national accounts, promoting more gender-sensitive alternatives to orthodox adjustment policies for indebted countries (Beneria 1995). Serious efforts are now under way to develop a dialogue about how to 'engender macro-economic and international trade models' (Grown, Elson and Cagatay 2000) and to undertake training which brings gender experts and macroeconomists together (Pearson 1995). However, most mainstream economists would not recognize or accept that gender equity should be a deliberate goal of economic policy. They usually argue that it will result from greater economic growth (World Bank 2001b) and achieving that is their primary objective. However, a recent survey of research on gender and macroeconomics (Stotsky 2006) draws attention to the fact that, while this is true, gender *inequalities* also *reduce* economic growth. She urges recognition that 'systematic differences in the behavior [sic] of men and

women may lead to different macroeconomic outcomes . . . and different public choices with regard to the composition of expenditures' (Stotsky 2006: 48). Unless economic policies at all levels explicitly try to support gender equity, they may well undermine it, and the development policy goals embraced at Beijing will mean little in practice (Molyneux and Razavi 2005).

Finally, while development planners and economists pursue the development model which feminists like Wee and Heyzer, Shiva and the DAWN network roundly condemn as unsustainable and unjust, the question of the sustainability of the current development path refuses to go away. This is a critical question. How significant will it be to have gender equality on a development path which is utterly unsustainable? How can women and men concerned about the nature of development which we are pursuing work in a gender-equitable way to turn it around and make it sustainable for generations? If we seriously assess development to date, this is the fundamental challenge ahead – and it is a truly global challenge, for the developed nations as much as for developing ones, and for market actors as much as state and community sector ones.

Chapter 11

Environment and Development

Damien Kingsbury

It is a truism to say that without the environment there can be no development. Any capacity to develop, no matter how it is defined, must occur within its physical context; land to grow food on, water to drink and air to breathe. The global rush to achieve and expand material development has been predicated on the capacity of the physical environment to support it. In some cases the environment has been despoiled and in others it is simply running out of resources. Care for the environment and its use in a sustainable and affordable manner are critical issues in the development process.

The rise in interest in the environment in developing countries reflects a growing awareness of such issues in developed countries and, hence, among many bilateral and multilateral aid agencies and aid organizations. This has, in turn, been communicated to developing countries, although in many developing countries awareness of environmental issues has also come from direct experience with environmental problems. The growth of industrialization, often quickly and with few if any environmental safeguards, and populations swelling on the back of the 'green revolution', have had a real and substantial impact on many developing countries.

In particular, arguably the world's most important and potentially most devastating environmental problem – global warming – is a direct result of global industrialization's emission of carbon dioxide and other 'greenhouse' gases into the atmosphere (Stern 2007). As well as carbon dioxide, greenhouse gases include methane, nitrous oxide, hydrofluorocarbons, perfluorocarbons and sulphur hexafluoride that also contribute directly to both building a cloud of gases which trap heat, thus increasing global temperatures with a wide range of negative consequences, including destroying the atmosphere's ozone layer which increases penetration of biologically harmful ultraviolet rays. As the 'Stern Report' notes, the economic impact of global warming alone could shrink the global economy by up to 20 per cent if not acted upon; such action would cost around one per cent of global GDP per year (Stern 2007: Ch. 2).